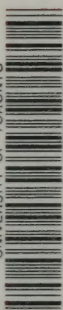


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# THEATRE OF THE GREEKS,

OR THE

HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND CRITICISM

OF THE

## GRECIAN DRAMA;

WITH

AN ORIGINAL TREATISE

ON THE

PRINCIPAL TRAGIC AND COMIC METRES.

*comp. by*  
*L Philip Wentworth Buckham*

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THIRD EDITION.

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CAMBRIDGE:

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THEATRE OF THE GREEKS



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# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

THIRD EDITION.

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THE present Edition will, it is hoped, be found a considerable improvement upon the last. The whole compilation is now arranged in what appears the most natural order. The introductory account of the Greek Drama, has in some parts been re-written, in several enlarged. Those Lectures of Schlegel, which bear upon the Theatres of Greece and Rome, have been given entire, in a translation made expressly for this Edition by a gentleman of high literary attainment. The Treatise on the principal Greek Dramatic Metres by the Rev. James Tate, is now printed with all the additions, which were introduced into the separate publication of that admirable work. In the *Excerpta Critica* some things have been omitted, which seemed either partially erroneous or ill adapted to their place, and one or two new articles are inserted.





## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE following compilation owes its origin to the Rev. P. W. Buckham of St. John's College, Cambridge. That gentleman first suggested the idea, and afterwards executed the work, as it appeared in the first edition. The utility of such a production was shown by its rapid sale. Within a year a new impression was required; when the present Editor was induced to undertake the revision of the book. At the time, he had no intention of doing any thing beyond making a few slight corrections and additions; but, upon a closer inspection, much more than had been anticipated was found to demand alteration and amendment. The work, as it came into his hands, consisted chiefly of extracts from standard authors, with about fifty pages of original compilation. The extracts have for the most part been retained. They were excellent, and reflected much credit upon the judgment of the selector; but, owing to the disadvantages under which he had laboured, they had been put together in a somewhat confused and irregular manner. In the present edition this fault has, to a certain degree at least, been remedied. The work is now divided into two parts: the first of which relates to the history

and representation of the Grecian Drama; the second to its internal economy, its nature, and its criticism. The subdivisions again of each part have been arranged with the same regard to order.

The original matter, with the exception of some notes \* attached to the extracts from Aristotle's Poetics, has been entirely omitted, and replaced by a series of chapters from the pen of the present Editor. In the two first he has endeavoured to fill up a deficiency, which was complained of in the former edition, by giving a connected sketch of the origin and history of the Grecian Drama: to which is appended a chronological table of its writers and contemporary events. The third chapter contains a description of the Dramatic Contests, the Theatre, Audience, Actors, and Chorus. In these chapters it has been the Editor's aim to present a clear and unbroken statement in the text, whilst the authorities on which that statement is founded, and all discussions respecting its doubtful points, have been placed, in the shape of notes, at the foot of the page.

With his own account the Editor has interwoven the most important parts of Schlegel's Critiques upon the Greek Dramatists, contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Lectures of his *Dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*. From the same work his Lectures upon the nature of Grecian Tragedy and Comedy have been given entire in the second part of the present compilation. These

\* Marked F. E. (Former Editor).

extracts are the more valuable as the English translation of Schlegel's book is now out of print.

To the *Excerpta Critica* several additions have been made, chiefly from Porson; and the whole of these miscellaneous remarks have been reduced into some kind of a classification. A selection of Examination Papers upon the Greek Tragedians, forms an Appendix to the whole. As such papers are always eagerly sought after, and sometimes difficult to be procured, a considerable number has been inserted; sufficiently so, it is hoped, to give the student an idea of the manner in which he is expected to read the Tragic.

In the present edition care has been taken to avoid any invasion of literary rights and property. A new translation of the extracts from Schlegel was prepared exclusively for this compilation. Instead of the account of the Tragic contests, which had been confessedly borrowed from the excellent papers in the *Museum Criticum*, a new chapter has been given, composed as much as possible from the original authorities. Permission has been obtained, where deemed requisite, for the insertion of papers and extracts which had previously been published elsewhere.

To Mr. Mawman the Editor returns his acknowledgments for the liberality with which he allowed the quotations, given in the account of the three great Tragedians, to be made from Porson's celebrated *Prælectio*.

To the Rev. J. Tate of Richmond, Yorkshire, the Editor is under peculiar obligations. That distinguished

scholar has not only permitted his two able papers on the Greek Middle Verb and the Canons of Dawes to be incorporated in the work, but has also enriched it with an original Dissertation on the principal Tragic and Comic metres. The value of this admirable Synopsis will be best appreciated by those, who have hitherto had to glean as they could, for themselves or for their pupils, a knowledge of this difficult branch of Greek literature from voluminous and abstruse treatises, or from remarks scattered, without order or connexion, through annotations, diatribes, prefaces, and reviews.

CAMBRIDGE, *May* 26, 1827.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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## PART I.

### THE HISTORY AND EXHIBITION OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

	Page
CHAP. I. Sect. 1. Tragedy, from its origin to the time of Æschylus .....	1
2. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides .....	32
3. The other Tragedians down to the extinction of Greek Tragedy .....	61
CHAP. II. Sect. 1. The Old Comedy .....	70
2. The Middle Comedy .....	85
3. The New Comedy .....	88
4. *Chronology of the Greek Drama .....	93
CHAP. III. Sect. 1. The Dramatic Contests .....	99
2. The Theatre and Audience .....	110
3. The Actors and Chorus .....	122
4. Dresses, &c. ....	127

## PART II.

I.—THE MORE IMPORTANT PARTS OF ARISTOTLE'S POETICS, translated by <i>Twining</i> .....	131
II.—FROM BENTLEY'S DISSERTATION UPON THE EPISTLES OF PHALARIS.	
1. Age of Comedy .....	165
2. Age of Tragedy .....	182
3. Attic Dialect .....	247

\* Arranged from Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*; to which admirable work the Editor is anxious to acknowledge his great obligations.

## III.—FROM SCHLEGEL'S LECTURES ON THE DRAMA.

	Page
1. Structure of Grecian Theatre—Nature of Greek Tragedy	259
2. Æschylus—Sophocles .....	283
3. Euripides—Satyric Drama—Alexandrine Tragedians ...	313
4. Old Comedy—Aristophanes .....	344
5. New Comedy .....	365
6. Roman Theatre—Seneca .....	388
7. The Dramatic Unities .....	400

## PART III.

## EXCERPTA CRITICA.

I.	Orthography .....	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	419
II.	Syntax .....		427
1.	Greek Middle Verb .....	<i>Tate</i>	<i>ib.</i>
2.	Canones Dawesiani .....	—	429
3.	Extracted Remarks .....	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	446
III.	Prosody .....		455
1.	Introduction to the principal Greek Tragic and Comic Metres.....	<i>Tate</i>	<i>ib.</i>
2.	Review of Porson's Supplement to the Preface of the Hecuba.....	<i>Elmsley</i>	497
3.	Extracted Remarks .....	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	524
IV.	Appendix of Examination Papers .....		531



# ERRATA.

Page Line

7. 11 (notes), *for τραγωδία read τραγωδία.*  
     In last line but one, *for Bentley, Dissert. p. 302. read Bentley, Dissert. p. 240.*  
     In last line, *for Bentley, Dissert. p. 209. read Bentley, Dissert. p. 176.*
10. 17 (notes), *for τραγωδία read τραγωδία.*
11. 7. — *for οἱ read οἱ'.*
- 14 from bottom, *for Bentley, Dissert. p. 273 read Bentley, Dissert. p. 217.*
12. 2 (notes), *for οἷς read οἷς.*
- 6 from bottom, *for Suidas Thespis read Suidas in Thespis.*
13. 19. *for were read was.*
14. 2 (note), *for incipient Drama read incipient Tragic Drama.*
22. 9 (notes), *for δρέπωνν read δρέπων.*
31. 10 from bottom, *for καινήν read καινήν.*
70. 12. *for satyrical read satirical.*
78. 2 (notes), *for οτι read ὅ τι.*
93. 3. *for Pisander read Periander.*
126. 14. *for chorusses read choruses.*
127. 15 from bottom, *for soaled read soled.*  
     10 from bottom, *for ἔμβατος read ἐμβάτης.*
128. 10. *for a short train with short sleeves read a vest with short sleeves.*
175. 13. *for Plestrum, ἄμαξα, Lennep, in his translation of Bentley's Phalaris.*  
     *reads Plostrum, ἀπήνη.*
387. 16 from bottom, *for Posilippus read Posidippus.*
445. 3 from bottom, *for χρονοῦντι read φρονοῦντι.*
493. 12. *for corruptions read correptions.*



A  
SKETCH  
OF THE  
HISTORY AND EXHIBITION  
OF THE  
GREEK DRAMA.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THIS sketch of the History and Exhibition of the Grecian Drama was drawn up for the Second Edition of the Greek Theatre, which appeared in 1827.

The writer would gladly have availed himself of this Third Edition to supply the deficiencies of that, his hasty and imperfect production: but a continuous press of business left him no leisure for immediate research and consideration; whilst the interests of the Publishers could not admit a further delay. Something, however, he has endeavoured to do in the short space which remained. The Section on the Early History of the Drama has been almost completely re-written. But the subject is one of much obscurity, and requires a more extensive investigation and a closer application than appears hitherto to have been employed; and the author must frankly acknowledge that there are some points on which he is not as yet thoroughly satisfied. Throughout the succeeding parts of the Essay several additions and corrections have been interspersed.

<sup>1</sup>To the recent publications of German scholars upon the Grecian Drama the writer has to acknowledge great obligations: especially to the labours of Welcker, Thiersch, Böckh, and Genelli.

1. See the List of the Works referred to in this Essay, given at the end.

CAMBRIDGE, *July 1, 1830.*

# CHAPTER I.

---

## SECTION I.

### HISTORY OF TRAGEDY FROM ITS RISE TO THE TIME OF ÆSCHYLUS.

THE Drama owes its origin to that principle of imitation which is inherent in human nature. Hence its invention, like that of painting, sculpture, and the other imitative arts, cannot properly be restricted to any one specific age or people. In fact scenical representations are found among nations so totally separated by situation and circumstance, as to make it impossible for any one to have borrowed the idea from another. In Greece and <sup>1</sup> Hindostan the Drama was at the same period in high repute and perfection; whilst Arabia and Persia, the intervening countries, were utter strangers to this kind of entertainment. The <sup>2</sup> Chinese again have from time immemorial possessed a regular theatre. The <sup>3</sup> ancient Peruvians had their tragedies, comedies, and interludes; and even among the savage and solitary islanders of the South Sea a rude kind of play was observed by the navigators who discovered them. Each of these people must have invented the Drama for themselves. The only point of connexion was the sameness of the cause which led to these several independent inventions;—the instinctive propensity to imitation, and the pleasure arising from it when successfully exerted.<sup>4</sup>

1. The Hindoos, according to Sir William Jones (Preface to *Sacontala*, p. x.), have a rich dramatic literature, which ascends back upwards of two thousand years. In the translations of *Sacontala* and *Prabodd Chandrodaya* two specimens of this drama have been given to the English reader. See Robertson's *India*, Appendix, pp. 235. 240. Edinb. 1819.

2. See the Introduction to a Translation of *Laou-seng-urh*, a Chinese comedy. London, 1817.

3. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, Part I. Chap. vi.

4. Τό τε γὰρ μιμεῖσθαι σύμφυτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ παίδων ἐστί· καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς μιμήμασι πάντας. Aristot. *Poet.* iv.—Schlegel Ueber *Dram. Kunst und Literat.* Vol. I. p. 35.

The elements of the *Grecian Drama* are to be sought in an age far antecedent to all regular historic record. <sup>1</sup> In those remote times the several seasons of the year had amongst the Greeks their respective festivals. That religion, which peopled with divinities wood and hill and stream, and gave to every art and event of ordinary life its peculiar deity, entered largely into the feelings and customs of these annual festivities. Amongst an agricultural population, like that of early Greece, <sup>2</sup> Dionysos, at what time soever his name and worship had been introduced, as <sup>3</sup> the inventor of wine and god of the vineyard, possessed of necessity a distinguished sacrifice and feast.

Music and poetry, wherever they exist, are almost invariably employed in the services of divine worship. In Greece, preeminently the land of the song and the lyre, this practice prevailed from the most ancient times. At the periodic festivals of their

1. The vintage is generally considered to have been the time of the Bacchic festivals, in accordance with \* an inference from Aristotle and the statement of † Horace. But all the Athenian Dionysia, whether in the city or the country, were held in the spring. From the title of the first day in the *Ienæa*, τὰ Πιθοῖρια, or the *Tappings*, the feast might possibly have then been fixed to celebrate the first usage of the last year's wine (See below, chapter iii. 1.).—At Rome too the *Liberulia* were held in March.

2. The history of Bacchus is one of much interest and deep mystery. He evidently did not accompany the first colonists into Greece. In Homer he is seldom mentioned, and takes no part in the action of his poems among the inhabitants of Olympus. Indeed his rencontre with Lycurgus, the Prince of Thrace, recorded in the *Iliad* (ζ. 130, &c.), in agreement with his persecution by Pentheus, King of Thebes (Eurip. *Bacch.*), bespeaks opposition, at no very remote period, to the claims and rites of a newly introduced deity. This suspicion is converted into certainty by Herodotus, if reliance may be placed on his accuracy. He assures us that *Dionysos* was one of the most modern divinities in the Grecian creed; and that his worship had been imported from Egypt; where, under the name of Osiris, he was most extensively venerated. Herodot. *Euterpe*, 42, 49, 144, 145.

Melampus, the son of Amytheon, was, according to Herodotus, the person who brought the rites of Bacchus into Greece, not directly from Egypt, but through the intermediate instruction of Cadmus, the Tyrian colonizer of Boeotia. Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε ὄνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. . . . πυνθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώραν.—*Euterpe*, 49. See also Diod. Sic. i. 97.

3. Diod. Sic. iii. 62, 63.

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\* Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνοδοι φαίνονται γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς, οἷον Ἀπαρχαί· μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τούτοις ἐσχόλαζον τοῖς καίριοις.—Arist. *Eth. Nic.* θ. 9.

† Agricola: prisci, fortes parvoque beati.  
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo  
Corpus et ipsum animum, &c.—Horat. 2. *Epp.* i. 139, &c.



several deities, bands of choristers, accompanied by the pipe, the flute, or the harp, <sup>1</sup>sang the general praises of the god, or episodic narrations of his various achievements. The feasts of Bacchus had of course their sacred choruses; and these choruses, from the circumstances of the festival, naturally fell into two classes of very different character. The hymns addressed immediately to the Divinity, round the hallowed altar during the solemnity of sacrifice, were grave, lofty, and restrained. The songs inspired by the carousals of the banquet and uttered amid the revelries of the Phallic procession were coarse, ludicrous, and satirical, interspersed with mutual jest and gibe. The hymn, which accompanied the opening sacrifice, was called <sup>2</sup>διθύραμβος,

1. In the hymns, which bear the names of Orpheus and Homer, we have extant specimens of one class of these productions, and those of very ancient date.

2. Various derivations have been devised for the word by those who conceive it to be composed of Grecian elements and to refer to Grecian mythology: some forced and fanciful enough. They are registered by Gerard Vossius in his *Institutio Poetica*, iii. 16. 2. The most common etymology is διθύραμβος for διθύραμος, *double-door*, i. e. *he who has passed through two doors*; in which term allusion is supposed to be made to the double birth of Bacchus—from the womb of Semele and the thigh of Jove. To the objection, that the quantity of the first syllable in διθύραμβος is always long, whereas all compounds with δι, implying *double*, have the δι invariably short, it has been answered by Welcker (*Nachtrag zur Trilogie*, p. 192), that the singularity arose from the requirement of the trochaic metre of the Dithyramb; since only by such a variation could this term of continual occurrence be introduced into a trochaic line; a licence frequently claimed by the writers of hexameters to bring names, inadmissible from the natural quantity of their syllables, into the dactyls and spondees of heroic verse. Judicent peritiores.

The Dithyramb did not at all times preserve a simplicity of style consistent with its rural origin, or a decorum befitting its sacred character. \* In later ages it too often exhibited a tissue of extravagant conceits, turgid metaphors, and bombastic expressions; and whilst the Pæan of Apollo.—whether before the altar, on the battle-field, or in the private

\* In reference to the absurd productions of the Dithyrambists of his day, Aristophanes makes Trygæus narrate, on returning from his beetle-ascent through the air, that he saw no one in those upper regions

εἰ μή γέ που  
ψυχὰς δὴ ἢ τρεῖς διθυραμβοδιδασκάλων

and, when asked their occupation, replies

ξυνελέγοντ' ἀναβολὰς ποτώμεναι,  
τὰς ἐνδιαεριανερινηχέτους τινάς.—Pax, 794–797.

Again, in the *Aves*, the Dithyrambist, Cinesias, requesting from Pisthetærus a supply of plumage to waft him into the expanse of æther, assures the astonished dispenser of feather and wing, that

κρέματα μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῶν ἢ τέχνη  
τῶν διθυράμβων γὰρ τὰ λαμπρὰ γίγνεται  
ἀερίᾳ τινα καὶ σκότια καὶ κνανανγέα  
καὶ πτεροδόνητα

and then proceeds to give him a specimen of his dithyrambic skill. See the whole passage *Aves*, 1372, &c.

a term of doubtful etymology and import. <sup>1</sup> Perhaps, like the repulsive symbol of the Phallic rites, its origin must be referred to an eastern clime.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the chanters of the Dithyramb and the singers of the Phallic, there was, probably from the first introduction of Bacchic worship, a third class of performers in these annual festivals. <sup>3</sup> Fauns and Satyrs were, in popular belief, the regular attendants of the deity; <sup>4</sup> and the received character of these singular beings

private feast,—always preserved its calm and elevated character, the Dithyramb was frequently the noisy accompaniment of a drunken symposium.\*

1. The procession of the Phallus Herodotus derives from Egypt (see p. 2, note 2), and considers it to be a ceremony in itself so opposite to Grecian manners and ideas, as at once to evince a foreign origin, (Eut. 49.).—The religion of Egypt, again, was but a reflexion of that which had been generated in the east; and in those countries, fruitful in strange rite and mysterious symbol, we still find a trace of this ancient type in the *Lingam* of Hindoo worship.

That some hidden meaning was indicated by so disgusting an image is most certain. Herodotus, after describing an Egyptian ceremony similar to the Greek phallic procession, adds, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος (Eut. 48.).—It has been supposed that Bacchus in the ancient creed of the remote regions, from whence his worship spread over into Greece, was regarded as the first generating principle and author of all increase, and that accordingly the Phallus was exhibited in these festivals as his most conspicuous emblem. Sed hæc hæc.

2. The walls of the ruined temples in Egypt are in several instances still covered with paintings, representing sacrifices to Osiris, with processions of priests and devotees in masquerade attire.

3. Diodorus Siculus, in mentioning the Ethiopic expedition of Osiris, called by him and Herodotus the Egyptian Bacchus, adds, Φασὶν . . . εἶναι τὸν Ὀσίριν φιλογέλωτά τε καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς . . . τοὺς τε Σατύρους πρὸς ὀρχήσιν καὶ μελωδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἄνεσιν καὶ παιδίαν ὄντας εὐθέτους παραληφθῆναι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν. i. 18.

The same attendants Diodorus also gives to the Greek Dionysos: Καὶ Σατύρους φασὶν αὐτὸν [Διόνυσον] περιάγεσθαι, καὶ τούτους ἐν ταῖς ὀρχήσεσι καὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαις τέρψιν καὶ πολλὴν ἡδονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ.—iv.

4. Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces  
Conveniet Satyros.—Horat. Ep. ad Pis. 225.

\* Φιλόχορος δὲ φησιν, ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ σπένδοντες οὐκ αἰ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σπένδωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴῳ καὶ μέθῃ, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες. Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν φησιν

ὡς Διωνύσοι ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἶνω συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

Καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Φιλοκτῆτῃ ἔφη

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος, ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίης.—Athen. xiv. p. 628.

was in admirable harmony with the merry Dionysia. <sup>1</sup> The goat, as an animal especially injurious to the vines and therefore peculiarly obnoxious to the god of the vineyard, was the appropriate offering in the Bacchic sacrifices. In the horns and hide of the victim all that was requisite to furnish a satyric guise was at hand; and thus a band of mummers was easily formed, whose wit, wag-gery, and grimace would prove no insignificant addition to the amusements of the village carnival.

<sup>2</sup> In these rude festivities the splendid Drama of the Greeks found its origin. The lofty poetry of the Dithyramb, combined with the lively exhibition of the Satyric chorus, was at length wrought out into the majestic Tragedy of Sophocles. The Phallic song was expanded and improved into the wonderful Comedy of Aristophanes.

1. Frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruinâ,  
Aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus ætas,  
Quantum illi nocuere greges, durique venenum  
Dentis, et admorso signatâ in stirpe cicatrix.  
Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris  
Cæditur, et veteres ineunt proscenia ludi,  
Præmiaque ingentes pagos et compita circum  
Theseidæ posuere.—Virg. Georg. ii. 376—383.

Quædam enim pecudes culturæ sunt inimicæ ac veneno, ut istæ, quas dixi, capræ: hæ enim omnia novella sata carpendo corrumpunt, non minimum vites atque oleas. Sic factum, ut Libero patri, repertori vitis, hirci immolarentur, proinde, ut capiti darent pœnas.—Varro de Re Rust. i. 2. 18, 19.

Prima Ceres avidæ gavisa est sanguine porcæ,  
Ultæ suas meritâ cæde nocentis opes.  
Nam sata vere novo teneris lactentia sulcis  
Eruta setigeræ comperit ore suis.  
Sus dederat pœnas: exemplo territus hujus  
Palmitæ debueras abstinuisse caper.  
Quem spectans aliquis dentes in vitæ prementem,  
Talia non tacito dicta dolore dedit:  
Rode caper, vitem: tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram,  
In tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit.  
Verba fides sequitur: noxæ tibi deditus hostis  
Spargitur effuso cornua, Bacche, mero.—Ov. Fast. i. 349—360.

To this goat-sacrifice reference is made in a chorus of the Bacchæ, where Bacchus is represented

ἀγρέων  
αἶμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμόφαγον χάριν.—Eurip. Bacch. 138.

2. Γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴ καὶ αὕτη [ἡ τραγωδία] καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν ἐπιθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πολέων διαμέτει νομιζόμενα, κατὰ μικρὸν ἡνέχθη.—Arist. Poet. iv. 14.

<sup>1</sup> In the first rise of the Bacchic festivals the rustic singers used to pour forth their own unpolished and extemporaneous strains. By degrees these rude choruses assumed a more artificial form. Emulation was excited, and contests between neighbouring districts led to the successive introduction of such improvements as might tend to add interest and effect to the rival exhibitions. It was probably now that a distinction in prizes was made. <sup>2</sup> Heretofore a goat appears to have been the ordinary reward of the victorious choristers; <sup>3</sup> and the term *τραγωδία* (*τράγου ὥδη*), or *goat-song*, to

1. Agricola assiduo primùm satiatus aratro  
Cantavit certo rustica verba pede.  
Et satur arenti primùm est modulatus avenâ  
Carmen ut ornatos diceret ante deos.  
Agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti  
Primus inexpertâ duxit ab arte choras.  
Huic datus a pleno memorabile munus ovili  
Dux pecoris hircus: duxerat hircus oves.—Tibull. ii. 1. 51—58.

2. That the goat was the original prize of the first Dionysiac contests is a supposition very probable in itself, agrees exactly with the statement of Tibullus above, and is not contradicted by any trustworthy evidence.

3. It is not perhaps quite clear, whether it was from the prize being a *goat*, or from the songs being sung *over the goat* during the sacrifice, that the name *τραγωδία* was applied to these choral performances.

Bentley (Dissert. pp. 291 &c.) contends that the goat was not fixed as the prize until the time of Thespis, and therefore that the name *Τραγωδία* was not formed before this date. He infers the truth of this opinion chiefly from the expressions of the Arundel Marble, Dioscorides, and Horace. Now the Arundel Marble, in adding *καὶ ἄθλον ἐπέθη ὁ τράγος* to the inscription respecting Thespis, and the assertion of Dioscorides, in his epigram upon that dramatist, *ὃ τράγος ἄθλον*, by no means invalidate the ascription of the goat as a prize to the ancient Bacchic choruses. If that animal was the prize of the Satyric chorus when Thespis began his innovations, nothing was more natural than to continue its prize to the chorus so improved. Again, the whole sentence from Horace, of which Bentley quotes only the first line, stands thus

Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,  
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit et asper  
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit eo, quod  
Illecebris erat et gratâ novitate morandus  
Spectator, functusque sacris, et potus et exlex.—Epist. ad Pis. 220—224.

If the *qui* in the first line must indicate some particular poet, Thespis can scarcely be the one here noticed, as Bentley supposes: for Thespis was the curtailer of the old Satyric chorus; he was *not* the inventor of the new Satyric drama. But even were Thespis the person intended by Horace, still the answer given above to the argument deduced from the words of the Arundel Marble and Dioscorides would hold good in this case also.

That there was a kind of exhibition called *Τραγωδία* in existence long before the age of Thespis is a fact which appears to be abundantly established. Thus Herodotus (v. 67) talks of *τραγικοί χοροὶ* at Sicyon in the time of Clisthenes, senior to Thespis by a whole generation, and those choruses too as even then of old standing.—In the Platonic dialogue *Mimos*, we read, *ἡ τραγωδία ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε [Ἀθῆναις], οὐχ ὥς αἰοῦνται ἀπὸ Οὐσπείδους ἡρξάμενη ἀνὰ ἀπὸ Φρυνίχου, ἀλλ' εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι, πᾶν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ εὐρήσεως ὅν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εἶρημα*. Bekker, Vol. III. p. 32. Now this dialogue, although falsely perhaps ascribed to Plato, is yet allowed by



have comprehended the several choral chantings in the Dionysia.  
<sup>1</sup> To the Dithyramb a bull was now assigned, as a nobler meed for its sacred ode: <sup>2</sup> the successful singers of the Phallic received a basket of figs and a vessel of wine: whilst the goat was left to

Böckh, the acute impugner of its authenticity, to be the production of one Simon, a philosophical cordwainer, the contemporary of Socrates. Hence we may gather, that in his day, while the unlearned populace were content to refer the first use of the Drama, which then formed their annual delight, to the recent times and well-known names of Thespis or Phrynichus, the more careful searcher into antiquity readily discovered the existence of a *Τραγωδία* long before that date.—Diodorus Siculus evidently understood the word *τραγωδία* to have been the name of something earlier and ruder than the Thespian Drama, where he says that the Satyrs, who accompanied Bacchus, amused the god ἐν ταῖς ὀρχήσεσι καὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαις (Above, p. 4. note 3.)—In the same conception of its meaning Diogenes Laertius most clearly employs the word; ὥσπερ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ, πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραμάτιζεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπης, &c. Plat. Ixvi.—Athenæus likewise employs the term to designate the ante-Thespian Drama: συνέστηκε δὲ καὶ Σατυρική πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγωδία (xiv. 634.).—Then, again, the claims of the Peloponnesians to the invention of Tragedy, alluded to by Aristotle (Poet. iii. 5.) and decisively asserted by Themistius (Orat. xxvii.), coupled with the several notices of *Τραγωδοί* before Thespis, under the words *Θέσπης*, οὐδενὸς πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον and *Αρίων*, in Suidas, all tend to prove what is in itself so probable, that the term *Τραγωδία* was of early origin, and given primarily to the choral exhibitions of the ancient Dionysia.—Nay, the very testimonies, which Bentley adduces in support of his notion, may perhaps more justly be ranged on the opposite side. The words of Plutarch (Solon)—ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν Τραγωδίαν κινεῖν—imply rather change and innovation in *Τραγωδία* as a thing already in being, than, as Bentley would have it, “the rise and beginning of the very rudiments of Tragedy.” The expression of Horace (Epist. ad Pis. 275.),

*Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ  
 Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,*

surely means that Thespis was “the inventor of a new kind of tragic song,” and not that “Thespis was the first of Tragedy,” as the same great critic asserts. And Dioscorides calls the composition which Thespis improved *τραγικὴν αἰοιδίην*.

On the whole then, it may be thought sufficiently clear, that long before Thespis the term *τραγωδία* was formed, and employed as the name of the choral performances in the Dionysia. But, from not sufficiently distinguishing between *τραγωδία* in its original signification, and the Tragedy of Æschylus, Sophocles, and of modern days, many groundless difficulties have arisen.

1. Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο ταύρους  
 Καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα.  
 Τοσσάκι δ' ἱμερούντα διδασκόμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,  
 Εὐδόξου νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

Anth. Græc. vi. pp. 213. 253. Jacobs.

That a bull was ever the prize of the Dithyramb is matter of doubt with some (Welcker Nachtrag zur Trilogie, p. 241); and, indeed, were not the word *ταύρους* in the epigram above so decisive, the fact would rest on somewhat questionable authority. See, however, Bentley Dissert. p. 302.

2. See Bentley, Dissertat. p. 209.

the Satyric chorus. <sup>1</sup> Subsequently, when the Dithyramb and the Drama had become established in all their perfection throughout the cities of Greece, the general prize was a tripod; which was commonly dedicated by the victor to Bacchus, with a tablet, bearing the names of the successful composer, choragus, and tribe.

<sup>2</sup>The Dithyramb was, at a very early period, admitted into the Doric cities, and there cherished with peculiar attention by a succession of poets; amongst whom <sup>3</sup>Archilochus of Paros, <sup>4</sup>Arion of Methymnæ, <sup>5</sup>Simonides of Cos, and <sup>6</sup>Lasus of Hermione

1. See Büekh. Inscript. Græc. Agonistica, p. 342, &c.

2. The Dithyramb seems to have particularly flourished amongst the Dorian population of Greece. The Doric forms, preserved in the choruses of the Attic Tragedians, bespeak an origin from a Doric Dithyramb. From this cultivation of the Dithyramb the claims of the Peloponnesians (Arist. Poet. iii., Themist. Orat. xxvii.) to the invention of tragedy may perhaps have arisen. In Sicyon, a Doric city, we find tragic choruses existing long before Thespis, though Adrastus, and not Bacchus, was their subject. At Sicyon, too, was placed a poet named Epigenes, the inventor of tragedy according to certain authors, as we learn from Suidas, Photius, and Apollonius. His claim, however, to the invention of tragedy can only be understood to imply some great improvement in the Dithyrambic chorus.—From Sparta, a Doric city, was Archilochus, the Dithyrambist, banished; where he seems to have long resided, though a Parian by birth.—It was at Corinth, again, a Dorian city, that Arion produced the form of Dithyramb, which Herodotus so carefully commemorates (i. 23).—Simonides, who gained sixty victories with the Dithyrambic chorus, was a native of Cos, a Doric island, and lived and sang among the Dorians of Greece and Sicily. Lasus, the perfecter of the Dithyramb, was likewise a Dorian of Hermione in Argolis. And at Orchomenus, a Doric city of Beotia, stood the inscriptions, which show, if Büekh's interpretation be right, that there, up to a very late period, the *παλαιὰ τραγῳδία*, or a modification of the ancient Dithyramb, continued to be exhibited.

As these inscriptions are of great interest and importance for the history of the Drama, they are, with Büekh's remarks, subjoined by way of Appendix to this Section.

3. Archilochus was born at Paros, and lived in the time of Gyges (Herod. Clio. xii.). He therefore flourished about 700 B. C. He left his native island as a colonist (Ælian. V. H. x. 13.), and subsequently appears to have settled at Sparta; from whence he was expelled for the indecent violence of his satiric poems. (Plutarch. Laconic. Inst. xii.).—The two singular lines, which Athenæus has preserved (xiv. p. 628), show, that besides elegies, epigrams, and satires, this vehement poet composed Dithyrambs also, upon the plan recommended by Epicharmus (see above p. 4, note \*.)

4. The connexion of Arion with the Dithyramb Herodotus thus records:—*λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι... Ἀρίονα τὸν Μεθυμναίων ἐπὶ δεσφίνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταΐναρον, ὄντα καθαφρόν τῶν τότε ὄντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.* Clio, xxiii.—Now we cannot understand this to mean that the Dithyramb had neither existence nor name before Arion's exhibition at Corinth. Excepting some confused and inconsistent notices, the whole current of ancient testimony runs in favour of a remote origin of the Dithyramb, so remote as to preclude all certain and definite record of inventor, place, and time. Archilochus preceded Arion by at least a century; and yet in the couplet of Archilochus, quoted above (p. 4. note \*), we have the very word *διθύραμβον*, and that *διθύραμβος* spoken of just as a thing common and long established would be mentioned.

If, then, we allow Herodotus to be historically correct, we must suppose him to mean nothing more than this:—that Arion, as far as he knew, was the person who first produced and exhibited at Corinth a certain modification of the old Bacchic hymn, and that



were especially distinguished. Under their hands the rude extemporaneous hymn of a peasant chorus was gradually refined into a laboured composition, lofty in sentiment, studied in diction, and adorned with all the graces which music, rhythm, and the dance could supply. Thus fostered by the patronage of city communities, and so improved by the skill and talent of rival poets, the <sup>1</sup>Dithyrambic chorus, in the sublimity of its odes, and splendour of the accompaniments, <sup>2</sup>became one of the most imposing shows amongst the public spectacles of Greece.

that to this new form he gave the name Dithyramb, the general term for that class of compositions. This falls in exactly with the otherwise very probable account, that various changes took place in the shape and setting forth of the Dithyramb.

We learn, too, from this passage of Herodotus, that so early as B. C. 600, the Dithyramb was matter of scientific composition and regular exhibition in the largest, the most opulent, and the most refined of the Dorian cities. This confirms what we may collect from other quarters; that the Dithyramb, in its full perfection, was not a mere simple and naked hymn, but a composition of much artful interior arrangement, as well as of much external splendour in accompaniment:—In short, that such was the precision and unity of subject, such the dramatic tone given by the divisions and subdivisions of the choristers,—now alternately questioning and responding, now narrating by their Coryphæus, and now joining in one general chant,—and such the spirit of their \*mimetic dance and gesticulation, as almost to claim for the Dithyramb the name of a Lyric Tragedy.

5. Simonides was born in the island of Cos, and passed a life of 90 years among the princes and heroes of Greece, during the most splendid age of his country's glory. He was honoured successively with the intercourse of Pittacus, sovereign of Mitylene; Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus; Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon; Themistocles; the Aleuadæ of Thessaly; and Hiero of Syracuse. In his later years he was the instructor of Pindar. His poems, like those of his pupil, were of various character,—victory-odes, dirges, &c.: amongst them his dithyrambs were remarkable for their success.

6. Lasus of Hermione lived in the time of Darius Hystaspes. According to Plutarch, he introduced great improvements into Dithyrambic music. He is represented by Aristophanes as the rival of Simonides:

Λᾶσος ποτ' ἀντεδίδασκεν καὶ Σίμωνίδης·  
ἐπειθ' ὁ Λᾶσος εἶπεν “ὀλίγον μοι μέλει.”—Vesp. 1410.

He seems to have been a facetious personage from two of his jokes recorded by Chamaeleon (Athenæus, vii. 333); and the ridicule which he heaped upon the scrupulous Xenophanes, who had declined his invitation to a game at dice. Plutarch, *περὶ ἔκτισσας*.

1. The Dithyrambic chorus was also called *Cyclic* (κύκλιος) from their dancing in a ring round the altar of Bacchus, whilst they sung their hymn.—Ὁ δὲ διθύραμβος χορὸς ἦν κύκλιος πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον—Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 26. And so also Schol. Eschin. (vol. iii. p. 722. Ed. Reiske).—λέγονται δὲ οἱ διθύραμβοι χοροὶ κύκλιοι καὶ χορὸς κύκλιος.

The number of the Cyclic choristers was 50,

Ξεινοφίλου δὲ τις νῆος Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει  
Πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶ.—Simonid. Epigr. 76.

2. The expenses attending the Choragia of the Cyclic chorus, in the time of Lysias and Demosthenes, were much greater than those of either tragedy or comedy. See below, Dramatic Contests, chap. iii. sect. i.

\* δι' ὅτι οἱ διθύραμβοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμητικοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐκ ἔτι ἔχουσιν ἀντιστροφούς, πρότερον δ' εἶχον.—Arist. Problem. xix. 15.

In the mean time the representatives of the laughter-loving Satyrs had been moulded into a more regular body, and continued to delight the populace with their grotesque appearance and merry pranks. It is here that we first discover something of a dramatic nature. The singers of the Dithyramb were mere choristers; they assumed no character, and exhibited no imitation. The performers in the Satyric chorus had a part to sustain; they were actors in the strict sense of the word. <sup>1</sup> Moreover, in their extemporaneous bursts of description, remark, jest, and repartee, a kind of dialogue was introduced; irregular, no doubt, and wild, yet still a dialogue. Here then, in this acting and this dialogue, we have, at once, the elements and the essence of the Drama.

<sup>2</sup> The Satyric chorus, like the Dithyramb, had found an early entrance into the Dorian cities, and was particularly cultivated at

1. An extemporal dramatizing of this sort grew naturally out of the spirit and composition of the Satyric chorus. A number of village wits, under the guise of Satyrs, took their station in the midst of a crowded circle of spectators. They were bound down, by that assumption of character, to the exhibition of Satyric manners and adventures alone; and so differed essentially from the Phallic chorus, which directed its observations, jests, and sarcasms to the persons and occurrences of present time and place. The first principles of music seem to have introduced into choruses of all countries and all descriptions those divisions and subdivisions of the choristers, which tend so much to add diversity, interest, and effect to the whole. Conceive, then, these several divisions of the Satyric chorus occupied in representing the frolicsome doings of the sylvan attendants upon Bacchus by means of dance and song; sometimes the \*leader of the whole chorus performing a solo chant and dance; and sometimes, with responsive verses, the leaders of the subdivisions: sometimes, again, the choristers of the several divisions engaged in this alternation, and then the whole body uniting in one general burst of song and movement:—conceive this, and then amidst all the buffoonery and all the anomalies of the exhibition, we shall find dramatic form and spirit enough abundantly to warrant the expression of Diogenes Laertius—*τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραματίζεν.* (De Platon.)

2. We learn this from an epigram composed by †Dioscorides upon Sophocles:

ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ἄνηρ  
ἄξια, Φλιασίων ναὶ μὰ χοροῦς Σατύρων.

To this fact he also alludes in another epitaph upon the same poet:

"Ὅς με τὸν ἐκ Φλιούντος ἐτι τρίβολον πατέοντα  
Πρίννον, ἐς χρύσεον σχῆμα μεθηρμόσατο.

Which obscure couplet Salmasius, understanding Bacchus to be introduced as addressing the reader, thus interprets: *Ille me Phliante profectum, adhuc sentes et rubas inambulantem et ex acerno stipite properanti fulce adolatum, in aureum habitum reformavit.*

\* This person was originally the poet, who led in the verse, extemporary or precomposed, and directed the steps of the whole body; a practice which Archilochus and Aristotle express by the phrase *ἐξάραξαι τὸν Διθύραμβον*.

† From the little which is known of this Epigrammatist, Daniel Heinsius places him amongst the literary men who flourished at Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Phlius, a town of Sicyon. <sup>1</sup>In Attica, the future scene of the perfected Drama, there remains no direct record of these Dionysian representations until <sup>2</sup>the middle of the sixth century before our æra. <sup>3</sup>At that time Thespis, a native of Icarium, an

1. It is evident, however, from the manner in which the improvements of Thespis are mentioned, that the Satyric Chorus had been long established in Attica, and probably also the Dithyramb. From a curious passage in the oration against Neæra, ascribed to Demosthenes, we learn that the Dionysia had been introduced into Athens at a very early date:—καὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ ὑμῖν ἔθηκε τὰ ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ εἶδεν ἃ οὐ προσήκειν αὐτὴν ὄραν ξένην οὔσαν, καὶ τοιαύτη οὔσα εἰσηλθεν οἱ οὐδείς ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων τοσούτων ὄντων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή, ἐξώρκωσέ τε τὰς γεραίρας τὰς ὑπηρετούσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάτρια τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀπόρρητα\*. The orator then goes on to state, that at first, whilst the Athenian government was monarchical, the wife of the king used to perform the rites alluded to; and that, when the constitution became democratic, these sacred duties were transferred to the wife of the king Archon. Without attempting to guess the meaning of this singular marriage of the king Archon's wife to Bacchus, we ascertain so much at least, that the Bacchic mysteries had found a footing in Athens during the remote times of kingly rule. Whether the choral exhibitions were equally ancient is uncertain; yet this is not altogether improbable.

2. The sixty-first olympiad, or 536 B. C. is fixed by Bentley from the Arundel Marble, as the time when Thespis first exhibited; a date which will make him contemporary with the latter years of Pisistratus.

3. Athenæus, evidently merging in the improvements of Thespis the invention both of Tragedy and Comedy, tells us that—ἡ τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας εὑρεσις ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εὐρέθη. ii. p. 40.

Suidas distinctly fixes Icarium as the birth-place of Thespis. Θέσπις Ἰκαρίου, πόλεως Ἀττικῆς, τραγικός, κ. τ. λ.

Welckert† has attempted to make out a connexion between the introduction of the Satyric chorus into Athens and the public factions of that day. Pisistratus, he thinks, patronized the Dionysia and their exhibitions, because Bacchus was the favorite deity of the mountaineers, whose good will he was courting. This notion is perhaps more fanciful than certain.

It may not be amiss however here to transcribe the curious passage from Plutarch, in which he brings Thespis and Solon into contact; a passage nevertheless on which little credit can be placed. See Bentley, *Dissert.* p. 273, &c.

Ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἦδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐπὼ δ' εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἐναγωνιον ἐξηγμένον, φύσει φιλήκοος ὢν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ὁ Σόλων, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν γῆρα, σχολῇ καὶ παιδίᾳ καὶ νη Δία πότοις καὶ μουσικῇ παραπέμπων ἑαυτὸν, ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θεάν προσαγορεύσας αὐτόν, ἠρώτησεν, εἰ τοσούτων ἐναντιῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τηλικαῦτα ψευδόμενος. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος, μὴ δεῖνόν εἶναι τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πρίσσειν, σφόδρα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σόλων πατάξας· τὰχὺ μέντοι τὴν παιδίαν, ἔφη, ταύτην ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τιμῶντες, εὐρήσομεν ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατατρώσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ζεύγους κομιζόμενος, καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ὡς διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβεβουλευμένος καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ βοῶντας, προσελθὼν ἐγγὺς ὁ Σόλων καὶ παραστὰς.

\* Orat. Att. Bekker. Tom. IV. Par. iv. pp. 1486 and 1487.

† Nachtrag, p. 248.



Athenian village, was struck with the possibility of introducing various improvements into the Satyric chorus.—He saw that an incessant round of jest and gambol and grimace became in the end exhausting to the performers and wearisome even to the spectators. <sup>1</sup> Accordingly the Icarian contrived a break in the representation, <sup>2</sup> by coming forward in person, and <sup>3</sup> from an elevated stand describing in gesticulated narration some mythological story. When this was ended the chorus again commenced their performances. The next step was to add life and spirit to these monologues, by making the chorus take part in the narrative through an occasional exclamation, question or remark. This was readily suggested by the practice of interchanging observations already established among the members of the chorus. And thus was the germ of the dialogue still farther developed. <sup>4</sup> In order to disguise his features, and so produce a certain degree of histrionic illusion, Thespis is said first to have smeared his face with vermilion, then with a pigment prepared from the herb purslain, and lastly to have contrived a kind of rude mask made of linen.

Beside the addition of the actor, Thespis did much for the

παραστάς· Οὐ καλῶς, εἶπεν, ὦ παῖ Ἰπποκράτους, ὑποκρίνη τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν Ὀδυσσεά· ταυτὰ γὰρ ποιεῖς τοὺς πολίτας παρακρουόμενος, οἷς ἐκείνος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηπάτησεν αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτόν. Sol. xxix, xxx.

Diogenes Laertius thus alludes to the same story :

Θέσπιν ἐκάλυπεν [ὁ Σόλων] τραγῳδίας ἄγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀνωφελεὴ τὴν ψευδολογίαν. ὅτ' οὖν Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωσεν, ἐκείθεν μὲν ἔφη ταῦτα φῦναι. Solon. i.

1. Ὑστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἓνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορὸν. Diog. Laert. Plat. lxvi.

2. Ὁ Σόλων ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς. Plutarch. Solon. xxix.

Ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτοὶ τραγῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον. Arist. Rhet. iii. 1.

Livy mentions the same custom amongst the early Latin dramatists, when speaking of his namesake, Livius.—idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, carminum actor. vii. 2.

3. These dramatic recitations were termed ἐπεισόδια from being introduced between the parts of the original performance.

4. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθίῳ ἐτραγῳῆσεν· εἶτα ἀνδραχὴν ἐσκέπασιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπείων χρῆσιν ἐν μὲν ὁδῶν κατὰσκηνάσας. Suidas Θέσπις.

With respect to the latter invention, we may perhaps allow Thespis to have introduced a kind of simple linen covering for the face, without militating against the assertion of Aristotle, who positively assigns the mask to Eschylus as inventor; since compared with the artistlike construction of the Eschylean mask, the contrivance of Thespis was too rude to advance any claim to such a name.

improvement of the chorus itself. <sup>1</sup> He invented dances, which were handed down through four generations to the time of Aristophanes. <sup>2</sup> They were, as might be expected from the chorus for which they were devised, of a nature more energetic than graceful. Yet their protracted existence proves them to have possessed popularity and comparative excellence. In these dances he assiduously trained his choristers. Whatever advantages could be derived from the sister art of music were no doubt added; and care extended to the general organization and equipment of the chorus. <sup>3</sup> The metre of his recitative was apparently trochaic; the measure in which amidst frolic and dance the Satyric chorus gave vent to its ebullitions of joke and merriment. <sup>4</sup> Indeed from its formation the trochee is peculiarly adapted to lively and sportive movements. Thespis probably reduced the whole performance into some kind of unity, by causing this intermixture of song and recitative, as a whole to tend, however loosely, to the setting forth of some one passage in Bacchic history. <sup>5</sup> But the language of both Actor and Choristers was of a light and ludicrous cast; the subject of the short episodes were handled in a jocose and humorous manner; and the whole performance with its dance, song, story and buffoonery, resembled a wild kind of ballet-farce.

The introduction of an actor with his episodic recitations was so important an advance, as leading directly to the formation of dramatic plot and dialogue; and the other improvements, which

1. Ὁρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται  
τάρχαϊ' ἐκείν' οἷς Θέσπις ἡγωνίζετο. Aristoph. Vesp. 1470.

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί, Θέσπις, Πρατίνας, Καρκίνος, Φρύμιχος, ὀρχηστικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο, διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτῶν ᾄσματα ἀναφέρειν εἰς ὀρχησιν τοῦ χοροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων διδάσκειν τοὺς βουλομένους ὀρχεῖσθαι Athen. i. 22.

2. See the whole passage in the Vespæ referred to in the preceding Note.

3. See Aristot. Poet. iv. 17. below Note 5.

4. Ὁ δὲ τροχαῖος κορδακικώτερος· ἐηλοῖ δὲ τὰ τετράμετρα· ἔστι γὰρ τροχερὸς ῥύθμος τὰ τετράμετρα. Arist. Rhet. iii. 7.

5. We may derive a general idea of the Drama at this time from a most important passage in Aristotle's Poetics, where he manifestly refers to a period not long antecedent to Æschylus and Sophocles:

Ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, ὃψέ ἀπεσεμνύθη· τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρον ἱαμβεῖον ἐγένετο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο, διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικώτεραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν. Poet. iv. 17.

imparted skill, regularity and unity to the movements of the chorus, were of so influential a description, <sup>1</sup> that Thespis is generally considered the Inventor of the Drama. Of Tragedy, properly so called, he does not appear to have had any idea. <sup>2</sup> Stories, more or less ludicrous, generally turning upon Bacchus

1. The author of the Platonic dialogue, in opposing the notion which referred the invention of Tragedy to Thespis, distinctly declares that such was the general opinion of the contemporaries of Socrates: ἡ δὲ τραγῳδία ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε, οὐχ ὡς οἴονται ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος ἀρξαμένη. Plato, Vol. III. p. 82.

Dioscorides assigns the origin of the Drama to Thespis in two of his Epigrams;

Θέσπιδος εὔρεμα τοῦτο· τὰδ' ἀγροῶτιν ἀν' ὕλαν  
ΠΑΪΓΝΙΑ, καὶ κώμους τοῦσδε τελειοτέρους  
ΛΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ ἐξύψωσε κ.τ.λ.

And again

Θέσπιν ὅδε, Τραγικὴν δὲ ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος αἰοιδὴν,  
Κωμῆταις νεαρὰς καινοτομῶν χάριτας.

Horace, to whom, as having been a student at Athens and well versed in the Dramatic literature of Greece, considerable weight should be allowed, declares for Thespis most explicitly in the celebrated passage (Epist. ad Pis. 275—277.)

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ  
Dicitur, et \*plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,  
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

Plutarch gives the same testimony to the claims of Thespis:—Ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν Τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν. Solon.

Clemens of Alexandria says of Thespis ἐπενόησε Τραγῳδίαν. Strom. i.

Donatus declares that 'retro prisca volventibus reperietur Thespis Tragediæ primus inventor.'

2. Bentley's opinion, that all the dramas of Thespis were confined to Bacchus, Fauns and Satyrs, is far from being incontrovertible. It is chiefly founded upon the following extract from Plutarch, supported by a passage in Zenobius and one in Suidas.

In his opening Symposiacal disquisition Plutarch thus speaks, Ὡς περ οὖν, Φρυγίχον καὶ Λισχύλον τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἰς μύθους καὶ πάθη προαγόντων, ἐλέχθη τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;—οὕτως ἔμοιγε πολλάκις εἶπεν παρέστη πρὸς τοὺς ἔλκοντας εἰς τὰ σύμποσια τὸν κυριεύοντα—Ω ἄνθρωπε, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;—Sympos. i. 1.

Zenobius gives this explanation of the phrase Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον:—Τῶν χορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον, οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον ἐκβάντες τῆς συνηθείας ταύτης Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν. Ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες ἔλεγον, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον. Διὰ τοῦν τοῦτο τοὺς Σατύρους ὕστερον ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προσισάγειν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσιν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. P. 40.

Suidas, in his explication of the same saying, after mentioning the opinion by which it was referred to the alterations of Epigenes the Sicyonian, adds Βέλτιον δὲ οὕτω· Τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες, τοῦτοις ἡγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ

\* Weleker (Nachtrag, p. 247.) controverts this ascription of the wain to Thespis; and maintains that Horace erroneously transferred the wain of Comic revellers to the incipient Drama. Such assertions however, unsupported by proof, must be cautious, admitted against the direct testimony of an ancient writer like Horace.



and his followers, interwoven with the dance and the song of a well trained chorus, formed the Drama of Thespis.

The Satyric chorus had by this time been admitted into Athens, contests were set on foot, and <sup>1</sup> the success, which attended the novelties of Thespis, sharpened, no doubt, the talents of his competitors. This emulation would naturally produce improve-

καὶ Σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὴν τραγωδίαν γράφειν, κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διονύσου μνημονεύοντες.—ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν. Καὶ Χαιμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ.

Now the term *προαγόντων* in Plutarch does not by any means negative the previous adoption of such subjects. It may well imply the existence of some rude and imperfect attempts at introducing these graver themes, which Phrynichus and Æschylus carried on to the fulness of Tragic tone. This view is in accordance with the story, which right or wrong, \* Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius record of Thespis and Solon; and agrees with the expression in Suidas κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν; where the *ἱστορίας* may seem to hint at such plays as the *Capture of Miletus* and the *Phænissæ* of Phrynichus. And the words—Χαιμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ—do certainly seem to point, as Schneider and Welcker think, to Thespis as the beginner at least of the change.

We may allow then, that in his later days the instructor of Phrynichus might have turned somewhat away from his first Satyric subjects, and adopted mythological stories less connected with Bacchus. So far we may go, and authority seems to lead. But we cannot assent to the notion, which certain scholars have maintained,—that the dramas of Thespis were of a serious cast and a high grade in style and representation.

It has indeed been argued from the Tragedies, † which appeared in later times as the productions of Thespis, that, even allowing them to be the forgeries of Heraclides Ponticus, it cannot be supposed the scholar of Aristotle would be so ignorant as to publish, under the name of Thespis, a series of plays of such a character and with such titles, as at once to have discovered the imposture. Hence there are some who still contend, that Thespis did exhibit pieces of heroic and elevated character.

Now with respect to Heraclides it may be observed, that, supposing him to have framed his plays with exact attention to what he believed or knew to be the nature of the Thespian drama, and, on this very account, to have interspersed his forgeries with didactic *gnomæ*; still it would no more follow that the exhibitions of Thespis, “*lugubria tristiaque argumenta habuerunt*” (Schneider, p. 54), than that the Comedies of Epicharmus were of a serious and pathetic nature, because we know, from the fragments of them still extant, that they were full of such moral maxims and sentiments. His imitator, Plautus, has in like manner dashed his broad farcical humour with many a grave precept and sententious remark. But further we are by no means authorized to assume, as matter of course, the scrupulous conformity of these forgeries in style, subjects, and arrangement to Heraclides' own idea of the real Thespian drama. The nature of this drama appears to have become, at this time, an object of antiquarian research: consequently none but the learned few would be able to detect the forgeries, from their inconsistency with what was ascertained concerning the genuine productions of the supposititious author. That they did so we know to have been the case ‡. Meanwhile, among the generality of readers, the pieces would long pass without suspicion, until the declaration and the proofs of their spuriousness had been slowly communicated; for in those days literary information was neither so speedily nor so extensively transmitted as in modern times. This temporary credit was probably all the writer expected for such *jeux d'esprit*.

1. See below, Chapter iii. § 1.

\* See p. 11. note 3.

† See Bentley Dissert. p. 238, &c.

‡ Bentley, lb.



ment upon improvement: but we discover no leading change in the line of the incipient Drama, until the appearance of <sup>1</sup> Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon and the pupil of Thespis.

At the close then of the sixth century before Christ, the elements of Tragedy, though still in a separate state, were individually so fitted and prepared, as to require nothing but a master hand to unite them into one whole of life and beauty. The Dithyramb presented in its solemn tone and lofty strains a rich mine of choral poetry; the regular narrative and mimetic character of the Thespian chorus furnished the form and materials of dramatic exhibition <sup>2</sup>.

To Phrynichus belongs the chief merit of this combination. Dropping the light and farcical cast of the Thespian drama, and dismissing altogether Bacchus with his satyrs, he sought for the subjects of his pieces in the grave and striking events registered in the mythology or <sup>3</sup> history of his country. This, however, was not a practice altogether original or unexampled. The fact, casu-

1. Φρύνιχος, Πολυφράδμωνος, ἡ Μινύρου· οἱ δὲ Χοροκλέους· Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, μαθητὴς Θέσπιδος. Suidas in Φρυν.

2. That the reader may compare the rise of the Grecian with that of the Roman Drama, we shall here give Livy's very interesting account: which indeed throws considerable light upon the obscurities and contradictions through which we have endeavoured to pick our way.

Et hoc sequenti anno, C. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licinio Stolone, consulibus, pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dignum memoria actum, nisi quod pacis Deum exposcendæ caussa tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium fuit: et quum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis, ludi quoque scenici nova res bellicoso populo (nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat) inter alia cælestis iræ placamina instituti dicuntur: Ceterum parva quoque (ut ferme principia omnia) et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Etruria adeiti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant, imitari deinde eos juventus, simul inconditis inter se jocularia fundentes versibus, coepere; nec absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res sæpiusque usurpando excitata: vernaculis artificibus, quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum: qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis jaciebant; sed impletas modis saturas, descripto jam ad tibicinem cantu, motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius post aliquot annos, qui ab saturnis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere (idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum actor) dicitur, quum sæpius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita, puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem quum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediabat: inde ad manum cantari histrionibus ceptum diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relictæ. Postquam lege hæc fabularum ab risu ac soluto joco res avocabatur, et ludus in artem paulatim vertaret; juventus, histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus jactitare cepit: quæ inde exodia postea adpellata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt. Quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit juventus, nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est. Eo institutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur, et stipendia, tanquam expertes artis ludieræ, faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum, ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visu est: ut adpareret, quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulenti regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit. Liv. vii. 2.

3. For instance, his *Capture of Miletus* and *Phænissa*.

ally mentioned by <sup>1</sup>Herodotus, that the Tragic choruses at Sicyon sung, not the adventures of Bacchus, but the woes of Adrastus, shews that, in the Cyclic chorus at least, melancholy incident and mortal personages had long before been introduced. There is also some reason for supposing, that the young tragedian was deeply indebted to Homer in the formation of his Drama. <sup>2</sup>Aristotle distinctly attributes to the author of the Iliad and Odyssey the primary suggestion of Tragedy; as in his Margites was given the first idea of Comedy. <sup>3</sup>Now it is an historical fact that a few years before Phrynichus began to exhibit, the Homeric poems had been collected, revised, arranged and published by the care of Pisistratus. Such an event would naturally attract attention and add a deeper interest to the study of this mighty master; and it is easy to conceive how his *μιμήσεις δραματικάι*, as Aristotle terms them, would strike and operate upon a mind, acute, ready and ingenious, as that of Phrynichus must have been. At any rate these two facts stand in close chronological connexion—the first edition of Homer, and the birth of Tragedy properly so called<sup>4</sup>.

1. Οἱ δὲ Σικυνῶνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστί κάρτα τιμῇ τὸν Ἀδρηστον...  
..... τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυνῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον, καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ  
πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον· τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ὃν τιμέωντες,  
τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν  
δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην τῷ Μελανίππῳ· ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστοῦ οἱ πεποίητο.  
Herod. v. 67.

2. Ὡς περ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἦν (μόνος γὰρ  
οὐχ ὅτι εὖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικάς ἐποίησεν) οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς κω-  
μωδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον, ἀλλὰ τό γελοῖον δραματο-  
ποίησας· ὃ γὰρ Μαργείτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥς περ Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσεια πρὸς  
τὰς τραγωδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμωδίας. Poet. iv. 12.

3. Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia litteris instructor fuisse  
traditur, quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse  
dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cicer. de Orat. iii. 34.

Πεισίστρατος ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἀλλαχού μνημονευό-  
μενα ἠθροίζετο. Pausan. vii. 26. p. 594.

Ὑστερον Πεισίστρατος συναγαγὼν, ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύ-  
σειαν. Ælian. V. H. xiii. 14.

See also Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 2.—Liban. Panegy. in Julian. T. i. p. 170. Reiske.  
Suidas v. Ὅμηρος, and Eustath. p. 5.

4. Whether the supposition we have advanced in the text be well grounded or not,  
it stands recorded that Æschylus, the immediate successor and rival of Phrynichus, avowed  
his obligations as a dramatist to Homer. In grateful acknowledgement of the benefits,  
which he had derived from the study of that great poet, he modestly declared his tragedies  
to be but *περάχῃ τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δειπνῶν*. Athen. viii. p. 313.

Taking then the ode and the tone of the Dithyramb, the mimetic personifications of Homer and the themes, which national tradition or even recent events supplied, Phrynichus combined these several materials together, and so brought them forward under the dramatic form of the Thespian exhibition. Thus, at length, does Tragedy dawn upon us.

These changes in the character of the Drama, necessarily produced corresponding alterations in its form and manner. The recitative was no longer a set of disjointed, rambling episodes of humorous legend, separated by the wild dance and noisy song of a Satyr choir, but a connected succession of serious narrative or grave conversation, with a chorus composed of personages involved in the story; all relating to one subject and all tending to one result. This recitative again alternated with a series of choral odes, composed in a spirit of deep thought and lofty poetry, themselves turning more or less directly upon the theme of the interwoven dialogue.

In correspondency with these alterations in tone and composition, the actor and the choristers must have assumed a different aspect. The performers were now the representatives not of Silenus and the Satyrs, but of heroes, princes, and their attendants. The goat-skin guise and obstreperous sportiveness were laid aside for the staid deportment of persons engaged in matters of serious business or deep affliction, and a garb befitting the rank and state of the several individuals employed in the piece. Nor are we to suppose, that, as the actor was still but one, so never more than one personage was introduced. For it is very probable that this one actor, changing his dress, appeared in different characters during the course of the play; <sup>1</sup>a device frequently employed in later times, when the increased number of actors rendered such a contrivance less necessary. <sup>2</sup>This actor sometimes represented female personages, for Phrynichus is stated to have first brought a female character on the stage.

Thus from the midst of the coarse buffooneries and rude

In accordance with this expression, are the words put into his mouth by Aristophanes, where, after speaking of Homer as the instructor of warriors, he adds

“Ὅθεν ἢ μὴ φρήν ἀπομαξαμένη πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐποίησεν  
Πατρόκλων, Γένκρων θυμολέοντων . . . . Rân. 1038.

1. See below ‘Actors,’—Chap. III. Sect. iii. 1. note.

2. Οὗτος δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Φρύνιχος γυναῖκεϊον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ Suidas in Φρύνι.



imitations of the Satyric chorus, did Tragedy start up at once in her proper, though not her perfect, form. For mighty as had been the stride towards the establishment of the Serious Drama, yet in the exhibitions of Phrynichus we find the infancy not the maturity of Tragedy. There was still many an excrescence to be removed; many a chasm to be filled up; many a rugged point to be smoothed into regularity; and many an embryo part to be expanded into its full and legitimate dimensions. The management of the piece was simple and inartificial even to rudeness. The argument was some naked incident, mythologic or historical, on which the chorus sung and the actor recited in a connected but desultory succession. There was no interweaving or developement of plot; no studied arrangement of fact and catastrophe; no skilful contrivance to heighten the natural interest of the tale, and work up the feelings of the audience into a climax of terror or of pity. <sup>1</sup>The odes of the chorus were sweet and beautiful; <sup>2</sup>the dances scientific and

1. Ἐνθεν, ὥσπερ ἡ μέλιττα,  
Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων  
μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπὸν, αἶι  
φέρων γλυκεῖαν ψῆδαν. Aristoph. Av. 748.

Of Philocleon, the old Dicast in the *Vespæ*, we are told by the chorus of his brethren

ἡγεῖτ' ἄν ἄδων Φρυνίχου· καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ  
φιλωδός. Vesp. 269.

And a little before, these fellow-dicasts are represented by Bdelycleon as summoning their aged colleague at midnight,

..... μινυρίζοντες μέλη  
ἀρχαιομελησιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα. v. 219.

Παρά τὰ μέλη καὶ τὴν Σιδῶνα καὶ τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ τὰ ἔρατὰ ἔμιξεν,  
οἷον ἀρχαῖα μέλη Φρυνίχου ἔρατὰ καὶ ἡῆσα.. Φρύνιχος δὲ ἐγένετο τρα-  
γηδίας ποιητής, ὃς ἔγραψε ὅραμα Φοινίσσας, ἐν ᾧ μέμνηται Σιδωνίων.  
τὰ δὲ μέλη εἶπε διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Schol. in loc.

2. Plutarch (Symp. iii. 9.) has preserved part of an epigram, said to have been written by the dramatist himself, in which he thus commemorates the fruitfulness of his fancy in devising figure-dances:

Σχήματα δ' ὄρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ  
Κύματα ποιεῖται χεῖματι νύξ' ὅλοή.

Aristophanes alludes to his animated style of dancing towards the close of the *Vespæ*; where the intoxicated Philocleon, charmed with the steps no less than the strains of Phrynichus, exhibits a figure-dance of his old favorite, and defies the tragedians of his day to match it:

κλήθρα χαλάσθω τάδε· καὶ δὴ γὰρ  
σχήματος ἀρχὴ  
πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπὸ ῥώμης.

dexterously given, 'but then these odes and dances still composed the principal part of the performance. They narrowed in the episodes of the actor, and threw them into comparative insignificance. <sup>2</sup>Nay, not unfrequently, whilst the actor appeared in a posture of thought, woe, or consternation, the chorus would prolong its dance and chantings, and leave to the performer little more than the part of a speechless image. <sup>3</sup>In short, the Drama of

οἶον μυκτῆρ μυκᾶται, καὶ  
σφόνδυλος ἀχει.....  
πλήσσει Φρύνιχος ὥς τις ἀλέκτωρ,  
σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλακτίζων.  
νῦν γὰρ ἐν ἄρθροισ τοῖς ἡμετέροις  
στρέφεται χαλαρά κοτυληδών. Vesp. 1484—1495:

This description betrays the existence of much Satyric vehemence in the dances of Phrynichus.

1. Διὰ τί οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον μᾶλλον ἦσαν μελοποιοί;—Ἡ διὰ τὸ πολ-  
λαπλάσια εἶναι μέλη τῶν μέτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγωidiαῖς. Aristot. Prob. xix. 31.

2. So much may be inferred from the charges which the Euripides of the *Rani* brings against Æschylus:

τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτ' ἐλέγξω,  
ὥς ἦν ἀλαζὼν καὶ φέναξ, οἷοις τε τοὺς θεατὰς  
ἐξηπάτα, μωροὺς λαβὼν παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τραφέντας.  
πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τιν' ἂν καθίσειν ἐγκαλύψας,  
'Αχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς,  
πρόσχημα τῆς τραγωidiᾶς, γρύζοντας οὐδὲ τουτί  
.....ὁ δὲ χορὸς γ' ἤρειδεν ὄρμαθους ἂν  
μελῶν ἐφεξῆς τέτταρας ξυνεχῶς ἂν οἱ δ' ἐσίγων.  
.....  
ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας, ἔν' ὁ θεατῆς προσδοκῶν καθοῖτο,  
ὁπόθ' ἢ Νιόβη τι φθέγγεταί τὸ δρᾶμα δ' ἂν διήει.  
.....  
κᾶπσιτ', ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ληρήσεις καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα  
ἤδη μεσοίη, ρήματ' ἂν βόεια δώδεκ' εἶπεν,  
ὀφρὺς ἔχοντα καὶ λόφους, δεῖν' ἄττα μορμωπά,  
ἄγνωτα τοῖς θεωμένοις. Ran. 906—924.

This, though the vituperative portraiture of the Æschylean drama, does probably give a very accurate conception of the faults and the style of Phrynichus. The preponderance of the choral parts, the comparative insignificance of the single actor, even the colossal words and turgid expressions, betoken that stage in the progress of Tragedy, where the Dithyramb, soaring not unfrequently into bombast and obscurity, had recently been united to the humbler mimes of the Satyric chorus: which again left strong traces of their intermixture in the rough and violent character of the dances, commemorated in a foregoing note.

3. The inartificial nature of those plays at least of Phrynichus which were exhibited before the public appearance of Æschylus, and their deficiency in all the high science of the art,—is most evident from various allusions in the ancients. Thus we had above, in the attack of the Aristophanic Euripides upon Æschylus, the strong expression

τοὺς

Phrynichus was a serious opera of lyric song and skilful dance, and not a tragedy of artful plot and interesting dialogue.

Such was Phrynichus as an *inventor*; <sup>1</sup>but since the poet continued to exhibit during a space of nearly forty years, and since for more than twenty of those years he had in Æschylus a contemporary and a rival, his own experience and the improvements of such an opponent would give to the later plays of Phrynichus, a character, an expansion and a refinement, in which his earlier and unaided attempts were so deficient. <sup>2</sup>The *Capture of Miletus*, which he composed at least seventeen years after his own first appearance as a dramatist, and five years after the first victory of Æschylus, was, <sup>3</sup>to judge from its effects

τοὺς θεατάς

ἐξηπάτα, μωροὺς λαβὼν παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τραφέντας. Ranæ 907.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks, ἀπατεῶν γὰρ, ὡς ἀφελέστερος ὁ Φρύνιχος.

The same fact is also forcibly declared in the address of the Chorus to Æschylus in the same comedy,

ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνὰ  
καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον. Ran. 1002.

Phrynichus, considered as the *predecessor* of the poet, concerning whom this is said, could not have ranked high as a dramatist, however excellent in dances and choral songs.

To the same conclusion lead the equally strong terms in the epigram of Dioscorides,

..... τὰδ' ἀγροιώτιν ἀν' ὕλαν

ΠΑΪΓΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΩΜΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΕΡΟΥΣ

ΑΪΣΧΥΛΟΣ ΕΞΨΩΣΕΝ, κ. τ. λ.

1. Phrynichus began to exhibit B. C. 511 : he was victor with the Phœnissæ B. C. 476, after an interval of thirty-five years. Æschylus first exhibited B. C. 499, and therefore at the time when the Phœnissæ appeared, he had been a dramatic writer twenty-three years.

It is not improbable that the Drama owed much of its succeeding magnificence to the glorious results, which the overthrow of the Persians brought especially to Athens. The achievements of her arms furnished a subject for the Dramatist, not only most noble in itself and most potent to evoke the whole strength and soul of the poet, but one of such thrilling interest to every Grecian spectator, as to throw at once over infant Tragedy a splendour, a dignity and a feeling, which no mere mythologic legend could possibly have produced. And then, to second the efforts of native genius and art, the rich spoils of the East furnished in profusion all that the theatre could require to bring forward in fitting grandeur the triumph of the conquerors.—When such was the impulse given to the developement of the Drama, it is not surprising that its advance to perfection was almost instantaneous.

2. Miletus was taken by the Persians, Olymp. lxxi. 3. B. C. 494.

3. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου αἰλώσει, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ ποίησαντι Φρυνίχῳ ἐράμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν, καὶ διδάξαντι, ἐς ἑακρὰ τε ἔπρεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐξημίωσαν μιν, ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκνῖα κακὰ, χιλίσσι δρασχρήσιν καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.—Herod. vi. 21.

a piece of no inconsiderable merit. <sup>1</sup>Eighteen years after this, he won the Tragic prize for his Choragus <sup>2</sup>Themistocles with the *Phænissæ*, a play perhaps little inferior in dramatic excellence and arrangement to the *Persæ*, which, four years afterwards, Æschylus produced on the same subject. Indeed, the poet, whose odes were characterized, even in the days of Aristophanes, as reaped from the sacred meadow of the Muses<sup>3</sup>, <sup>4</sup>sweet as the ambrosia of the bee; the poet, whose dramas were by the same admirable judge styled pieces of singular beauty<sup>5</sup>; the poet, who so long and sometimes so successfully competed with an Æschylus—must, beyond all doubt, have been no ordinary composer; and <sup>6</sup>the charge of plagiarism, which that great tragedian is represented as so studiously rebutting, is another high compliment to the powers of Phrynichus.

Still we must remember, in tracing the *inventive* improvers of Tragedy, that the real claims of Phrynichus are not to be measured by what he finally achieved through imitation of others, but by the productions of his own unassisted ingenuity and talent.

1. See the Chronological Table at the end of Chapter ii.

2. Ἐνίκησε δὲ [Θεμιστοκλῆς] καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἥδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἄγωνος ἔχοντας. Καὶ πῖνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε, τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα.—Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν.—Plutarch. in Themist. v.

3. Æschylus is thus made to speak by Aristophanes respecting his own odes,

ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐς τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ  
ἤνεγκον αὐθ', ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν Φρυνίχῳ  
λειμῶνα Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ὀφθείην ὀρέπωνν.—Ran. 1294—1296.

The reader will however remark, that Æschylus is here referring to his choral songs (*μέλη*), which Euripides had been parodying, and to no other part of the Drama. Here lay the merit of Phrynichus. Whereas, when the allusion is to the plot, dialogue and arrangement of the piece, no excellence, but much deficiency is always implied in the forerunner of Æschylus.

4. See above, p. 19, note 1.

5. The commendation is put into the mouth of the effeminate Agathon; who in attempting to prove that, as the man is in person and manner, so are his poems, proceeds

καὶ Φρύνιχος, τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν ἀκήκοας,  
αὐτὸς τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἡμπέσχετο·  
διὰ τούτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καλ' ἦν τὰ δράματα·  
ὅμοια γὰρ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει.—Thesmoph. 164.

6. See above, note 3.

It seems that such a charge did actually exist. Glaucus of Rhegium, who flourished about 400 B. C., is said to have affirmed, that Æschylus, in composing his *Persæ*, borrowed largely from the *Phænissa* of Phrynichus.—Argum. ad Pers.



In this view, those claims must almost entirely be restricted to the combination of the poetry of the Cyclic with the acting of the Thespian chorus; the conversion of Satyric gaiety into the solemnity and pathos of what was thenceforth peculiarly styled *Tragedy*. In all succeeding alterations and additions, Phrynichus seems to have been simply the follower of Æschylus.

<sup>1</sup> Between Phrynichus and Æschylus two other tragedians, Chœrilus and Pratinas, intervened; of whom very little is known.

<sup>2</sup> The dramas of Chœrilus appear originally to have been of a Satyric character, like those of Thespis. In his later days he naturally copied the improvements of Phrynichus, <sup>3</sup> and we find him accordingly contending for the tragic prize against Phrynichus, Pratinas, and Æschylus, Olymp. LXX. B. C. 499; the time when Æschylus first exhibited. <sup>4</sup> His pieces are said to have amounted to a hundred and fifty: not a fragment however remains; and, if we may trust <sup>5</sup> Hermeas and Proclus, the commentators on Plato, the loss is not very great.

<sup>6</sup> Pratinas was a native of Phlius and a poet of higher talent. He too attempted the new style of dramatic composition, and once obtained a tragic victory. But the manifest preeminence of the youthful Æschylus probably deterred the Phliasian from continuing to cultivate the graver form of the art; and led him to contrive a novel and mixed kind of play. <sup>7</sup> Borrowing from Tragedy its external form and mythological materials, Pratinas added a chorus of Satyrs, with their lively songs, gestures and movements.

1. Suidas and Eudocia. Vit. Anonym. Æschyli.—See Næck's Dissertation on Chœrilus the Samian Epic poet, Chap. i., where he treats of his namesake, the Athenian and dramatist.

2. Hence he is thus spoken of in a line from some old but unknown poet

ἦνίκα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἦν Χοιρίλος ἐν Σατύροις.

3. Suidas, Pratinas.

4. Suidas.

5. Herm. ad Phædr.—Procl. ad Tim.

6. Suidas.

7. Πρατίνας, Φλιάσιος . . . . . πρῶτος ἔγραψε σατύρους.—Suidas in Prat. See Casaubon de Satyr. Poes. p. 122, &c. Pratinas, according to Suidas, exhibited fifty dramas, of which thirty-two were Satyric.

Athenæus (xiv. p. 617.) relates the following anecdote of Pratinas; which, with the accompanying address of the poet, is perhaps curious enough to deserve transcription.

Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος, αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας, ἀγανακτεῖν τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς αὐλητὰς μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς χοροῖς, καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χοροὺς συνάδειν τοῖς αὐληταῖς· ὃν οὖν εἶχε θυμὸν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπορχήματος·

This new composition was called the *Satyrical Drama*.<sup>1</sup> The novelty was exceedingly well-timed. The innovations of Thespis and Phrynichus had banished the Satyrical chorus with its wild pranks and merriment, to the great displeasure of the commonalty; who retained a strong regret for their old amusement amidst the new and more refined exhibitions. The Satyrical Drama gave them back under an improved form the favorite diversion of former times; and was received with such universal applause, that the tragic poets, in compliance with the humour of their auditors, deemed it adviseable to combine this ludicrous exhibition with their graver pieces. One satyrical drama was added to each tragic trilogy, as long as the custom of contending with a series of plays, and not with single pieces, continued<sup>2</sup>. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were all distinguished satyrical composers; and in the *Cyclops* of the latter we possess the only extant specimen of this singular composition<sup>3</sup>.

Τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὃδε;  
 Τί τὰδε τὰ χορεύματα;  
 Τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν  
 Ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα  
 Πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν;  
 Ἐμός, ἐμός ὁ Βρόμιος.  
 Ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν.  
 Ἐμὲ δεῖ πάταγεῖν,  
 Ἄν' ὄρεα θύμενον  
 Μετὰ Ναϊδῶν,  
 Οἷά τε κύκνον, ἄγοντα  
 Ποικιλόπτερον μέλος.  
 Τᾶν ἀοιδᾶν  
 Κατέστας σὺ Πιερίσ βασιλεῖ.  
 Ὁ δ' ἀνλὸς ὕστερον χορευέτω.  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὑπὲρ ἑτάς κῶμων μόνον,  
 Θυραμάχοις τε πνυμαχίαισι  
 Νέων θέλει παρ' οἶνον ἔμμεναι στρατηλάσας.  
 Παῖε τὸν Φρυναίου ποικίλου προανέχοντα,  
 Φλέγε τὸν ὀλεσίανλοκάλαμον,  
 Λαλοβαρυπαραμελορυθμοβάταν  
 Θυπατρὺν πάνω δέμας πεπλασμένον. ἦν ἰδοῦ  
 Ἄδε σοι δεξιᾶ, καὶ πόδος διαρριφά,  
 Ὅριαμβοδιθύραμβε κισσοχαίτ' ἄναξ,  
 Ἄκουε τᾶν ἐμᾶν Δώριον χορείαν.

1. See above, p. 14. note 2.

2. See below—*Theatrical Contests*. Chap. iii. § 1.

3. The other principal Satyrical poets were Aristias, Achaus, Xenocles, Philocles, Astydamas,

Astydamas, Iophon, Plato the Comedian, Lycophron, Bion and Demetrius. See Casaub. de Sat. Poes. i. 5.—Upon the early history of Tragedy and the Satyric Drama, the German reader would do well to consult Welcker's treatise on the Trilogy of Æschylus, with its Appendix;—two volumes of much learning and ingenuity, however dubious some of the speculations they contain may appear.

APPENDIX TO SECT. I.  
 ORCHOMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

(See above, p. 8. note 2).

1583.

Μνασίνω ἄρχοντος, ἀγωνο-  
 θετίοντος τῶν Χαριτεσίων  
 Εὐάριος τῷ Πάντωνος, τύδε  
 ἐνίκωσαν τὰ Χαριτεΐσια·  
     σαλπίγκτας  
 Φιλῖνος Φιλίνω Ἀθανεῖος,  
     κάρουξ  
 Εἰρώδας Σωκράτιος Θειβεῖος,  
     ποεΐτας  
 Μήστωρ Μήστορος Φωκαieύς,  
     ῥαψάϜυδος  
 Κράτων Κλίωνος Θειβεῖος,  
     αὐλείτας  
 Περιγένεις Ἡρακλῖδαο Κουζικηνός,  
     αὐλά Ϝυδος  
 Δαμήνετος Γλανκῷ Ἀργῖος,  
     κιθαρίστας  
 Ἀγέλοχος Ἀσκληπιογένειος Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μουρίνας,  
     κιθαρά Ϝυδος  
 Δαμάτριος Ἀμαλωῖω Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μουρίνας,  
     τραγά Ϝυδος  
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Πουθέαο Ταραντῖνος,  
     κωμά Ϝυδος  
 Νικόστρατος Φιλοστράτῳ Θειβεῖος,  
     τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμά Ϝυδος  
 Εὐάρχος Ε[ῖ]ροδότῳ Κορωνεύς.

1584.

Οἶδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Χαριτησίων·  
     σαλπιστῆς  
 Μῆνις Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου,  
     κῆρυξ  
 Ζώϊλος Ζώϊλου Πάφιος,  
     ῥαψῳδός  
 Νουμήνιος Νουμηνίου Ἀθηναῖος,  
     ποιητῆς ἐπῶν  
 Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος,  
     αὐλητῆς  
 Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπολλοδότου Κρησαῖος,  
     αὐλωδός  
 Ῥοδίππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος,  
     κιθαριστῆς

Φανίας Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Φανίου, Ἀιολεύς ἀπὸ Κύμης,  
 κιθαριστὴς  
 Δημήτριος Παρμενίσκου Καλχηδόνιος,  
 τραγωδὸς  
 Ἰπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος,  
 κωμωδὸς  
 Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος,  
 ποιητὴς Σατύρων  
 Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς  
 Δωρόθεος Δωροθέου Ταραντίνος,  
 ποιητὴς τραγωδιῶν  
 Σοφοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς  
 Καβίριχος Θεοδώρου Θηβαῖος,  
 ποιητὴς κωμωδιῶν  
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς  
 Ἀτταλὸς Ἀττάλου Ἀθηναῖος.  
 Οἷδε ἐνίκων τὸν νεμητὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀμολωίων·  
 παῖδας αὐλητὰς  
 Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος,  
 παῖδας ἡγεμόνας  
 Στρατῖνος Εὐνίκου Θηβαῖος,  
 ἄνδρας αὐλητὰς  
 Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος,  
 ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας  
 Ῥοδίππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος,  
 τραγωδὸς  
 Ἰπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος,  
 κωμωδὸς  
 Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος,  
 τὰ ἐπινικία κωμωδιῶν ποιητὴς  
 Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος.

These two inscriptions were formerly in a chapel of the Virgin at Orchomenus in Bæotia. The stones are now removed. The first inscription is written in Bæotic, and is supposed by Böckh to be of older date than Olymp. 145. (B. C. 200.)

To the foregoing inscriptions we will add a third; a Thespian inscription, graved in the later age of the Roman emperors, which relates to the same subject; and then give the inferences which Böckh has drawn from these three interesting Agonistic monuments.

1585.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·  
 Ἐνείκων ἐπὶ Φλαυῖῳ Παυλείῳ ἀγωνοθετοῦντι Μου  
 σῶν, ἐ[π'] ἄρχοντι Μητροδώρῳ τῷ Ὀν[η]σιφόρου·  
 ποιητὴς προσοδίου  
 Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιενὺς  
 καὶ Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,

κήρυξ

κήρυνξ  
 Πομπήιος Ζωσίμου Θεσπιεύς,  
 σαλπικτὰς  
 Ζώσιμος Ἐπίκτου Ὀηβαῖος,  
 ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς τὸν Ἀυτοκράτορα  
 Πούπλιος Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος Νε[ω]κορείτης,  
 ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μούσας  
 Πούπλιος Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος Νε[ω]κορείτης,  
 ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν Ἀυτοκράτορα  
 Αἰμίλιος Ἐπίκτητος Κορίνθιος,  
 ποίημα εἰς τὰς Μούσας  
 Δαμόνεικος Δάμωνος Θεσπιεύς,  
 ῥαψῳδὸς  
 Εὐτυχιανὸς Κορίνθιος,  
 πυθαύλας  
 Φάβιος Ἀντιάκος Κορίνθιος,  
 κ[ι]θαριστὰς  
 Θεόδωρος Θεοδότου Νεικομηδεύς,  
 [κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας]  
 τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς τραγωδίας  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀσπένδιος,  
 ποιητὴς καινῆς κωμωδίας  
 Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς κωμωδίας  
 Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ποιη[τη]ς καινῆς τραγωδίας  
 Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς τραγωδίας  
 Ἀγαθήμερος Πυθοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος,  
 χοραύλης  
 Ὅσιος Περγαμηνός,  
 νεαρωδὸς  
 Α. Κλώδιος Ἀχιλλεὺς Κορίνθιος,  
 σατυρογράφος  
 Μ. Αἰμίλιος Ὑήττιος,  
 \*διὰ πάντων  
 Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρον Θεσπιεύς.

It was from these inscriptions that Professor Boeckh of Berlin, one of the most able and erudite scholars of this age, has drawn the conclusion, that there did exist among the Dorians a style of Drama, essentially differing from the Athenian Tragedy in its composition, form, and exhibition—in fact, a Lyric Tragedy. This opinion he first published in an Appendix to his work on the *Staatsaushaltung der Athener*, where he inserted the inscriptions. He has subsequently reprinted these inscriptions in his splendid work, the *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, with a repetition of

\* Haud dubie formulæ sententiæ est, *hunc inter omnes victores esse præstantissimum judicatum, victorem inter victores*; unde ultimo loco scriptus est.—Bœckh in loc.



of his former statement, and some additional remarks in its defence. This we will now lay at full before the reader:

Nempe n. 1583. qui titulus est antiquior, in Charitesiorum certaminibus solus tragædus et comædi duo, alter ipsorum lusorum, alter epinictorum victor, scripti sunt; et hoc loco in Charitesiis sunt tragædus et comædus, item in Homolois, omnes sine actoribus: igitur hi sunt lyrici cantores, ut n. 1586. et in Corcyraeo lapide, immo plurimis omnino locis, ubi tragædi et comædi sine actoribus memorantur. Sed præterea n. 1584. in Charitesiis tria genera scenica habentur, a prioribus distincte separata, ποιηταὶ Σατύρων, τραγωιδῶν, κωμωιδῶν, et singuli suum actorem habent: igitur hi sunt dramatici poetæ, qui sero Bæoticis ludis accesserunt; et tragicus quidem et comicus ut n. 1585, sunt Athenienses, ex quibus alter Alexander, in fine redit ut τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμωιδῶν ποιητής, ubi aut actor omissus est, aut Alexander epinictis lyricam comædiam scripsit. Satyrographus est Bæotus, ut n. 1585. ubi actor desideratur. Postremo hæc genera prorsus diversa esse docet n. 1585. ubi lyrica tragædia dicitur παλαιά, quam canit tragædus, sed scenica, quam sustinent poeta et actor, καινή; et similiter comædia.

Nempe antiquitus et ante Thespidem ac Susarionem fuerunt tragædiæ et comædiæ lyricæ; tales fuerunt tragædiæ Peloponnesiorum, qui sibi tragicam poësin vindicabant (Arist. Poet. 3.), et maxime Sicyoniorum (Herod. v. 67. coll. Themist. Or. xix. p. 487): apud quos Epigenes floruit sextus decimus ante Thespidem. Huc pertinet Arion, τραγικοῦ τρόπου inventor. Tales scripsit etiam posthac Pindarus, quæ male dramata tragica dicta sunt; tales Simonides Ceus. Uberius de ea re dixi in Œc. civ. Ath. post quæ adde Müllerum Dor. t. ii. p. 368. Welckerum Append. ad Æschyl. Trilog. Prometh. p. 243, sqq.

Aliter iudicat Lobeckius de Ætate Orphei, Diss. iv. p. 9. Primum enim reiecit sedecim tragicorum seriem a primo Epigene usque ad Thespidem, in qua Arionem a Tzetzæ tragicis adnumeratum et huic similes alios collocatos esse coniicit; quippe se vereri, ne ille Epigenes Sicyonius cothurnos suos ab Anagraphæ Sicyoniæ sutore acceperit, choros Sicyoniorum tragicos recordato, qui a tragædia tantum abesse videntur ipsi, quantum Æginetarum χοροὶ κέρτομοι a comædia. Contra mihi non probatur hoc veterum ἀναγραφῶν fastidium; vellem potius, si liceret, eius sutrinæ alumnus esse: nec quantum Sicyoniorum tragici chori, quantum Æginetarum coniici a tragædia et comædia afuerint, æstimare licet, nisi eatenus, ut non fuerint dramatici, sed lyrici, utpote chori; aliud ego discrimen non reperio, neque id demonstravit Lobeckius: immo manent tragici, manent comici Sicyoniorum et Æginetarum chori, quos nulla removeris arte. Dein Romæ fabulas tragicas comicasque ante Livium commissas esse, iisdem perhibetur argumentis doceri posse, quibus adversus Bentleium disputatum sit, ut major tragædiæ et comædiæ tribueretur vetustas. Hæc non intelligo. Nam *fabulas*, hoc est dramata, actas ante eos, quibus inventum tribuit Bentleyus, equidem certe non dixi: lyrica cantica, tragica et comica, ante illos commissas esse contendendo, qualia Pindaro et Simonidi tribuerim. Neve tragædias Pindari et Simonidis putemus a solis Byzantinis litteratoribus fictas esse, intercedent vetustiores de tragicis choris, non dramaticis quidem, testes, in quibus est Herodotus. Diogene Laertio, ix. 110. sciens abstineo, quod non satis liquet, utrum ille τραγωιδίαι et δράματα τραγικά

τραγικὰ distinxerit necne. Postremo τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾷ τραγῳδίᾳ in Orchomenia (immo Thespiensi) inscriptione memoratus non majori jure inter tragicos referri visus est, quam Iason tragædus Trallianus, qui, quum Crassi caput Arsacæ afferetur, Euripidis Bacchas in convivio cantabat (Polyæn. vii. 41): tum se errorem confessurum Lobeckius affirmat, “ubi ποιητῆς παλαιᾷ τραγῳδίᾳ allatus fuerit, ut est ποιητῆς καινῆς (non νέας) τραγῳδίᾳ.” Quantum ex his colligo, παλαιά τραγῳδία Lobeckio est tragici veteris aliqua tragædia, ex qua canticum cecinerit tragædus, καινὴ vero tragædia recens facta. Quod ne ob ipsam vocem καινῆς, non νέας, credas; καινὴ tragædia dicta est, non νέας et παλαιά, non ἀρχαία quod simul de comædia hæc adjectiva in eodem usurpantur titulo, de qua si νέας et ἀρχαία dictum esset, putares nota illa ex grammaticis antiquæ et novæ comædiæ discrimina significari: quanquam in Asianis reperiemus titulum, ubi καινὴ κωμῳδία et ἀρχαία κωμῳδία sibi opponuntur; quem hic apponerem, nisi minimum perversum haberem apographum. Sin autem ποιητῆς παλαιᾷ τραγῳδίᾳ postulatur, postulatur aliquid, quod non debet. Innumeris locis titulorum τραγῳδοὶ et κωμῳδοί, ut αὐλῳδοί, et κιθαριῳδοί, reperiuntur, sed nunquam cum poeta: nempe ea est horum generum ratio, ut poeta et musicus idem sit: ut elegos suos cecinerunt veteres auloedi, nomos citharædicos suos citharædi. Neque Iasonis exemplum quidquam nos docet, nisi vetustas fabulas etiam postea vel actas vel cantatas esse; ut ὑποκριτῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας fuit Aristomenes Atheniensis ætate Hadriani (Athen. iii. p. 115. B.), hoc est actor, qui antiquas Atticas comædias, Aristophaneas et tales, agebat coram Hadriano talium poematum amatore, sicuti etiam Augustus veterem exhibuit comædiam publicis spectaculis (Sueton. c. 89). Quapropter nihil video a Lobeckio effectum ad nostram sententiam refutandam. Superest ut, quare τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾷ τραγῳδίᾳ non possit tragædus esse qui ex vetusta tragædia canticum canat, paucis dicam.

Nam primum in his ludis consentaneum est non prisca esse cantica cantata, sed nova: non enim sola cantandi ars, sed *melica compositio* in ludis spectabatur; etiam rhapsodi in his ludis non vetusta recitant carmina, sed recens facta: quare cum poeta conjuncti sunt. Levissimi profecto ludi fuissent, in quibus cantico aliquo ex Sophoclis Antigona vel Œdipo Rege, eoque ἀπὸ σκηνῆς, brevi et aliunde decerpto, certare potuisset cantor: et sponte patet quæ cecinerunt illi in his ludis comædi et tragædi, ampliora fuisse carmina lyrica, quæ in ludis locum tueri possent. Deinde si tragædum παλαιᾷ τραγῳδίᾳ putes ex vetusta tragædia deprompsisse canticum; cur ex vetustis tragædiis sola deprompta cantica sunt? cur non integræ illæ sunt *actæ* quum tamen novæ sint actæ? Sed quod Lobeckius maxime neglexit, ipsius illam de cantore veteris tragædiæ sententiam prorsus excludit plurimum titulorum collatio, quam iterum instituo invitus. Contende igitur ex n. 1584. et 1585. has series:

1584.	1585.
τραγῳδὸς	[κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾷ κωμῳδίᾳ]
κωμῳδὸς	τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾷ τραγῳδίᾳ
ποιητῆς Σατύρων	. . . . .
ὑποκριτῆς	. . . . .
ποιητῆς τραγῳδιῶν	ποιητῆς καινῆς κωμῳδίᾳ

ὑποκριτῆς

1584.

ὑποκριτῆς  
ποιητῆς κωμωδιῶν  
ὑποκριτῆς

1585.

ὑποκριτῆς καινῆς κωμωδίας  
ποιητῆς καινῆς τραγωδίας  
ὑποκριτῆς καινῆς τραγωδίας.

Sponte patet, qui n. 1585. est κωμῳδὸς et τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας et τραγωδίας, eum n. 1584. simpliciter esse comædum et tragædum dictum: at quum comædus et tragædus simpliciter dictus non necessario vetustæ fabulæ canticum canat, et tamen ille par sit comædo et tragædo παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας et τραγωδίας, patet παλαιὰν non esse fabulam vetustam, sed genus vetustum recenti generi oppositum. Deinde qui in n. 1584. simpliciter ποιητῆς vel ὑποκριτῆς τραγωδιῶν et κωμωδιῶν dicitur, is est n. 1585. ποιητῆς vel ὑποκριτῆς καινῆς τραγωδίας et κωμωδίας: unde liquet καινὴν non esse novam fabulam vetustæ oppositam, sed genus aliud illi antiquo generi oppositum. Postremo generum ipsorum diversitas æstimari ex recentiore potest; quod quum sit dramaticum, vetus illud necessario est lyricum judicandum: et lyricum hoc tum alibi frequentissimum est, tum habetur in antiquiore titulo n. 1583. sine dramatico: unde colligas recens additum esse hoc scenicum in his ludis; ideoque ultimo loco ponitur n. 1584. in Charitesiis. Hæc ob Lobeckii auctoritatem exposui fusius, quum præsertim Hermannus in iis, quæ adversus Welckerum scripsit, in Lobeckii sententiam pedibusierit.—Böckh. Inscript. Græc. tom. i. pp. 765—7.

## CHAPTER I.

### SECT. II.

ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, AND EURIPIDES.

ÆSCHYLUS, son of Euphorion, was born of a noble family at Eleusis<sup>1</sup> in Attica, Olymp. LXIII, 4, B. C. 525. Pausanias records a story of his boyhood<sup>2</sup>, professedly on the authority of the Poet himself, which, if true, shows that his mind at a very early period had been enthusiastically struck with the exhibitions of the infant Drama. An impression like this, acting upon his fervid imagination, would naturally produce such a dream as is described. ‘Æschylus,’ says Pausanias, ‘used to tell that, when still a stripling he was once set to watch grapes in the country, and there fell asleep. In his slumbers Bacchus appeared and bade him turn his attention to the tragic art. When day dawned and he awoke, the boy, anxious to obey the vision, made an attempt and found himself possessed of the utmost facility in dramatic composition.’

At the age of twenty-five he made his first public essay as a tragic author<sup>3</sup>, Olymp. LXX, B. C. 499. The next notice<sup>4</sup> which we have of him is at Olymp. LXXII. 3, B. C. 490; when, along with his two celebrated brothers, Cynægeirus and Ameinias, he was graced at Marathon with the prize of preeminent bravery, being then in his thirty-fifth year. How dearly he valued the distinction

1. Vit. Anonym., given in Stanley’s edition of this Poet, and the Arundel Marble. The invocation to the Eleusinian goddess, which he is made to utter by Aristophanes, seems to refer to the place of his birth; and likewise to imply his initiation in the mysteries:

Δήμητερ, ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,  
Εἰναί με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων.—Ranæ, 384.

2. “Ἐφη δὲ Ἀισχύλος μεράκιον ὃν καθεύδεν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλὰς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα, κελεύσαι τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν ὥς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα (πεῖθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν) ῥῆσται ἤδη περὶώμενος ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν Attic. p. 36.

3. Suidas in Αἰσχ. From another passage already quoted (p. 23.) we learn that Pratinas and Choerilus were his antagonists.

4. Ἐν μάχῃ συνηγωνίσαστο Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐτ]ω[ν] ὡν ΔΔΔΠ. Marm. Arund. No. 49. Vit. Anonym.



there acquired by his valour we learn from Pausanias<sup>1</sup> (Attic. chap. i. 4.); where, apparently alluding to the epitaph which the exiled dramatist composed for himself, the topographer tells us, that Æschylus, out of all the topics of his glory as a poet and a warrior, selected his exploits at Marathon as his highest honour. Six years<sup>2</sup> after that memorable battle, Æschylus gained his first tragic victory, Olymp. LXXIV, B. C. 484. Four years after this was fought the battle of Salamis, in which Æschylus<sup>3</sup> took part along with his brother Ameinias; to whose extraordinary valour the ἀριστεία were decreed<sup>4</sup>. In the following year he served with the Athenian troops at Plataea<sup>5</sup>. Eight years afterwards he gained the prize<sup>6</sup> with a tetralogy, composed of the *Persæ*, the *Phineus*, the *Glaucus Potniensis*, and the *Prometheus Ignifer*, a satyric drama.

The latter part of the Poet's life is involved in much obscurity<sup>7</sup>. That he quitted Athens and died in Sicily is agreed on all hands; but the time and the cause of his departure are points of doubt and conjecture. It seems that Æschylus had laid himself open to a charge of profanation<sup>8</sup>, by too boldly introducing on the stage

1. Φρονήσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰκάζω. Καὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὡς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσέδοκᾶτο ἡ τελευταίη, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσιν καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας· ὁ δὲ τότε ὄνομα προτεθὲν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρείας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος καὶ Μῆδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας.—Thus also Athenæus (xiv. 627.): Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγραφῆναι ἠξίωσε μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ποιήσας

Ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἄν' εἰποι,  
Καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

For the whole epigram, see below, p. 36.

2. Arundel Marble.

3. Vit. Anonym.

4. Herod. viii. 93. Diod. Sic. ix. Ælian. Var. Hist. v. 19.

5. Vit. Anonym.

6. Argument. ad Pers.

7. The subject is discussed by the present learned bishop of London in his preface to the *Persæ*, p. xvi, &c., and in a note upon the Argument of the *Agamemnon*, pp. xix. and xx; and at full by Böckh, *De Græcæ Tragediæ Principibus*, capp. iv and v; which are contained in the *Miscellanea Græca Dramatica*, published by W. P. Grant, Cambridge.

8. Schlegel suggests another reason for the poet's self-exile. The German critic supposes the chief aim of his *Eumenides* to have been \*the support of the *Areiopagus*, whose

\* This opinion respecting the object of this play is probably, to a certain extent, correct. The *Eumenides*, as one piece in a connected trilogy, can scarcely be said to have been written expressly in defence of the *Areiopagus*, or that defence to have been its chief aim. But the poet might so contrive his plot as incidentally to bring in that court, and afford him an opportunity of speaking on its behalf; which is the case. In lines 683-5 (Wellauer's Edition) some such attempt as this of *Epialtes* is alluded to.

something connected with the Mysteries. He was tried and acquitted; but the peril which he had run, the dread of a multitude ever merciless in their superstitions, indignation at the treatment which he had received, joined, in all likelihood, to feelings of vexation and jealousy at witnessing the preference occasionally given to young and aspiring rivals<sup>1</sup>, were motives sufficiently powerful to induce his proud spirit to leave his native city, and seek a retreat in the court of the munificent and literary Hiero, prince of Syracuse<sup>2</sup>: where he found, as fellow-guests, Simonides, Epichar-

whose authority was at that time attacked by a demagogue named Ephialtes. "This Ephialtes was murdered one night by an unknown hand. Æschylus received the first prize in the theatrical games; but we know, at the same time, that he left Athens immediately afterwards, and passed his remaining days in Sicily. It is possible that, although the theatrical judges did him the justice to which he was entitled, he might be held in aversion by the multitude notwithstanding; and that this, without any express sentence of banishment, might have induced him to leave his native city." *Dram. Lit.* p. 107. This idea of Schlegel's does not accord with the chronology of the poet's latter days. It appears certain that Æschylus went to Sicily during the lifetime of Hiero. (See note below.) Now Hiero died B. C. 467, and the *Eumenides* was not performed till B. C. 458; consequently, if these dates be correct, Schlegel's hypothesis must be wrong.

The account in the text is grounded upon an obscure allusion in Aristotle's *Ethics*, explained by Clemens Alexandrinus and Ælian: ὁ δὲ πρᾶττει, ἀγνοήσκειν ἂν τις οἷον λέγοντες φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἢ οὐκ εἶδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν, ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά. iii. 1. p. 87.—Αἰσχύλος (says Clemens) τὰ μυστήρια ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐξειπὼν, ἐν Ἀρειῷ πάλῳ κριθεὶς οὕτως ἀφείσθη, ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν μὴ μεμνημένον. *Strom.* ii.—Ælian tells the tale in a somewhat different way; a more romantic one of course: Αἰσχύλος ὁ τραγωδὸς ἐκρίνετο ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τινὶ δράματι. Ἐτόμῳν οὖν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων βάλλειν αὐτὸν λίθοις, Ἀμεινίας ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφός, διακαλυψάμενος τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔδειξε τὴν πῆχυν ἔρημον τῆς χειρός. Ἐτυχε δὲ ἀριστεύων ἐν Σαλαμῇ ὁ Ἀμεινίας ἀποβεβλήκως τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀριστεύων ἔτυχεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ δικάσται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὑπεμνησθήσαν τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφῆκαν τὸν Αἰσχύλον. *Var. Hist.* v. 19.

1. The author of the anonymous *Life*, quoted above, mentions, amongst other reasons assigned for his voluntary banishment, a victory obtained over him by Simonides in an elegiac contest; and, what is more probable, the success of Sophocles, who carried off from him the tragic prize, according to the common account, Olymp. lxxxviii. B. C. 468. Plutarch (*vit. Cim.*) confirms the latter statement. If so, he could not have been more than a year in Sicily before Hiero's death. An anecdote of Æschylus recorded by Athenæus shows that he had met with vexations and injustice in his theatrical career: Φιλόσοφος δὲ ἦν τῶν πάντων ὁ Αἰσχύλος, ὃς καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀδίκως ποτὲ ὡς Θεόφραστος ἢ Χαιμυλέων ἐν τῇ *Περὶ Ἡδονῆς εἰρηκεν*. ἔφη "χρόνῳ τὰς τραγωδίας ἀνατιθέναι" εἰδὼς ὅτι κομμεῖται τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμὴν. viii. 347.

Hermann contends that Æschylus visited Sicily three, or even four times, and thus endeavours to reconcile the jarring accounts of the poet's emigration. *Opusc.* Vol. II. De Choro *Eumenid.* Dissert. 2.

2. Ἀπῆρε δὲ εἰς Ἱέρωρα τὸν Σικελίας τῦραννον. *Vit. Anonym.*—So Pausanias: Καὶ ἐς Συρακοῦσας πρὸς Ἱέρωρα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν. i. 2—Also Plutarch: Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὕτω [Αἰσχύλος] εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ Σιμωνίδης πρότερον. De Exilio.—Æschylus . . . . in Siciliam secessit, ibique Catanae,



mus and Pindar. This must have been before Olymp. lxxxviii, 2, B. C. 467<sup>1</sup>, for in that year Hiero died. In Sicily he composed a drama<sup>2</sup>, entitled *Ætna*, to gratify his royal host, who had recently founded a city of that name. During the remainder of his life it is doubtful whether he ever returned to Athens. If he did not, those pieces of his, which were composed in the interval, might be exhibited on the Athenian stage under the care of some friend or relation, as was not unfrequently the case. Among these dramas was the Orestean tetralogy<sup>3</sup>, which won the prize Olymp. lxxx, 2, B. C. 458, two years before his death. At any rate, his residence in Sicily must have been of considerable length, as it was sufficient to affect the purity of his language. We are told by Athenæus<sup>4</sup> that many Sicilian words are to be found in his later plays.

Æschylus died at Gela<sup>5</sup> in the sixty-ninth year of his age, Olymp. lxxxix, B. C. 456. His death<sup>6</sup>, if the common account be true, was of a most singular nature. Sitting motionless, in silence and meditation, in the fields, his head, now bald from years,

eo tempore quo Hiero Syracusarum tyrannus eam urbem de novo condens a vicino monte Ætnam appellavit, sedes fixit. Post obitum autem Hieronis et Thrasybuli Hieronis fratris exilium, Gelam videtur migrasse. Prideaux in Marm. Arundel.

1. Diod. Sic. xi. 56. See Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*.

2. Vit. Anonym.—Æschyli tragœdia est, quæ inscribitur Ætna. In hac cum de Palicis loqueretur sic ait, &c. Macrobi. Saturn. v. 19. See Pindar. Pyth. i. 68, &c.

3. Argument. ad Agamem. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1155.

4. Οὐκ ἀγνωῶ δὲ, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατοικοῦντες ἀσχεδῶρον καλοῦσι τὸν σύαγρον. Αἰσχύλος γοῦν ἐν Φορκίσι, παρεκάζων τὸν Περσέα τῷ ἀγρίῳ τούτῳ συῖ, φησὶν

"Εδν δ' ἐς ἄντρον ἀσχεδῶρος ὤς.

"Οτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος, διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ, πολλὰς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Athen. ix. p. 402. b.—To the same effect Eustathius: Χρήσις δὲ φασιν ἀσχεδῶρον παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ διατρίψαντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ εἰδότε. Ad Odyss. p. 1372.—And Macrobius: Ita et Dii Palici in Sicilia coluntur; quos primum omnium Æschylus tragicus, *in utique Siculus*, in literas dedit, &c. &c. Saturnal. v. 19.

Some Sicilian forms are to be found in his extant plays: thus, πεδάρσιος, πεδαίχμιοι, πεδάροιοι, μάσσων, μᾶ, &c. for μετάρσιος, μεταίχμιοι, μετέωροι, μείζων, μῆτερ, &c. See Blomfield, *Prom. Vinc.* 277. Gloss., & Böckh de Trag. Græc. c. v. Miscell. Dram. Grant. Camb.

5. Ἀφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς, βιώσας ἔτη [Δ]ΔΠΙΠΙ, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν [Γέλ]α τῆς [Σ]ικελίας ἔτη Η[Δ]ΔΔΔΠΙ, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ προτέρου. Mar. Arund. no. 50.

6. Vit. Anonym. Suidas in Χελώνη μυῶν. Valer. Max. ix. 2. Ælian. Hist. Animal. vii. 16.

was mistaken for a stone by an eagle, which happened to be flying over him with a tortoise in her bill. The bird dropped the tortoise to break the shell; and the poet was killed by the blow. The Geloans<sup>1</sup>, to show their respect for so illustrious a sojourner, interred him with much pomp in the public cemetery, and engraved on his tomb the following epitaph, which had been composed by himself:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει  
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.  
Ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἄν ἔποιι,  
Καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

Æschylus is said to have composed seventy dramas<sup>2</sup>, of which five were Satyric, and to have been thirteen times victor.

This great dramatist was in reality the Creator of Tragedy<sup>3</sup>. He added a second actor to the locutor of Thespis and Phrynichus, and thus introduced the regular dialogue. He abridged the immoderate length of the choral odes, making them subservient to the main interest of the plot, and expanded the short episodes into scenes of competent extent. To these improvements in the economy of the Drama he added the decorations of art in

1. Vit. Anonym. Plutarch. in Cimon. Athen. xiv. 627.

2. Vit. Anonym. The words of Pausanias, however, would almost imply a larger proportion of Satyric dramas: *τούτῳ τῷ Ἀριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνῳ τῷ πατρί εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰσχύλου δοκιμώτατα*. Corinth. xiii. In fact, considerable discrepancy exists respecting the number of plays ascribed to Æschylus. The writer of the Anonymous Life assigns him seventy, Suidas ninety; Fabricius has reckoned up at least a hundred, the names of which are recorded in the works of the ancients: of these several are evidently satyric. See Mus. Crit. V. p. 79.

For an analysis of the seven extant tragedies of Æschylus, and an estimate of his character as a dramatist, see the extracts from Schlegel in a later part of this work.

3. Τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἠλάττωσε, καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστὴν παρεσκεύασε. Aristot. Poet. §. iv. 16.

Θέσπις ἑνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν . . . καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος. Diog. Laert. in Platon.

Ἐχρήσατο δὲ ὑποκριτῇ πρῶτον μὲν Κελάνδρῳ . . . δεύτερον αὐτῷ προσῆψε Μιόνισκον τὸν Χαλκιδέα. Vit. Robertelli Edit. præfix.

The following account of the Æschylean chorus is taken from Heeren De Choris Tragicis, printed in the Classical Journal, No. LIX:

Ex brevi hæc fabularum Æschyli delineatione patet, omnes Æschyli fabulas tria continere episodica vel actus, intervalla autem eorum chori cantus occupare. Interdum tamen chorus vel vehementiori affectu excitatus, vel æconomia fabulae postulanti, mediis actibus intercinat, ut adeo duo sint chororum genera, quorum prius constiterunt ii, qui in principio et fine cujusve episodii intercedunt, alterum ii, qui mediis interdum actibus intercinunt. Qui ad primum genus pertinent, commode ad tres classes revocari possunt. sunt enim chori carmina vel hymni, vel threni, vel tradit in iis poeta bona precepta ad vitam bene instituendam necessaria, ex iis, quæ modo in scenâ gesta erant, petita." P. 33. §. 6.

its exhibition. A regular stage, with appropriate scenery<sup>1</sup>, was erected; the performers were furnished with becoming dresses, and raised to the stature of the heroes represented, by the thick-soled cothurnus<sup>2</sup>; whilst the face was brought to the heroic cast

1. Primum Agatharcus Athenis, Æschylo docente tragœdiam, scenam fecit, et de eâ commentarium reliquit. Vitruv. Præf. libri vii.

2. Post hunc [Thespin] personæ pallæque repertor honestæ

Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,

Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. Horat. Epist. ad Pis. 279.

So Suidas: Αἰσχύλος εὗρε προσωπεῖα δεινὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα ἔχειν τοὺς τραγικοὺς, καὶ ταῖς ἀρβύλαις, ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐμβάταις, κεχρησθαι.

By Aristophanes Æschylus is made thus to advert to his improvements in the dresses of Tragedy:

καῶλως εἰκὸς τοὺς ἡμιθέους τοῖς ῥήμασι μείζοσι χρῆσθαι·

καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἡμῶν χρωῶνται πολὺ σεμνοτέροισιν.

ἀ' μοῦ χρηστῶς καταδείξαντος διελυμίνω σύ. Ranæ, 1058.

The following passages from Athenæus and Philostratus, though long, are too important to be omitted:

Καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐξεῦρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα, ἣν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἱεροφάνται καὶ δαδούχοι ἀμφιέννυνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ σχήματα ὀρχηστικά αὐτὸς ἐξευρίσκων ἀνείδου τοῖς χορευταῖς. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν πρῶτον αὐτόν φησι σχηματίσαι τοὺς χοροὺς ὀρχηστοῖ-  
δασκάλοις οὐ χρησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς χοροῖς τὰ σχήματα ποι-  
οῦντα τῶν ὀρχήσεων, καὶ ὅλως πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς τραγωδίας οἰκονομίαν εἰς  
ἑαυτὸν περιῆσταν. Ὑπεκρίνετο γοῦν μετὰ τοῦ εἰκότος τὰ δράματα. Ἀρι-  
στοφάνης γοῦν (παρὰ δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἡ περὶ τῶν τραγικῶν ἀπόκειται πίσ-  
τις) ποιεῖ αὐτὸν τὸν Αἰσχύλον λέγοντα

τοῖσι χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματ' ἐποίουν.

καὶ πάλιν·

Τοῦς Φρύγας οἶδα θεωρῶν,

ὅτε τῷ Πριάμῳ συλλυσόμενοι τὸν παῖδ' ἦλθον τεθνεῶτα,

πολλὰ τοιαυτὰ καὶ τοιαυτὰ καὶ δεῦρο σχηματίσαντας.

Ἀριστοκλῆς γοῦν φησὶν, ὅτι Τελέστης ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὀρχηστής οὕτως ἦν τεχνίτης, ὥστε ἐν τῷ ὀρχεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑπτα ἐπὶ Θήβας, φανερά ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα δι' ὀρχήσεως. Athen. Epit. Lib. i. p. 21.

Philostratus thus speaks of Æschylus:

Ποιητὴς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγωδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὁρῶν ἀκατά-  
σκεινόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, ἥ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς, ἀποτάδην  
ὄντας, ἥ τὰς ὑποκριτῶν ἀντελέξεις εὐρείας, παραιτησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονοῦδων  
μῆκος· ἥ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθυήσκειν ἐπενόησεν, ὥς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάτ-  
τοι.—Σκευοποιᾶς μὲν ἠψατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἵδεσιν ὀκρί-  
βαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἀνεβίβασεν, ὥς ἴσα ἐκαίνης βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασι  
τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἃ πρόσφορον ἥρωσι τε καὶ ἡρώεσιν ἦσθησθαι. Vit.  
Apollonii, vi. 11.

And again: Εἰ γὰρ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐνθυμηθείμην, ὥς πολλὰ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ  
ξυμβάλετο, ἐσθῆτί τε αὐτὴν κατασκενάσας, καὶ ὀκρίβαντι ὑψηλῷ, καὶ  
ἡρώων εἵδεσιν, ἀγγέλοις τε καὶ ἐξαγγέλοις, καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ  
σκηνῆς χρὴ πράττειν, τοῦτο καὶ εἰὴ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι ὁ Γοργίας. Vit.  
Gorg. i. 9.

by a mask of proportionate size and strongly marked character ; which was also so contrived as to give power and distinctness to the voice. And the hero of Marathon and Salamis did not disdain to come forward in person as an actor, like his predecessor Thespis. <sup>1</sup> He paid moreover great attention to the choral dances, and invented several figure dances himself : in which, declining the assistance of the regular ballet-masters, he carefully instructed his choristers : one of whom, Telestes, was such a proficient in the art, as distinctly to express by dance alone the various occurrences of the play. Among his other improvements is mentioned the introduction of a practice, which subsequently became established as a fixed and essential rule, the removal of all deeds of bloodshed and murder from public view<sup>2</sup>. In short, so many and so important were the alterations and additions of Æschylus, that he was considered by the Athenians as the Father of Tragedy<sup>3</sup>; and, as a mark of distinguished honour paid to his merits, they passed a decree after his death, that a chorus should be allowed to any poet who chose to re-exhibit the dramas of Æschylus<sup>4</sup>.

1. See above Athenæus and Philostratus.

2. Philostratus, in the passage just quoted, and Horace—

Ne pueros coram populo Medæa trucidet,  
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus.

Epist. ad Pis. 185.

Athenæus ascribes to Æschylus a singular novelty in the practice of the drama ;—the occasional introduction of characters in a state of intoxication upon the stage,—which, says this compiler, was in accordance with the poet's own habits.

Καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐγὼ φαίμην ἂν τοῦτο διαμαρτάνειν· πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐχ, ὥς ἐνιοὶ φασίν, Εὐριπίδης παρήγαγε τὴν τῶν μεθύνωντων ὄψιν εἰς τραγῳδίαν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Καβείροις εἰσάγει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα μεθύοντας. ἃ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τραγῳδιοποιὸς ἐποίει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἥρωσι περιέθηκε· μεθύων γοῶν ἔγραφε τὰς τραγῳδίας· εἰὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς αὐτῷ μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι, ὦ Αἰσχύλε, εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐκ εἰδώς γε ποιεῖς· ὥς ἱστορεῖ Χαιμυλέων ἐν τῇ περὶ Αἰσχύλου. x. p. 426.—The same observation of Sophocles is given in the same words, i. p. 22.

This failing is also mentioned by Plutarch—καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον φασὶ τραγῳδίας πίνοντα ποιεῖν καὶ διαθερμαινόμενον. Symp. i. 5. :—by Callisthenes : οἱ γὰρ, ὡς τὸν Αἰσχύλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ἔφη πον, λέγων τὰς τραγῳδίας ἐν οἴνῳ γράφειν, ἐξορμῶντα καὶ ἀναθερμαίνοντα τὴν ψυχὴν. Lucian. Encom. Demosth. : and by Eustathius, Odyss. θ'. p. 1598.

3. —Ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἡγοῦντο. Philost. Vit. Apoll. vi. 11.

And thus the Chorus in the Rantæ address him :

Ἄλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά  
Καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον. V. 1004.

So Quintilian : Tragædias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit. x. 1.

4. Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα εἰς Διονύσια. Ἐὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων,



In philosophical sentiments, Æschylus is said to have been a Pythagorean<sup>1</sup>. In his extant dramas the tenets of this sect may occasionally be traced; as, deep veneration in what concerns the gods<sup>2</sup>; high regard for the sanctity of an oath and the nuptial bond<sup>3</sup>; the immortality of the soul<sup>4</sup>; the origin of names from imposition and not from nature<sup>5</sup>; the importance of numbers<sup>6</sup>; the science of physiognomy<sup>7</sup>; and the sacred character of suppliants<sup>8</sup>.

Aristophanes, in that invaluable comedy, the Frogs, has sketched a most lively character of Æschylus; and thus enabled us to ascertain the light, in which he was regarded by his immediate posterity.

<sup>9</sup>His temper is there depicted as proud, stern, and impatient;

-φισαμένων, ἀνεδιδάσκετο, καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καινῆς. Philost. Vit. Apoll. vi. 11.—Also, Vit. Anonym.—Aristophanes alludes to this custom of re-exhibiting the dramas of Æschylus in the opening of the Acharnians, where Dicaopolis complains

ἀλλ' ὠδυνήθην ἕτερον αὖ τραγωδικόν,  
ὅτε δὴ κεχήνη προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον,  
ὁ δ' ἀνείπεν· “εἰσαγ', ὦ Θεόγνι, τὸν χορόν.” V. 9, &c.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks: Τιμῆς δὲ μεγίστης ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ὁ Αἰσχύλος, καὶ μόνον αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔραματα ψηφίσματι κοινῶ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐδιδάσκετο. The allegation of the Poet, (Ranæ, 868.)

“Ὅτι ἡ ποιήσις οὐχὶ συντέθνηκέ μοι,

is also supposed by the Scholiast to refer to this decree. Quintilian assigns a very different reason for this practice, when, speaking, of Æschylus as “rudis in plerisque et incompositus,” he goes on, “propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre posterioribus poetis Athenienses permisere, suntque eo modo multi coronati.” x. 1. What authority he had for such an assertion does not now appear.

1. Veniat Æschylus, non poeta solum, sed etiam Pythagoreus; sic enim accepimus. Cicero Tusc. Disp. ii. 9.

2. Agamem. 360.

3. Eumen. 208. Enfield's History of Philosophy, Vol. i. p. 392.

4. Choëph. 320.

5. Agam. 683. Prom. Vinct. 85. 852.

6. Prom. Vinct. 457. Enfield, 383.

7. Agam. 769.

8. Supp. 342. Eumenid. 226. See a paper in the Classical Journal (No. xxii. p. 207, &c.), entitled ‘on the Philosophical Sentiments of Æschylus.’

9. Ξανθίας. ἦπου βαρέως οἶμαι τὸν Αἰσχύλον φέρειν.

Αἰακός. ἔβλεψε δ' οὖν ταυρηδὸν ἐγκύψας κάτω.—Ran. 802.

Χορός. ἦπου δεινὸν ἐριβρεμέτας χόλον ἐνδοθεὺς ἔξει. 813.

τότε δὴ μανίας ὑπὸ δεινῆς

ὄμματα στροβήσεται.—815.

Διόνυσος.

παῦ' Αἰσχύλε,

καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν σπλάγχθα θερμῆς κότῳ.—842.

\* \* \* \* \*  
σύ δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν Αἰσχύλ', ἀλλὰ πραόνως  
ἔλεγχε...

σύ δ' εὐθὺς ὥσπερ πρῖνος ἐμπρησθεὶς βοᾷς.—855.

Αἰσχύλος.



<sup>1</sup>his sentiments pure, noble, and warlike; <sup>2</sup>his genius inventive, magnificent, and towering, even to occasional extravagance; <sup>3</sup>his

Αἰσχύλος. οἶμοι τάλας.  
Διόνυσος. σιώπα.  
μὴ πρῖε τοὺς ὀδόντας.—924.

Χορός. μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀντίλεξεις. 996.

1. Αἰσχύλος. ὅθεν ἢ 'μὴ φρὴν ἀπομαξαμένη πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐποίησεν,  
Πατρόκλων, Τεύκρων θυμολέοντων, ἵν' ἐπαίρομι' ἄνδρα πολίτην  
ἀντεκτείνειν αὐτὸν τούτοις, ὅποταν σάλπιγγος ἀκούσῃ.  
ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί', οὐ Φαίδρας ἐποιοῦν πόρνας, οὐδὲ Σθενεβοίας·  
οὐδ' οἷδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρώσαν πώποτ' ἐποίησα γυναῖκα.  
Εὐριπίδης. μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι.  
Αἰσχύλος. μηδέ γ' ἐπέιη.—Ranæ. 1038.

Αἰσχύλος. ἀλλ' ἀποκρύπτειν χρὴ τὸ πονηρὸν τὸν γε ποιητὴν,  
καὶ μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν  
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖσιν δ' ἡβῶσι ποιηταί.  
πάνυ δὴ δεῖ χρηστὰ λέγειν ἡμᾶς.—Ib. 1051.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Αἰσχύλος. σκέψαι τοῖνυν οἶους αὐτοὺς παρ' ἐμοῦ παρεδέξατο πρῶτον,  
εἰ γενναίους καὶ τετραπύχεις, καὶ μὴ διαδρασιπολίτας  
μηδ' ἀγοραίους μηδὲ κοβάλους, ὥσπερ νῦν, μηδὲ πανούργους·  
ἀλλὰ πνέοντας δόρυ καὶ λόγχας καὶ λευκολόφους τρυφαλείας  
καὶ πῆληκας καὶ κνημίδας καὶ θυμοὺς ἐπταβοείους.

Εὐριπίδης. καὶ τί σὺ δράσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς γενναίους ἐξεδίδαξας;  
Αἰσχύλος. δράμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν.

Διόνυσος. ποῖον;

Αἰσχύλος. τοὺς ἑπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας·

ὃ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἂν τις ἀνὴρ ἡράσθη δαῖος εἶναι.

Διόνυσος. τουτὶ μὲν σοι κακὸν εἴργασται· Θηβαίους γὰρ πεποίηκας  
ἀνδρειοτέρους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ τούτου γ' οὐκ εἶνα τύπτου.

Αἰσχύλος. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν αὐτ' ἐξῆν ἀσκεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐτράπευσθε.  
εἶτα εἰδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξεδίδαξα  
νικᾶν αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, κοσμήσας ἔργον ἄριστον.—Ib. 1011.

2. φρενοτέκτονος ἀνδρός  
ρήματα.—Ran. 819.

3. Χορός. ἔσται δ' ὑψιλόφων τε λόγων κορυθαίολα νείκη,  
σχινδαλάμων τε παραξόνα, σμιλεύματά τ' ἔργων,  
φωτὸς ἀμνηνομένου φρενοτέκτονος ἀνδρός

ρήμαθ' ἱποβαμόνα.

φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιάς λασιαύχενα χαίταν,  
δεινὸν ἐπισκύνιον ξυνάγων βρυχώμενος ἥσει  
ρήματα γομφοπαγῇ, πινακηδὸν ἀποσπῶν  
γυγενεῖ φυσημάτι·

ἔνθεν δὴ στοματουργὸς ἐπὼν βασανίστρια, λίσπη  
γλῶσσ' ἀνελισσομένη, φθονερούς κινουσα χαλινούς,  
ρήματα δαιομένη, καταλεπτολογήσει  
πλευμόνων πολὺν πόνον.—Ran. 817.

Εὐριπίδης.

style bold, lofty, and impetuous, full of gorgeous imagery and ponderous expressions; 'whilst in the dramatic arrangement of his pieces there remained much of ancient simplicity and some-

Εὐριπίδης. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον καὶ διέσκεμμαι πάλοι,  
ἄνθρωπον ἀγριοποιὸν, ἀνθαδόστομον,  
ἔχοντ' ἀχάλινον, ἀκρατές, ἀπύλωτον στόμα,  
ἀπεριλάλητον, κομποφακελοῖρήμονα.—Ran. 835.

Χορός. τὸν δ' ἀνασπῶντ' αὐτοπρέμνοισιν  
τοῖς λόγοισιν ἐμπεσόντα  
συσκειδᾶν πολλὰς ἀλινδήθρας ἐπῶν.—Ran. 900.

Εὐριπίδης. κᾶπειτ', ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ληρήσειε καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα  
ἦδη μεσοίῃ, ῥήματ' ἂν βόεια δῶδεκ' εἶπεν,  
ὁφρῦς ἔχοντα καὶ λόφους, δεῖν' ἅττα μορμωρῶπά,  
ἄγνώτα τοῖς θεωμένοις—  
ἀλλ' ἢ Σκαμάνδρους, ἢ τάφρους, ἢ 'π' ἀσπίδων ἐπόντας  
γρυπαιέτους χαλκηλάτους, καὶ ῥήμαθ' ἱππόκρημνα,  
ἀ' ξυμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥᾶδι' ἦν.—Ran. 921.

Αἰσχύλος. σὺ δ', ὦ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρέ, ποῖ ἅττ' ἐστὶν ἅττ' ἐποίεις;  
Εὐριπίδης. οὐχ ἱππαλεκτρυνόας μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ τραγελάφους, ἅπερ σὺ,  
ἂν τοῖσι παραπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς γράφουσιν  
ἀλλ' ὡς παρέλαβον τὴν τέχνην παρὰ σοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εὐθύς  
οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐπαχθῶν,  
ἴσχνανα μὲν πρῶτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀφείλον.  
Ran. 934.

In the Nubes Pheidippides enrages his father, Strepsiades, by ironically declaring  
ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχύλον νομίζω πρῶτον ἐν ποιηταῖς,  
ψόφου πλέων, ἀξύστατον, στόμφακα, κρημνοποιόν.—1348.

Æschylus replies to the attacks of Euripides on his phraseology—

——— ἀλλ', ὦ κακὸδαίμων, ἀνάγκη  
μεγάλων γυναιῶν καὶ διανοιῶν ἴσα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τίττειν.  
κᾶλλως εἰκὸς τοὺς ἡμιθέους τοῖς ῥήμασι μείζονσι χρῆσθαι.  
Ran. 1056.

1. Εὐριπίδης. καὶ μὴν ἐμαυτὸν μὲν γε, τὴν ποίησιν οἶός εἰμι,  
ἐν τοῖσιν ὑστάτοις φράσω, τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτ' ἐλέγξω,  
ὡς ἦν ἀλαζών καὶ φέναξ, οἷς τε τοὺς θεατὰς  
ἐξηπάτα, μωροὺς λαβῶν παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τραφέντας.  
πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τιν' ἂν καθίσεν ἐγκαλύψας,  
'Αχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς,  
πρόσχημα τῆς τραγωδίας, γρύζοντας οὐδὲ τουτί.

——— ὁ δὲ χορός γ' ἤρειδεν ὄρμαθους ἂν  
μελῶν ἐφεξῆς τέτταρας ξυνεχῶς ἂν οἱ δ' ἐσίγων.

Διόνυσος. ————— τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδρας' ὁ δεῖνα;

Εὐριπίδης. ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας, ἵν' ὁ θεατὴς προσδοκῶν καθοίτο,  
ὁπόθ' ἢ Νιόβη τι φθέγγεται· τὸ δρᾶμα δ' ἂν διήει·  
\* \* \* \* \*

κᾶπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ληρήσειε καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα  
ἦδη μεσοίῃ, ῥήματ' ἂν βόεια δῶδεκ' εἶπεν, κ. τ. λ.

Ranæ 905.

what even of uncouth rudeness. <sup>1</sup> Yet still in the estimation of the right-minded and judicious he ranked supreme in Tragedy. Even the majestic dignity of Sophocles bows at once before the gigantic powers of Æschylus; and nothing save ignorance and vitiated taste dare for a moment to set up a rival in the philosophic Euripides.

With the portrait, thus drawn by Aristophanes, the opinions

1. **Ξανθίας.** τί δῆτα τουτὶ τεθορύβηκεν Αἰσχύλον;  
**Αἰακός.** ἐκεῖνος εἶχε τὸν τραγωδικὸν θρόνον,  
 ὡς ὢν κράτιστος τὴν τέχνην.  
**Ξανθίας.** νυνὶ δὲ τίς;  
**Αἰακός.** ὅτε δὴ κατήλθ' Εὐριπίδης, ἐπεδείκνυτο  
 τοῖς λωπόδύταις καὶ τοῖσι βαλαντιητόμοις  
 καὶ τοῖσι πατραλοῖαισι καὶ τοιχωρύχοις,  
 ὅπερ ἔστ' ἐν Αἰδοῦ πλήθος· οἱ δ' ἀκροώμενοι  
 τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν καὶ λυγισμῶν καὶ στροφῶν  
 ὑπερεμάνησαν, κἀνόμισαν σοφώτατον.  
 κάπειτ' ἐπαρθείς ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνον,  
 ἵν' Αἰσχύλος καθῆστο.
- Ξανθίας.** κούκ ἐβάλλετο;  
**Αἰακός.** μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος ἀνεβόα κρίσιν ποιεῖν,  
 ὁπότερος εἴη τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος.
- Ξανθίας.** ὁ τῶν πανούργων;  
**Αἰακός.** νῆ Δί', οὐράνιον γ' ὅσον.  
**Ξανθίας.** μετ' Αἰσχύλου δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἕτεροι σύμμαχοι;  
**Αἰακός.** ὀλίγον τό χρηστόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε.  
**Ξανθίας.** τί δῆθ' ὁ Πλούτων δρᾶν παρασκευάζεται;  
**Αἰακός.** ἀγῶνα ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ κρίσιν  
 κἀλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης.
- Ξανθίας.** κάπειτα πῶς  
 οὐ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνου;  
**Αἰακός.** μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἔκυσε μὲν Αἰσχύλον,  
 ὅτε δὴ κατήλθε, κἀνέβαλε τὴν δεξιάν,  
 κἀκεῖνος ὑπεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θρόνου.  
 νυνὶ δ' ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἔφη Κλειδημίδης,  
 ἔφεδρος καθεδεῖσθαι· κἂν μὲν Αἰσχύλος κρατῇ,  
 ἔξιν κατὰ χώραν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, περὶ τῆς τέχνης  
 διαγωνιεῖσθ' ἔφασκε πρὸς γ' Εὐριπίδην. *Ran.* 767.

And the parting charge which Æschylus gives to Pluto, is

σὺ δὲ τὸν θάκον  
 τὸν ἐμὸν παράδος Σοφοκλεῖ τηρεῖν,  
 καὶ διασώζειν, ἣν ἄρ' ἐγὼ ποτε  
 δεῦρ' ἀφίκωμαι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἐγὼ  
 σοφία κρίνω δεύτερον εἶναι. *Ran.* 1511.

This opinion was not however held by all. Aristodemus the Little (Ἀριστοδήμος ὁ Μικρός), in a catechizing by Socrates, gives the first rank in the Epic to Homer, in the Dithyramb to Melanippides, in statuary to Polyclethus, in painting to Zeuxis, and in Tragedy to Sophocles. Xen. Mem. i. iv. 3.—Sophocles seems also to be the decided favorite with Longinus. See page 50, note 1.

of the ancient critics in general coincide. <sup>1</sup> Dionysius lauds the splendour of his talents, the propriety of his characters, the originality of his ideas, the force, variety, and beauty of his language. <sup>2</sup> Longinus speaks of the bold magnificence of his imagery; whilst he condemns some of his conceptions as rude and turgid, and his expressions as not unfrequently overstrained. <sup>3</sup> Quintilian again, among the Romans, assigns him the praise of dignity in sentiment, sublimity of idea, and loftiness in style; although often overcharged in diction and irregular in composition.—Such, in the eyes of antiquity, was the Shakspeare of the Grecian Drama.

<sup>4</sup> Colonus, a beautiful village little more than a mile from Athens, gave birth to SOPHOCLES, in the second year of the seventy-first Olympiad, B. C. 495. <sup>5</sup> He was consequently thirty years junior to Æschylus and fifteen senior to Euripides. <sup>6</sup> Sophilus, his father, a man of opulence and respectability, <sup>7</sup> bestowed upon his son a careful education in all the literary and personal accomplishments of his age and country. The powers of the future dramatist were developed, strengthened, and refined by a careful instruction in the principles of music and poetry; whilst the graces

1. Ὁ δὲ οὖν Αἰσχύλος, πρῶτος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἐχόμενος, καὶ ἡθῶν καὶ παθῶν τὸ πρέπον εἰδώς, καὶ τῇ τροπικῇ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ λέξει διαφερόντως κεκοσμημένος· πολλαχού δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ ποιήτης ἰδίῳ ὀνομάτων καὶ πραγμάτων. Εὐριπίδου δὲ καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ ποικιλύτερος ταῖς τῶν προσώπων ἐπεισαγωγαῖς.—Dionys. Halicarn. De Poet. Vet. ii. 9.

2. Αἰσχύλου φαντασιαῖς ἐπιτολμῶντος ἡρωικωτάταις, . . . ἐνίοτε μέντοι ἀκατεργάστους καὶ οἰονεῖ ποκοειδεῖς τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ἀμαλάκτους φέροντος.—Sect. xv.

The same critic observes of a quotation, given by him without the author's name, but which Johannes Siceliotes quotes expressly as taken from the Orithya of Æschylus:—Οὐ τραγικὰ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρατραγῶδα . . . τεθλῶνται γὰρ τῇ φράσει, καὶ τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασιαῖς μᾶλλον, ἢ δεδεῖνται, κἄν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐγὰς ἀνασκοπῆς, ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπονοσθεῖ πρὸς τὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον.—Sect. iii.

3. Tragœdias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit, sublimis et gravis, et grandiloquus sape usque ad vitium, sed rudis in plerisque et in-compositus—Quintil. x. 1.

4. Vit. Anonym.

5. Æschylus was born B. C. 525; Euripides, B. C. 480.

6. Vit. Anonym.

7. Καλῶς τε ἐπαιδεύθη καὶ ἐτράφη ἐν εὐπορίᾳ. Διεπονήθη δὲ ἐν παισί καὶ περὶ παλαίστραν καὶ μουσικὴν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἐστεφανώθη, ὥς φησὶν Ἰστρος. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. Vit. Anon.

So also the quotation from Athenæus in the succeeding note.



of a person, eminently handsome, derived fresh elegance and ripened into a noble manhood amidst the exercises of the palaestra. The garlands, which he won, attested his attainments in both these departments of Grecian education. <sup>1</sup> A still more striking proof of his personal beauty and early proficiency is recorded in the fact, that, when, after the battle of Salamis, the population of Athens stood in solemn assembly round the trophy raised by their valour, Sophocles, at the age of sixteen, was selected to lead with dance and lyre the chorus of youths, who performed the pæan of their country's triumph.

The commencement of his dramatic career was marked not more by its success than the singularity of the occasion, on which his first tragedy appeared. The bones of Theseus had been solemnly transferred by Cimon from their grave in the isle of Scyros to Athens<sup>2</sup>. An eager contest between the tragedians of the day ensued. Sophocles, then in his twenty-fifth year, ventured to come forward as one of the candidates; amongst whom was the veteran Æschylus, now for thirty years the undoubted master of the Athenian stage. Party feeling excited such a tumult among the spectators, that the Archon, Aphepsion, had not ballotted the judges, when Cimon advanced with his nine fellow generals to offer the customary libations to Bacchus. No sooner were these completed, than detaining his colleagues, he directed them to take with him the requisite oath, and then seat themselves as

1. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ πρὸς τῷ καλὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἣν καὶ ὀρχηστικὴν δεδιδαγμένος καὶ μουσικὴν ἔτι παῖς ὢν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν περὶ τρόπαιον γυμνὸς ἀγλημιμένος ἐχόρευσε μετὰ λύρας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἱματίῳ φασί. Καὶ τὸν Οἰμυρίην διδάσκων αὐτὸς ἐκιδάρισεν· ἄκρως δὲ ἐσφαίρισεν, ὅτε τὴν Ναυσικάαν καθῆκε. Athen. i. p. 20.

Μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Ἀθηναίων περὶ τρόπαιον ὄντων, μετὰ λύρας γυμνὸς ἀγλημιμένος τοῖς παιανίζουσι τῶν ἐπινικίων ἐξηρχε. Vit. Anon.

2. Olymp. LXXVIII, B. C. 468. Marm. Arund. No. 57.—Plutarch, speaking of the remains of Theseus being brought by Cimon from Scyros to Athens, thus notices this event:—"Ἐθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγωδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην· πρώτην γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθύντος, Ἀφείψιον, ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονεικίας οὔσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ὥς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατηγῶν προσλθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποιήσατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νεομισμένας σποιδὰς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρκώσας, ἡνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρίναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερίβαλε. νικῆσαντος δὲ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται τὸν Λισχύλον περιπατῆ γενόμενον, καὶ βαρέως ἐνέγκοντα, χρόνον οὐ πολὺν Ἀθήνησι διαγεῖν, εἴτ' οἷχεσθαι δι' ὄργην εἰς Σικελίαν.—Vit. Cimon.



judges of the performance. Before this self-constituted tribunal Sophocles exhibited his maiden drama, and by their decision was proclaimed first victor. This remarkable triumph was an earnest of the splendid career before him. From this event, B. C. 468, to his death, B. C. 405, during a space of three and sixty years he continued to compose and exhibit. <sup>1</sup> Twenty times did he obtain the first prize, still more frequently the second; and never sank to the third. An accumulation of success, which left the victories of his two great rivals far behind. Æschylus won but thirteen dramatic contests. Euripides was still less fortunate.—Such a continuation of poetic exertion and triumph is the more remarkable from the circumstance, that the powers of Sophocles, so far from becoming dulled and exhausted by these multitudinous efforts, seem to have contracted nothing from labour and age save a mellowed tone, a more touching pathos, a sweet and gentle character of thought and expression.

The life of Sophocles, however, was not altogether devoted to the service of the Muses. <sup>2</sup> In his fifty-seventh year he was one of the ten generals, with Pericles and Thucydides amongst his colleagues; and served in the war against Samos. But his military talents were probably of no high order; and his generalship added no brilliancy to his dramatic fame. <sup>3</sup> At a more advanced age he was appointed priest to Alon, one of the ancient heroes of his country; an office more suited to the peaceful temper of Sophocles. In the civil duties of an Athenian citizen, he, doubtless, took a part. <sup>4</sup> Nay, in extreme age, we find him one of the committee

1. Vit. Anon. Diodorus says νίκας ὀκτωκαίδεκα. See p. 46, note 4.

2. Olymp. LXXXIV, 4, B. C. 441. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν πεντήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἔτων ὄντα στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο, πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀναίαν πολέμῳ, σὺν Περικλεῖ καὶ Θουκυδίδῃ. Vit. Anon.

Bene Pericles, quum haberet collegam in praturâ Sophoclem, &c. Cicero de Off. i. 40.—Φασὶ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἡξιώσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας εὐδοκμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης. Aristoph. Byzant. Arg. Antigone.

Sophocles did not distinguish himself much by his military talents; at least if we may credit the tale told of him by Ion, a contemporary poet (Athenæus, xiii. 604), where he is made to say of himself—Μελετῶ στρατηγεῖν ὧ ἄνδρες· ἐπειδὴ περ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν μὲν ἔφη με, στρατηγεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι.

3. Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἄλωνος ἱερωσύνην, ὅς ἦρως ἦν μετὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι. Vit. Anon.

4. Καὶ συμπεραινόμενον, ἐάν ἐρώτημα ποιῇ τὸ συμπέρασμα, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν· οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ Πεισιάνδρου, “εἰ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ  
καὶ

of ten *πρόβουλοι*, appointed, in the progress of the revolution brought about by Pisander, to investigate the state of affairs and report thereon to the people assembled on the hill of Colonus, his native place. And there, as *πρόβουλος*, he assented with characteristic easiness of temper to the establishment of oligarchy under the council of four hundred, "as a bad thing, but the least pernicious measure which circumstances allowed." The civil dissensions and external reverses, which marked the concluding years of the Peloponnesian war, must have fallen heavily upon the mind of one, whose chief delight was in domestic tranquillity, and who remembered that proud day of Salaminian triumph, in which he bore so conspicuous a part. <sup>1</sup> His sorrows, as a patriotic citizen, were aggravated by the unnatural conduct of his own family. Jealous at the old man's affection for a grandchild by a second wife, an elder son, or sons, endeavoured to deprive him of the management of his property, on the ground of dotage and incapacity. The only refutation which the father produced, was to read before the court his *Œdipus at Colonus*, a piece which he had just composed; or, according to others, that beautiful chorus only, in which he celebrates the loveliness of his <sup>2</sup> favorite residence. The admiring judges instantly arose, dismissed the cause, and accompanied the aged poet to his house with the utmost honour and respect <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Sophocles was spared the misery of witnessing the utter overthrow of his declining country. Early in the year 405, B. C., some months before the defeat of *Ægospotami* put the finishing stroke

καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προβούλοις, καταστήσαι τοὺς τετρακοσίους;" ἔφη.—"Τί δὲ οὐ ποιηρά σοι ταῦτα ἔδοκεῖ εἶναι;" ἔφη. "Οὐκ οὖν σὺ ταῦτα ἔπραξας τὰ ποιηρά;" "Ναί," ἔφη "οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα βελτίων." Aristot. Rhet. iii. 18.

1. Vit. Anon. Cicero de Senectute, §. 7. Val. Max. viii.

2. Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis . . . nam me ipsum huc modò venientem convertebat ad sese Coloneus ille locus, cujus *incola* Sophocles ob oculos versabatur, &c. Cic. De Finibus, V. i.

3. Dr. Elmsley, in a note upon the Argument of the *Bacchæ*, has shewn that this beautiful drama was first represented by the grandson of Sophocles. Olymp. xciv. 4, B. C. 401.

4. Vit. Anon. Sophocles died Olymp. xciii. 4, B. C. 405, aged ninety. He survived Euripides but a very few months. That dramatist died B. C. 406, and Sophocles must have died early in B. C. 405, for he was no longer alive at the exhibition of the *Rang*, during the *Lenæan* festival in that year. See Clinton's Fast. Hell. 77, 78.

Περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον [i. e. in the archonship of Alexias] ἐτελεύτησε Σοφοκλῆς . . . ἔτη βιώσας ἐνενήκοντα, νίκας δ' ἔχων ὀκτωκαίδεκα. Diocl. Sic. xiii. 103. So also Marm. Par.

to the misfortunes of Athens, death came gently upon the venerable old man, full of years and glory.

<sup>1</sup>The accounts of his death are very diverse; all tending to the marvellous. Ister and Neanthes state that he was choked by a grape: Satyrus makes him expire from excessive exertion in reading aloud a long paragraph out of the *Antigone*; others ascribe his death to extreme joy at being proclaimed the Tragic victor. Not content with the singularity of his death, the ancient recorders of his life add prodigy to his funeral also. He died when the Athenians were cooped up within their walls, and the Lacedemonians were in possession of Decelea, the place of his family sepulture. Bacchus twice appeared in a vision to Lysander, the Spartan general, and bid him allow the interment; which accordingly took place with all due solemnity<sup>2</sup>. Ister states moreover, that the Athenians passed a decree, to appoint an annual sacrifice to so admirable a man<sup>3</sup>.

Seven tragedies alone remain out of the <sup>4</sup>great number which

1. Vit. Anon.

2. The general, according to this account, was Lysander. Pausanias tells the story somewhat differently:

Λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον, κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν Νέαν τιμᾶν. καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποίησιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν.—Pausan. i. p. 36.

3. Vit. Anon.

4. Suidas makes the number one hundred and twenty-three. Aristophanes the grammarian one hundred and thirty, seventeen of which he deemed spurious.—(Suidas in Σοφ.)

Böckh considers both statements erroneous. It appears from the Argument to the *Antigone*, that this play was exhibited a little before the generalship of Sophocles, Olymp. lxxxiv, 4. B. C. 441, and that this was his thirty-second drama; and it is known that Sophocles began to exhibit Ol. lxxviii. 3. B. C. 468. Hence Böckh argues, that, as during the first twenty-seven years of his dramatic career he produced thirty-two tragedies, so during the remaining thirty-six years it is not probable that he composed many more than that number. He therefore supposes that the true number is seventy or nearly so. To Iophon, the son of Sophocles, he refers many of the plays which bore the father's name; others he ascribes to the favourite grandson, Sophocles, son of Ariston by his wife or mistress Theoris. With respect to Iophon, we learn from Aristophanes that the elder Sophocles was supposed to have composed many of his dramas:

Οὐ, πρίν γ' ἂν Ἰωφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον,  
"Ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους, ὃ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω"—Ranæ, 73.

Where the Scholiast remarks, Κωμῳδῶσται Ἰωφῶν, ὁ υἱὸς Σοφοκλέους, ὡς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λέγων.

The result of Böckh's investigations is, that of the one hundred and six dramas whose titles remain, only twenty-six can, with any certainty, be assigned to the elder Sophocles. See chaps. viii. ix. and xi. in the *Excerpta* from Böckh's Dissertation, *Miscell. Græc. Dramat. Grant.*, Cambridge.

Sophocles composed; yet among these seven we probably possess the most splendid productions of his genius.

The personal character of Sophocles, without rising into spotless excellence or exalted heroism, was honourable, calm and amiable. <sup>1</sup>In his younger days he seems to have been addicted to intemperance in love and wine. <sup>2</sup>And a saying of his, recorded by Plato, Cicero, and Athenæus, whilst it confirms the charge just mentioned, would also imply that years had cooled the turbulent passions of his youth: 'I thank old age,' said the poet, 'for delivering me from the tyranny of my appetites.' <sup>3</sup>Yet even in his later days, the charms of a Theoris and an Archippe, are reported to have been too powerful for the still susceptible dramatist. <sup>4</sup>Aristophanes, who in his *Ranæ* manifests so much respect for Sophocles, then just dead, had, fourteen years before, accused him of avarice; an imputation, however, scarcely reconcilable with all that is known or can be inferred respecting the character of Sophocles. The old man, who was so absorbed in his art as to incur a charge of lunacy from the utter neglect of his affairs, could hardly have been a miser. A kindly and contented disposition, however blemished with intemperance in pleasures, was the characteristic of Sophocles: a characteristic which Aristophanes himself so simply and yet so beautifully depicts in that single line

‘Ο δ’ εὐκόλος μὲν ἐνθάδ’, εὐκόλος δ’ ἐκεῖ.—*Ran.* 82.

<sup>5</sup> It was Sophocles who gave the last improvements to the form and exhibition of Tragedy. <sup>6</sup> To the two performers of *Æschylus*

1. *Cicer. Offic.* i. 40. *Athen.* xiii. p. 603.

2. *Plat. Repub.* i. 3. *Cicer. Senect.* xiv. *Athen.* xii. p. 510.

3. *Athen.* xiii. 592.

4. Ἑρμῆς. πρῶτον δ’ ὅ τι πράττει Σοφοκλῆς, ἀνῆρετο.  
 Τρυγαῖος. εὐδαίμονεϊ πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν.  
 Ἑρμῆς. Τὸ τί;  
 Τρυγαῖος. ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.  
 Ἑρμῆς. Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;  
 Τρυγαῖος. Ὅτι, γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς,  
 κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥίπος πλέοι.—*Pax.* 678, &c.

5. Παρ’ Λισχύλῳ δὲ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἔμαθε, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκαινούργησεν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι.—*Vit. Anonym.*

6. Ἦρως δὲ [ὑποκριτὴς] καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς.—*Arist. Poet.* iv. 16.  
 Τὸν δὲ τρίτον [ὑποκριτὴν] Σοφοκλῆς, καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγῳδίαν.  
 —*Diog. Laert.* in *Plat.*



lus he added a third actor; a number, which was never afterwards increased. Under his directions the effect of theatric representation was heightened by the illusion of scenery carefully painted and duly arranged. <sup>1</sup> The choral parts were still farther curtailed, and the dialogue carried out to its full developement. The odes themselves are distinguished by their close connexion with the business of the play, the correctness of their sentiments, <sup>2</sup> and the beauty of their poetry. His language, <sup>3</sup> though at times marked by harsh metaphor and perplexed construction, is pure and majestic, without soaring into the gigantic phraseology of Æschylus on the one hand, or sinking into the common-place diction of Euripides on the other. His management of a subject is admirable. No one understood so well the artful envelopment of incident, the secret excitation of the feelings, and the gradual heightening of the interest up to the final crisis, when the catastrophe

Æschylus did certainly introduce *three* actors into some of his later dramas, the *Choëphoræ* (v. 665—716), for instance. But, as Tyrwhitt remarks (*Arist. Poet.* §. 2.) he doubtless borrowed the hint from Sophocles, who gained his first victory twelve years before the death of Æschylus.

1. Comparatâ brevi hâc fabularum Sophoclis delineatione cum Æschyli a me datâ tragœdiarum descriptione, quisque videt, Sophoclem in iis, quæ ad choros pertinent, ab antiquâ chori tragici indole in multis discessisse. Nulla est fabularum Sophoclis, in quâ chorus primas partes sustineat, nulla in quâ calamitates irruentes ipsam chororum attingant, sed in omnibus cum primâ fabulæ personâ amicitiae tantum vinculo conjunctus est. Fieri inde debebat, ut in carminibus non acres illos atque vehementes affectus, quibus in Æschyli fabulis excitatur, sed leniores animi sensus proderet. Non ipse terrore motus horrorem incutit spectatorum animis, sed amicorum potius commiseratione tactus, spectatores quoque ad misericordiam inducit. Nec mirandum est, carmina chori, quamvis non omnino a fabulæ argumento aliena sint, minus tamen cum eo coherere, atque interdum longius petita esse, quam apud Æschylum, qui choro, nisi primas, tamen alteras fabulæ partes demandat. Tandem inde quoque fieri debebat, ut chori cantibus, ab Æschylo jam brevioribus factis, plus adhuc a Sophocle detraheretur; Episodia contra, numero eorum aucto, ita inter se conjuncta sunt, ut scena vel nunquam vel rarissime saltem ab actoribus vacua relicta, actio fabulæ semper procedat. Cum itaque in Æschyli fabulis uno episodio finito, atque histrionibus a scena digressis, cantus chori intercinuntur, Sophocles multa in his immutare et debuit et potuit. Chori cantus sæpe quidem episodica excipiunt, quam sæpissime tamen aliis quoque locis inserti sunt. Cum itaque apud Æschylum duo chororum genera constituerent, alterum eorum, qui episodica excipiunt, alterum eorum, qui mediis actibus intercinunt, Sophoclis fabularum æconomia discrimen hoc non admittit, eoque omisso, omnes Sophoclis chori, ratione argumenti habitâ ad quatuor classes revocari possunt. Chorus enim vel rebus prosperis lætos animi sensus cantibus effundit, quos *hymnos* appellare licet, vel suos atque amicorum casus *threnis* deplorat, vel incerto adhuc rerum eventu, expectatione suspensus, *dubia de exitu rerum* pronuntiat, vel tandem ex iis, quæ modo in scena gesta erant, *philosophicas sententias* petit.—Heeren de Chori Naturâ, *Class. Journ.* LIX. p. 40.

2. Amongst the blessings of peace enumerated by the chorus (*Pax*, 523) are reckoned—*Σοφοκλέους μέλη*—on which the Scholiast observes, *ὅτι ἡῤῥέα τὰ μέλη Σοφοκλέους*.

3. Sophocles, dum vulgarem loquendi usum et formulas plebeias vitare studet, paullo proclivior est ad duras metaphoras, contortas verborum inversiones, et si qua sunt similia: quæ faciunt, ut obscurior, quam par erat, subinde evadat oratio.—Porson *Prælect.* p. 14.



bursts forth in all the force of overwhelming terror or compassion<sup>1</sup>. Such was Sophocles; the most perfect in dramatic arrangement, the most sustained in the even flow of dignified thought, word, and tone among the tragic Triumvirate.

EURIPIDES was the son of Mnesarchus and Clito, of the borough Phlya, and the Cecropid tribe<sup>2</sup>. He was born, Olymp. LXXV, 1. B. C. 480, in <sup>3</sup>Salamis (whither his parents had retired during the occupation of Attica by Xerxes), on the very day of the Grecian victory near that island<sup>4</sup>. Aristophanes repeatedly imputes meanness of extraction, by the mother's side, to Euripides<sup>5</sup>. He asserts that she was a herb-seller; and, according to Aulus Gellius<sup>6</sup>, Theopompus confirms the Comedian's sarcastic

1. Longinus, while bestowing the highest praises upon Sophocles, alleges a frequent inequality, which is scarcely borne out by any thing in his extant tragedies.

Τί δ' ; ἐν μέλεσι μᾶλλον ἂν εἶναι Βακχουλίδης ἔλοιτο, ἢ Πίνδαρος· καὶ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ Ἴων ὁ Νῆος, ἢ νῆ Δία Σοφοκλῆς; ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτοι, καὶ ἐν τῷ γλαυφυρῷ πάντῃ κεκαλλιγραφημένοι· ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὅτε μὲν οἶον πάντα ἐπιφλέγονται τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις, καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀνυχέστατα. Ὡς οὐδὲς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἐνὸς δράματος, τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, εἰς ταῦτό συνθεῖς τὰ Ἴωνος ἀντιτιμῆσαιτο ἐξῆς.—§. 33.

2. Diog. Laert. ii. 45. The Life by Thom. Magister. The anonymous Life published by Elmsley. Suidas in Εὐριπ.

3. The poet is said to have been much attached to the place of his nativity, and to have frequently resided there. "Philochorus refert," says Aulus Gellius, "in insulâ Salaminæ speluncam esse tetram et horridam, quam nos vidimus, in quâ Euripides tragedias scriptitarit."—Noct. Att. xv. 20.

4. Ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐναυμάχουν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. Plutarch. Symp. viii. 1. Suidas in Εὐριπ.—Others relate that our poet was born on the day that the Greeks gained the battle of the Euripus, and that he was thence surnamed Euripides.

5. Προπηλακίζόμενας ὁρῶσ' ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ  
Εὐριπίδον, τοῦ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας.—Thesmoph. 386.

Again, speaking of Euripides, the female orator says—

Ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ γυναῖκες, δρᾷ κακὰ,  
Ἄτ' ἐν ἀγρίοις τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς.—455.

Dicaeopolis, in the Acharnians, among his other requests, says to Euripides—

Σκάνδικά μοι δός, μητρόθεν δεδεγμένος.—454.

The same insinuation is more obscurely conveyed in the Equites—

Νικ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτέ  
Εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευριπικῶς;  
Δημ. Μή μοι γε, μή μοι, μή διασκανδίκισις.—17.

And in the Rane—

Λισχ. Ἀληθες, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ;—839.

6. Euripidis poetæ matrem Theopompus agrestia olera vendentem victum quæsisse dicit.—Noct. Att. xv. 20.

insinuations. Philochorus, on the contrary, in a work no longer extant, endeavoured to prove that the mother of our poet was a lady of noble ancestry<sup>1</sup>. That there was some ground for the gibes of Aristophanes can hardly be questioned. In a city like Athens, where every person and every movement was exposed to the remark and the gossip of a prying and loquacious population, the birth and parentage of a distinguished dramatist must have been known to every spectator in the Comedian's audience. Hence there could have been neither point nor poignancy in these endless jeerings, had not the fact, on which they turned, been matter of public notoriety. The mother of Euripides then was probably of humble station. His father, to whom the malicious Aristophanes never alludes, was doubtless a man of wealth and respectability; for the costly education which the young Euripides received intimates a certain degree of wealth and consequence in his family. The pupil of Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Prodicus (an instructor so notorious for the extravagant terms which he demanded for his lessons<sup>2</sup>), could not have been the son of persons at that time very mean or very poor.

In early life, we are told that his father made him direct his attention chiefly to gymnastic exercises<sup>3</sup>, and that in his seventeenth year he was crowned in the Eleusinian and Thesean contests<sup>4</sup>.

1. Οὐκ ἀληθές δὲ, ὡς λαχανόπωλις ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τῶν σφόδρα εὐγενῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἀποδείκνυσι Φιλόχορος. Suidas in *Εὐριπ.*—Moschopolus also, in his *Life of Euripides*, quotes this testimony of Philochorus. A presumptive argument in favour of the respectability of Euripides in regard to birth is given in *Athenæus*, (x. 421); where he tells us, *Ὀνισχοῦν τε παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ εὐγενέστατοι· παῖδες*; a fact which he instances in the son of Menelaus, and in *Euripides*; who, according to Theophrastus, officiated when a boy as cupbearer to a chorus composed of the most distinguished Athenians, in the festival of the Delian Apollo.

2. From the sum which he required as the price of his tuition, Prodicus was called *πεντηκοντοδραχμος*. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 14. Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 139. According to Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* in Prodicus) his disciples were of the highest rank—*ἀνίχνευς δὲ οὗτος τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τῶν νέων*, &c.

3. The scholiast memoirs of Euripides ascribe this determination of the father to an oracle, which was given him when his wife was pregnant of the future dramatist, wherein he was assured that the child

..... : . . . ἐς κλέος ἐσθλὸν ὀρούσει  
Καὶ στεφάνῳ ἱερῶν γλυκερὴν χάριν ἀμφιβαλεῖται.

This he interpreted of gymnastic glory and garlands.

4. Mnesarchus, roborato exercitatioque filii sui corpore, Olympiam certaturum inter athletas pueros deduxit. Ac primo quidem in certamen per ambiguum ætatem receptus non est. Post Eleusinio et Theseo certamine pugnavit et coronatus est.—Aul. *Gell.* Noct. Att. xv. 20.

It does not appear, however, that Euripides was ever actually a candidate in the Olympian games. The genius of the young poet was not dormant whilst he was occupied in these mere bodily accomplishments; and even at this early age he is said to have attempted dramatic composition<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have also cultivated a natural taste for painting<sup>2</sup>; and some of his pictures were long afterwards preserved at Megara. At length, quitting the gymnasium, he applied himself to philosophy and literature. Under the celebrated rhetorician Prodicus, one of the instructors of Pericles, he acquired that oratorical skill for which his dramas are so remarkably distinguished<sup>3</sup>; and from Anaxagoras he imbibed those philosophical notions which are occasionally brought forward in his works<sup>4</sup>. Here too Pericles was his fellow disciple. With So-

1. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. xv. 20.

2. Thom. Magister. in Vit. So also Vit. Anonym. et. Vit. Moschop.

3. Ibid. It is on this account that Aristophanes tauntingly terms him ποιητὴν ῥηματιῶν ἱκανικῶν. Pax, 526. He likewise repeatedly ridicules him for his ἀντιλογία, λογισμοί, and στροφαί, (Ranæ, 774),—his περιπατοί, σοφίσματα, &c. Quintilian, however, in comparing Sophocles and Euripides, strongly recommends the latter to the young pleader as an excellent instructor:

Sed longe clarius illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides; quorum in dispari dicendi viâ uter sit poeta melior, inter plurimos quæritur. Idque ego sane, quoniam ad præsentem materiam nihil pertinet, iudicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis, qui se ad agendum comparant, utiliorem longe Euripidem fore. Namque is et in sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi: et sententiis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pene ipsis par, et in dicendo ac respondendo cui-libet eorum, qui fuerunt in foro disertis, comparandus. In affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis, qui miseratione constant, facile præcipuus. Hunc et admiratus maxime est (ut sæpe testatur) et secutus, quamquam in opere diverso, Menander.—Inst. Orat. x. l. 67.

Cicero, too, was a great admirer of Euripides, perhaps more particularly so for the oratorical excellence commended by Quintilian. We are told by Hephaestion, (v. 5.) that Ὁ Ρωμαῖος Κικέρων, Μήδεϊαν Εὐριπίδου ἀναγινώσκων, ἐν φορείῳ φερόμενος ἀπεπμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν. He was no less a favourite with his brother Quintus, who in a letter to Tiro, after quoting a line from this poet, adds: “Cui tu quantum credas, nescio. Ego certe singulos ejus versus, singula ejus testimonia puto.”—Epist. ad Divers. xvi. 8.

4. It may not be amiss to adduce a few instances of the *Anaxagorea* of Euripides, referring the reader to Valckenæer's *Diatribæ*, iv. v. vi, and Bouterwek *De Philosophiâ Euripideâ*, published in *Miscell. Græc. Dramat.* p. 183, &c. Grant, Cambridge.

Anaxagoras termed the sun a *μύκρον ὑάκτυρον*; to this opinion allusion is made *Orestes*, 971, where see Porson's note. The cause of the overflowing of the Nile was a problem much agitated amongst the ancient philosophers. Anaxagoras ascribed the river's increase to the melting of the snows in Æthiopia; in which solution he was followed, says Diodorus Siculus (i. p. 46), by his disciple Euripides. The same philosopher was of opinion that the father was the real parent of the child, whilst the mother was but the recipient and nurturer of the embryo infant (Aristotle *περὶ Ζῴων γενέσεως*). This doctrine is thus explicitly declared by the pupil,

Πατὴρ μὲν ἐφύτευσέν με, σὴ δ' ἔτικτε παῖς,  
Τὸ σπέρμ' ἄρουρα πυραλαβοῦσ' ἄλλου πάρα.—*Orestes*, 545.

crates, who had studied under the same master, Euripides was on terms of the closest intimacy; and from him he derived those moral gnomæ so frequently interwoven into his speeches and narrations. Indeed Socrates was even suspected of largely assisting the tragedian in the composition of his plays<sup>1</sup>.

Euripides began his public career, as a dramatic writer, Olymp. LXXXI, 2. B. C. 455<sup>2</sup>, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. On this occasion he was the third with a play entitled *Pleiades*. In Olymp. LXXXIV, 4. B. C. 441, he won the prize<sup>3</sup>. In Olymp. LXXXVII, 2. B. C. 431, he was third with the *Medea*, the *Phi-*

In the fragments of this tragedian may be found many other dicta of his master; as, that air and earth are the producing causes of all things; that the deity is *αὐτοφυνής*, &c. In allusion to this notion respecting air, Euripides is made to invoke *αἰθήρ*, ἰμὸν βόσκημα, as one of his peculiar gods (Ranæ, 890).

1. Laertius (in Socrat.) has preserved a couplet, which punningly brings this charge:

Φρύγες, ἐστὶ καινὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου,  
ᾧ καὶ τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθησι Σωκράτης.

Allusion is made to the same imputation in a line of Antiphanes (Athen. iv. 134.)

Ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ,

where *κεφάλαια* are the sententious sayings which Socrates was reputed to have furnished. Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 13.) states that Socrates seldom went to the theatre, except to see some new tragedy of Euripides performed.

This philosophising in his dramas gave Euripides the name of the *stage philosopher*: Euripides, auditor Anaxagoræ, quem philosophum Athenienses scenicum appellaverunt. Vitruv. viii. in præf.

## 2. Arundel Marble, No. 61.

The immediate cause which determined Euripides to relinquish the study of philosophy as the professed occupation of his life, and devote himself to tragic composition, is said to have been the imminent danger which his master Anaxagoras had incurred from advancing certain philosophical tenets. Yet, notwithstanding all his caution in that respect, the Poet did not escape the attacks of Athenian sycophancy. Many years after this the celebrated line in the *Hippolytus* involved him in a charge of impiety; as we may gather from the following passage in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (iii. 15): "Ἄλλος, εἰ γέγονε κρίσις ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃς πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα ἐν τῇ Ἀντιδόσει κατηγοροῦντα, ὡς ἄσεβοῦς, ὅς γ' ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιорκεῖν"

Ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἥ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

ἔφη γὰρ, αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἀγῶνος κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄγοντα· ἐκὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῶσκένα λόγον, ἥ δῶσεν, εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν.

A similar perverseness in imputing to the Poet himself sentiments which belonged to the character represented, is mentioned by Seneca (Epist. 115). Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon, in a play so called, a glowing eulogy on riches. The audience rose in a fury, and were for driving the actor and drama from the stage, until Euripides, coming forward, begged them to wait the catastrophe of the piece, when the panegyriser of money would meet with the fate he deserved.

## 3. Arundel Marble, No. 61.



*Ioetetes*, the *Dietyis*, and the *Theristæ*, a satyric drama<sup>1</sup>. His competitors were Euphorion and Sophocles. He was first with the *Hippolytus*, Olymp. LXXXVIII, 1. B. C. 428<sup>2</sup>, the year of his master Anaxagoras's death: second, Olymp. XCI, 2. B. C. 415, with the *Alexander* (or *Paris*), the *Palamedes*, the *Troades*, and the *Sisypheus*, a satyric drama<sup>3</sup>. It was in this contest that Xenocles was first<sup>4</sup>.

Two years after this the Athenians sustained the total loss of their armament before Syracuse. In his narration of this disaster Plutarch gives an anecdote<sup>5</sup>, which, if true, bears a splendid testimony to the high estimation in which Euripides was then held. Those amongst the captives, he tells us, who could repeat any portion of that poet's works, were treated with kindness, and even set at liberty. The same author also informs us that Euripides honoured the soldiers who had fallen in that siege with a funereal poem, two lines of which he has preserved.

The *Andromeda* was exhibited Olymp. XCII, 1. B. C. 412<sup>6</sup>, the *Orestes*, Olymp. XCIII, 1. B. C. 408<sup>7</sup>. Soon after this time the poet retired into Magnesia<sup>8</sup>, and from thence into Macedonia, to the court of Archelaus. As in the case of Æschylus, the motives for this self-exile are obscure and uncertain. We know, indeed, that Athens was by no means the most favourable residence for distinguished literary merit. The virulence of rivalry raged un-

1. Argum. in *Medeam*.

2. Arg. in *Hippol.* Iophon was second; Ion third.

3. Ælian V. II. ii. 8. The year in which the disastrous Sicilian expedition was undertaken.

4. Ælian. ii. 3. See Bentley, *Dissert.* p. 229, and below, p. 66.

5. Ένιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. Μάλιστα γὰρ, ὡς εἴπῃς, τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνῶν ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μούσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἐκάστοτε δέσματα καὶ γυνήματα κομίζοντων ἐκμανθάνοντες, ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδουσιν ἀλλήλοις. Τότε γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἰκάδε συχνοὺς ἀσπιάσασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ δηγῆσαι τοὺς μέν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφρίθησαν, ἐκδιδάξαντες, ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἱμέωνητο, τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τροφῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἀτέλαρον τῶν μελῶν ὄσαντες. Οὐ δεῖ ἢ θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς Κανέους φασὶ, πλοῦτον προσφερομένου τοῖς Ἀγέσι, ὑπὸ Ἀγητρίδων διωκομένον, μὴ ἐξέχασθαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν εἴτα μέντοι διαπνευθαιόμενος, εἰ γινώσκουσιν ἄσματα τῶν Εὐριπίδων, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω παρῖναι καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῦτον. Plutarch in *Nicia*.

6. Schol. *Ranæ*, 63.

7. Schol. *Orest.* 371.

8. Vit. Anonym.



checked in a licentious democracy, and the caprice of a petulant multitude would not afford the most satisfactory patronage to a high-minded and talented man. Report, too, insinuates that Euripides was unhappy in his own family. His first wife, Melito, he divorced for adultery; and in his second, Chæрила, he was not more fortunate<sup>1</sup>. Envy and enmity amongst his fellow-citizens, infidelity and domestic vexations at home, would prove no small inducements for the poet to accept the invitation of Archelaus<sup>2</sup>. In Macedonia he is said to have written a play in honour of that monarch, and to have inscribed it with his patron's name, who was so pleased with the manners and abilities of his guest as to appoint him one of his ministers<sup>3</sup>. No further particulars are recorded of Euripides, except a few apocryphal letters, anecdotes and apophthegms. His death<sup>4</sup>, which took place Olymp. xciii, 2. B. C. 406, if the popular account be true, was, like that of Æschylus, in its nature extraordinary. Either from chance or malice, the aged dramatist was exposed to the attack of some ferocious hounds, and by them so dreadfully mangled as to expire soon afterwards in his seventy-fifth year.

The Athenians entreated Archelaus to send the body to the poet's native city for interment. The request was refused; and,

1. Ibid. To the Poet's unhappiness in his matrimonial connexions, Aristophanes refers (*Ranæ*, v. 1043, &c.): where Euripides, accounting for the disinclination of Æschylus to adopt love stories as the subject of his dramas, says

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι.

To which the stern old Tragedian answers

μηδέ γ' ἐπείη\*  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί τοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖσιν πολλὴ πολλοῦ πικροβοῖτο.  
ὥστε γε καὐτόν σε κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν.

And Bacchus continues,

νῆ τὸν Δία τοῦτό γε τοι δῆ  
ἂ γὰρ ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐποίεις, αὐτός τοῦτοισιν ἐπλήγης.

2. Perhaps, too, the prosecution mentioned in p. 53, note, might have had some share in producing this determination to quit Athens. Socrates, the friend of Euripides, was likewise invited to his court by Archelaus. *Aristot. Rhet. ii. 23*.

3. *Vit. Anonym.* The *Bacchæ* was also composed in Macedonia. *Elmsley. Argum. Bacchæ*, 4.

4. Ibid. Hemesianax Colophonius (*Athen.* xiii. 598). Ovid, *Ibis*, 595. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic.* xv. 20. *Val. Max.* ix. 12.—*Pausanias* (i. p. 3) seems to doubt the truth of the common account. *Dionysius Byzantius* expressly denies it (*Anthol.* iii. 36).

with every demonstration of grief and respect, Euripides was buried at Pella. A cenotaph, however, was erected to his memory at Athens, bearing the following inscription:

Μνημα μὲν Ἑλλάς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου· ὅστέα δ' ἴσχει  
Γῇ Μακεδόν· ἣ γὰρ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.  
Πατρὶς δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς Ἀθῆναι· πλείστα δὲ Μούσας  
Τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

Euripides, in the estimation of the ancients, certainly held a rank much inferior to that of his two great rivals. The caustic wit of Aristophanes, whilst it fastens but slightly on the failings of the giant Æschylus and keeps respectfully aloof from the calm dignity of Sophocles, assails with merciless malice every weak point in the genius, character, and circumstances of Euripides.

He banters or reproaches him for lowering the dignity of tragedy, by exhibiting so many heroes as whining tattered beggars<sup>1</sup>; by introducing the vulgar affairs of ordinary life<sup>2</sup>; by the

1. Αἰσχύλος. ἄλῃθες, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ;  
σὺ δὴ με ταῦτ', ὦ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδῃ  
καὶ πτωχοποιῇ καὶ ῥακιοσυρῥαπτάδῃ;  
οὐκ οὐ τι χαίρων αὐτ' ἐρεῖς. Ran. 839.

Again,

- Αἰσχύλος. πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ῥάκι' ἀμπίσχω, ἵν' ἐλκεῖν  
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φαίνοντ' εἶναι. Ib. 1061.

And in the Pax

- Κόραι. ἐκείνο τήρει, μὴ σφαλὲς καταβῶνῃς  
ἐντεῦθεν, εἴτα χλωρὸς ὢν Εὐριπίδῃ  
λόγον παρύσχεις καὶ τραγωδία γένη. Pax. 146.

See especially that most amusing scene in the Acharnians, where Dicæopolis importunes Euripides for a complete equipment of rags, staff, and basket.

2. Εὐριπίδης. οἰκεῖα πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν.  
\* \* \* \* \*

τοιαῦτα μέντοι σωφρονεῖν  
τούτοις εἰσηγησάμην,  
λογισμὸν ἐνθὺς τῇ τέχνῃ  
καὶ σκέψιν, ὥστ' ἤδη νοεῖν  
ἅπαντα, καὶ διειδέναι  
τά τ' ἄλλα, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας  
οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ,  
κἀνασκοπεῖν—Πῶς τοῦτ' ἔχει;  
Ποῦ μοι τοδί; Τίς τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν;  
Διόνυσος. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, νῦν γοῦν Ἀθη-  
ναίων ἅπας τις εἰσιὼν  
κέκραγε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας  
ζήτει τε—Ποῦ ἔστιν ἡ χύτρα;

sonorous unmeaningness of his choral odes; the meretricious voluptuousness of his music<sup>1</sup>; the feebleness of his verses<sup>2</sup>; and by the <sup>3</sup>loquacity of all his personages, however low their rank or unsuitable their character might be. <sup>4</sup>He laughs at the mo-

Τίς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπεδήδοκεν  
τῆς μαινίδος; Τὸ τρυβλίον  
τὸ περυσινὸν τεθνηκέ μοι.  
Ποῦ τὸ σκόροδον τὸ χθεσινόν;  
Τίς τῆς ἐλάας παρέτραγεν;  
τέως δ' ἀβελτερώτατοι,  
κεχηνότες Μαρμακύνθοι,  
Μελητίδαι καθήντο. Ran. 959.

1. Αἰσχύλος. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐς τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ  
ἤνεγκον αὐθ', ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν Φρυνίχῳ  
λειμῶνα Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ὀφθείην δρέπων.  
οὔτος δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει πορνιδίων,  
σκολιῶν Μελήτου, Καρικῶν αὐλημάτων,  
θρήνων, χορείων. τάχα δὲ δηλωθήσεται.  
ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ λύριον. καίτοι τί δεῖ  
λύρας ἐπὶ τοῦτον; ποῦ, στίλβει ἢ τοῖς ὀστράκοις  
αὕτη κροτουῖσα; δεῦρο Μοῦσ' Εὐριπίδου,  
πρὸς ἥνπερ ἐπιτήδεα τάδ' ἔστ' ᾄδειν μέλη. Ran. 1294.

See the ludicrous parody of the Euripidean odes, to which these verses serve as prelude.

2. ἐπυλλίων Εὐριπίδου. Pax. 524.  
ἴσχανα μὲν πρῶτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀφεῖλον  
ἐπυλλίοις. Ran. 939.
3. Εὐριπίδης. ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων ἐπῶν οὐδὲν παρῆκ' ἂν ἀργὸν,  
ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἢ γυνὴ τέ μοι, χῶ δοῦλος οὐδὲν ἦττον,  
χῶ δεσπότης, χὴ παρθένος, χὴ γραῦς ἄν. Ib. 946.
- Αἰσχύλος. εἴτ' αὖ λαλιὰν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι καὶ στωμυλίαν ἐδίδαξας. Ib. 1067.
4. Εὐριπίδης. εἴτ' οὐκ ἐλήρουν ὅ τι τύχοιμ', οὐδ' ἐμπεσὼν ἔφυρον,  
ἀλλ' οὐξιώων πρῶτιστα μὲν μοι τὸ γένος εἴπαν εὐθύς  
τοῦ δράματος. Ib. 943.

See the havoc made among them by the vexatious ληκνύθιον of Æschylus, Ranav, 1195, &c.

- Εὐριπίδης. ληρεῖς· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς προλόγους καλοῦς ποῶ.  
Αἰσχύλος. καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ κατ' ἔπος γέ σου κνίσω  
τὸ ῥήμ' ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖσιν θεοῖς  
ἀπὸ ληκνυθίου σου τοὺς προλόγους διαφθερῶ.  
Εὐριπίδης. ἀπὸ ληκνυθίου σὺ τοὺς ἐμούς;  
Αἰσχύλος. ἐνὸς μόνοῦ.  
ποιεῖς γὰρ οὕτως, ὥστ' ἐναρμόττειν ἅπαν,  
καὶ κωδάριον, καὶ ληκνύθιον, καὶ θυλάκιον,  
ἐν τοῖς ἱαμβείοισι. δέϊξω δ' αὐτίκα.

notonous construction of his clumsy prologues. 'He charges his dramas with an immoral tendency,' and the poet himself with

1. Αἰσχύλος. ὦ Κρητικὰς μὲν συλλέγων μονωδίας,  
γάμους δ' ἀνοσίους εἰσφέρων εἰς τὴν τέχνην. *Ran.* 848.
- Αἰσχύλος. ἀπόκρυνάι μοι, τίνος οὐνεκα χρὴ θαυμάζειν ἄνδρα ποιητὴν;  
Εὐριπίδης. δεξιότητος καὶ νοουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.
- Αἰσχύλος. τοῦτ' οὖν εἰ μὴ πεποίηκας,  
ἀλλ' ἐκ χρηστών καὶ γενναίων μοχθηροτάτους ἀπέδειξας,  
τί παθεῖν φήσεις ἄξιός εἶναι;—*Ib.* 1006.
- Αἰσχύλος. ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δι', οὐ Φαῖδρας ἐποιοῦν πόρνας οὐδὲ Σθενεβοίας,  
οὐδ' οἶδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρώσαν πώποτ' ἐποίησα γυναικα.
- \* \* \* \* \*
- Εὐριπίδης. καὶ τί βλάπτουσ', ὦ σχέτλι' ἀνδρῶν, τὴν πόλιν αἰ' μαὶ Σθερέ-  
βοιαι;
- Αἰσχύλος. ὅτι γενναίας καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἀλόχους ἀνέπεισας  
κῶνεια πιεῖν, αἰσχυνθείσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς Βελλεροφόντας.
- Εὐριπίδης. πότερον δ' οὐκ ὄντα λόγον τοῦτον περὶ τῆς Φαῖδρας ξυνέθηκα;
- Αἰσχύλος. μὰ Δι', ἀλλ' ὄντ'. ἀλλ' ἀποκρύπτειν χρεὶ τὸ πονηρὸν τὸν γε  
ποιητὴν,  
καὶ μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν  
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖς ἡβώουσιν δ' ποιηταί.  
πάνυ δὲ χρυστὰ λέγειν ἡμᾶς. *Ib.* 1041.
- Αἰσχύλος. ποίων δὲ κακῶν οὐκ αἰτίος ἔστ';  
οὐ προαγωγούς κατέδειξ' οὗτος,  
καὶ τικτούσας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς,  
καὶ μιγνυμένας τοῖσιν ἀδελφοῖς,  
καὶ φασκούσας οὐ ζῆν τὸ ζῆν;  
καὶ τ' ἐκ τούτων ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν  
ὑπὸ γραμματέων ἀνεμεστῶθη,  
καὶ βωμολόχων δημοπιθήκων,  
ἐξαπατώντων τὸν δῆμον αἰεὶ.  
λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οἶός τε φέρειν  
ὑπ' ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί. *Ran.* 1705.
- Στρεψιάδης. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἦσ' Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσιν τιν', ὡς ἐκίνει  
ἀδελφὸς ὠλεξίκακε τὴν ὁμομητρίαν ἀδελφὴν. *Nubes.* 1353.
- And, if we may trust Hieronymus in Athenæus, Sophocles had not much more faith than Aristophanes in the moral excellence of Euripides. xiii. 557.
2. Διόνυσος. ἴθι νυν ἐπίθες δὴ καὶ σὺ λιβανωτόν.  
Εὐριπίδης. καλῶς.  
ἕτεροιγάρ εἰσιν οἷσιν εὐχομαί θεοῖς.  
Διόνυσος. ἴδιοί τινές σοι, κόμμα καινόν;  
Εὐριπίδης.

contempt of the gods and a fondness for new-fangled doctrines.<sup>1</sup> He jeers his affectation of rhetoric and philosophy. In short Aristophanes seems to regard Euripides with a most sovereign contempt, bordering even upon disgust.

The attachment of Socrates and the admiration of Archelaus may perhaps serve as a counterpoise to the insinuations of Aristophanes against the personal character of Euripides. As to his poetic powers, there is a striking diversity of opinion between the later comedians and the author of the *Ranæ*; for<sup>2</sup> Menander and Philemon held him in high esteem. Yet the exact Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> whilst allowing to Euripides a pre-eminence in the excitement of sorrowful emotion, censures the general arrangement of his pieces,<sup>4</sup> the wanton degradation of his personages, and the unconnected nature of his choruses<sup>5</sup>,

Εὐριπίδης. καὶ μάλα.  
Διόνυσος. ἴθι δὴ προσεύχου τοῖσιν ἰδιώταις θεοῖς.  
Εὐριπίδης. αἰθὴρ, ἐμὸν βόσκημα, καὶ γλώττης στρόφιγξ,  
καὶ ξύνεσι, καὶ μυκτῆρες ὄσφραντήριοι,  
ὀρθῶς μ' ἐλέγχειν, ὧν ἂν ἄπτωμαι λόγων. *Ran.* 886.

1. ποιητῇ ρήματιών δικανικῶν. *Pax.* 526.  
Ξανθίας. νυνὶ δὲ τίς;  
Αἰακός. ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθ' Εὐριπίδης, ἐπεδείκνυτο  
τοῖς λωποδύταις καὶ τοῖς βαλαντιητόμοις  
καὶ τοῖσι πατραλοῖαισι καὶ τοιχωρύχοις,  
ὅπερ ἔστ' ἐν Αἰδου πλήθος· οἱ δ' ἀκροώμενοι  
τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν καὶ λυγισμῶν καὶ στροφῶν  
ὑπερεμάνησαν, καίνόμισαν σωφώτατον. *Ran.* 769.

Εὐριπίδης. ἔπειτα τουτουσὶ λαλεῖν ἐδιδάξα.  
Αἰσχύλος. φημὶ καγώ.  
ὥς πρὶν διδάξαι γ' ὥφελες μέσος διαρράγῃναι.  
Εὐριπίδης. λεπτῶν τε κανόνων εἰσβολὰς ἐπῶν τε γωνιασμούς,  
νοεῖν, ὀράν, ξυνιέναι. στρέφειν, ἐράν, τεχνάζειν,  
κάχ' ὑποτοπεῖσθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα. *Ib.* 954.

2. See above, page 52, note 3.

3. Καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἀλλὰ τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται—*Aristot. Poet.* xiii. 10.

4. "Ἔστι δὲ παράδειγμα ποιηρίας μὲν ἦθους μὴ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷον ὁ Μενέλαος ὁ ἐν τῷ Ὀρέστη· τοῦ δὲ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ μὴ ἀρμόττοντος ὁ τε Θρήνος Ὀδυσσεύς ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ, καὶ ἡ τῆς Μελανίππης ῥήσις· τοῦ δὲ ἀνωμαλίου, ἡ ἐν Αὐλίδι Ἰφιγένεια· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ἢ ἰκετεύονσα τῇ ὑστέρᾳ.—*Ib.* xv. 7—9.

Ὀρθή δὲ ἢ ἐπιτίμησις καὶ ἀλογίας καὶ μοχθηρίας, ὅταν μὴ ἀνάγκης αὖσης χρήσῃται τῷ ἀλόγῳ, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ Αἰγεί, ἢ τῇ ποιηρίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀρέστη τοῦ Μενελάου—*Ib.* xxvi. 31.

5. Καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἓνα δει ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μόριον αἶνα τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλῆς—*Ib.* xviii. 21.



<sup>1</sup>Longinus, like Aristotle, ascribes to Euripides great power in working upon the feelings by depiction of love and madness, but he certainly did not entertain the highest opinion of his genius. He even classes him among those writers, who far from possessing originality of talent, strive to conceal the real meanness of their conceptions, and assume the appearance of sublimity by studied composition and laboured language.

1. "Ἔστι μὲν οὖν φιλοπονώτατος ὁ Εὐριπίδης, δύο ταυτὶ πάθη, μανίας τε καὶ ἔρωτας, ἐκτραγωδεῖν, καὶ τούτοις, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τισιν ἐτέροις, ἐπιτυχεύσας.—Longin. xv. 3.

"Ἡκιστὰ γέ τοι," says the critic, speaking of him, "μεγαλοφυῆς ὢν, ὅμως τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν πολλοῖς γενέσθαι τραγικὴν προσηνάγκασι, καὶ παρ' ἑκάστα ἐπὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν, ὡς ὁ ποιητής,

Οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχίον ἀμφοτέρωθεν,

Μαστίεται, ἐξ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι.—Longin. xv. 3.

Again (xv. 6.) after speaking of the bold descriptions of Æschylus and his occasional failures, he adds—"Ὅμως ἑαυτὸν ὁ Εὐριπίδης κακείοις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας τοῖς κινδύνοις προσβιβάζει.

In Section XL. 2, 3, and 4, he classes Euripides amongst those writers who—οὐκ ὄντες ὑψηλοὶ φύσει, μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἀμεγέθεις—conceal the real meanness of their conceptions, and assume the appearance of sublimity and grandeur by studied composition and laboured language. Such, says Longinus, is the case with Philistus, sometimes with Aristophanes, generally so with Euripides—ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις Εὐριπίδης. He then gives an instance from the *Hercules Furens* (1245),

Γέμω κακῶν δὴ, κούκέτ' ἔσθ', ὅπη τεθῇ.

Where, continues he, though the idea is low, there is a semblance of sublimity; but, εἰ ἄλλως αὐτὸ συναρμόσεις, φανήσεται σοι, διότι τῆς συνθέσεως ποιητὴς ὁ Εὐριπίδης μάλλον ἐστίν, ἢ τοῦ νοῦ.

### SECTION III.

#### THE REMAINING GREEK TRAGEDIANS.

THE materials for compiling an account of the tragic writers, who were partly contemporary with, and partly subsequent to, the three great masters, are exceedingly meagre. Little more can be done than to furnish a catalogue of names, arranged in chronological order, with such incidental notices of these dramatists and their works as antiquity has left us.

<sup>1</sup>ARISTARCHUS of Tegea, was the contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides. He lived upwards of a hundred years, exhibited seventy tragedies, but was only twice successful. Of all these seventy plays only one line is left us, quoted in Athenæus (xiii. 612.) According to Festus, his *Achilles* was imitated by Ennius, and also by Plautus in his *Pænulus*.

<sup>2</sup>ION CHIUS began to exhibit, Olymp. LXXXII. 2, B. C. 451. The number of his dramas is variously estimated at from twelve to forty. Bentley has collected the names of <sup>3</sup>eleven. The same great critic has also shown that this Ion was a person of birth and fortune, distinct from Ion Ephesius, a mere begging rhapsodist. Besides tragedies, Ion composed dithyrambs, <sup>4</sup>elegies, &c., and several works in prose. Like Euripides, he was intimate with <sup>5</sup>Socrates. Ion was so delighted with being decreed victor on one occasion in the tragic contests at Athens, that he presented each citizen with a vase of Chian <sup>6</sup>pottery. We gather from a

1. Suidas in V.

2. Schol. Aristoph. Pax, 835. Suidas in Ion.

3. Epist. ad Mill. Chronic. Johann. Malal. subject.

4. His *Elegies* are quoted, Athen. x. p. 436, &c.: his *Ἐπιδημίου* (a work giving an account of all the visits paid by celebrated men to Chios,) ib. iii. p. 93, &c.

5. Diog. Laert. ii. 23.

6. Athen. i. p. 4.

joke of <sup>1</sup>Aristophanes, on a word taken from one of his dithyrambs, that Ion died before the exhibition of the *Pax*, B. C. 419.

ACHEUS ERETREIENSIS was born Olymp. LXXIV. B. C. 484<sup>2</sup>, the very year Æschylus won his first prize. We find him contending with Sophocles and Euripides, Olymp. LXXXIII. 2. B. C. 447<sup>3</sup>. With such competitors he was not very successful. He gained the dramatic victory only once. Athenæus however accuses Euripides of borrowing from this poet<sup>4</sup>. Most of the plays ascribed to him by the ancients are suspected by Casaubon to have been satyric<sup>5</sup>.

EUPHORION was the son of Æschylus<sup>6</sup>. He conquered four times with posthumous tragedies of his father's composition; and also wrote several dramas himself. One of his victories is commemorated in the argument to the *Medea* of Euripides; where we are told that Euphorion was first, Sophocles second, and Euripides third with the *Medea*. Olymp. LXXXVII. 2. 431.

ARISTEAS, son of Pratinas, is mentioned in the Vit. Anonym. of Sophocles as having contended with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. His chief merit lay in his satyric dramas, in which, according to Pausanias, he and his father were surpassed by Æschylus alone<sup>7</sup>.

THEOGNIS<sup>8</sup>, as we learn from a line in the opening of the *Acharnians*, was exhibiting at the time in which that comedy was

1. Οἰκέτης. οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδ' ἄ λέγουσι κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα,  
ὥς ἀστέρες γιγνόμεθ', ὅταν τις ἀποθάνῃ;  
Τρυνγαῖος. μάλιστα.  
Οἰκέτης. καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἀστὴρ νῦν ἐκεῖ;  
Τρυνγαῖος. Ἴων ὁ Χῖος, ὅσπερ ἐποίησεν πάλα  
ἐνθάδε τὸν ΛΟΙΟΝ ποθ', ὡς δ' ἦλθ', εὐθέως,  
ΛΟΙΟΝ αὐτὸν πάντες ἐκάλουν ΛΣΤΕΡΑ.—Pax, 798, &c.

Ion had begun one of his Dithyrambs with

Ἵοιόν ἀμεροφοῖταν ἀστέρα μείναιμεν, &c.

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 2. Suid. in Ἀχαιοίς.  | 3. Ibid.                 |
| 4. Athen. vi. p. 270. | 5. De Satyr. Poes. i. 5. |
| 6. Suidas in Εὐφ.     | 7. Paus. ii. 13.         |

8. Dicæopolis describes himself as having lately been anxiously expecting in the theatre a tragedy of Æschylus to commence, when the herald proclaimed, to his great vexation, Εἵσαγ', ὦ Θεόγνι, τὸν χορόν. Acharn. 11.

represented, i. e. Olymp. LXXXVIII. 4. B. C. 425. This poet is ridiculed in the same play for the frigidity of his inanimate compositions<sup>1</sup>. He was still a competitor for the tragic prize at the period in which the *Thesmophoriazusæ* was composed; for in that play the comedian again attacks him<sup>2</sup>. The Scholiast on the *Acharnians*, v. 11, says that this Theognis was one of the Thirty Tyrants. The name Theognis certainly does occur in the catalogue of that body given by Xenophon<sup>3</sup>.

PHILOCLES<sup>4</sup> is said by Suidas to have been the nephew of Æschylus, and the father of Morsimus. A trilogy of his, intitled the *Pandionid*, was recorded by Aristotle in the *Didascalie*. The *Tereus*, one of the plays in this trilogy, written in imitation of the *Tereus* of Sophocles, <sup>5</sup>is wittily ridiculed by Aristophanes in the *Aves*. This tragedian was termed Χολή or *Bile*, from his harsh and bitter language<sup>6</sup>. In figure he was deformed: hence Aristophanes takes occasion to cut sundry jokes upon him. In the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, Mnesilochus, following up the principle laid down by Agathon, that as the man is so is the poetry, begins,

Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ὁ Φιλοκλῆς αἰσχροὺς ὦν αἰσχροῶς ποιῇ.—163.

In the *Aves* he finds in his shape a similarity to the lark, Ἰκορυδὸς Φιλοκλέει....v. 1295.

1. Θέωρος. χρόνον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἤμιν ἐν Θράκῃ πολὺν  
εἰ μὴ κατένιψε χιόνι τὴν Θράκην ὅλην,  
καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔπηξ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον,  
ὅτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θεόγνις ἠγωνίζετο.—Acharn. 136, &c.
2. 'Ο δ' ἂν Θεόγνις ψυχρὸς ὦν ψυχροῶς ποιῇ.—Thesmoph. 170.
3. Hellen. iii. 2.

4. Suidas in Φιλοκ.—Suidas mentions two persons of this name, the one a tragic, the other a comic poet. Kuster contends that the Lexicographer is mistaken, and that his two accounts refer to one and the same individual—the tragedian.

5. Πει. τὶ τὸ τέρας τουτί ποτ' ἐστίν; οὐ σὺ μόνος ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἔποψ;  
ἀλλὰ χ' οὗτος ἕτερος;

Επ. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν μὲν οὗτος Φιλοκλέους  
ἐξ' Ἐποπας· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτου πάππος· ὥσπερ εἰ λέγεις  
Ἰππονίκου Καλλίου, καὶ Ἰππονίκου Καλλίας.—Aves, 280.

6. In allusion to this characteristic. Bdelycleon, speaking of the chorus of waspish old dicasts, says,

ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐ ῥαδίως οὕτως ἂν αὐτοὺς διέφυγες,  
εἴπερ ἔτυχον τῶν μελῶν τῶν Φιλοκλέους βεβρωκότες.—Vespæ, 461.

7. The Scholiast supposes Philecles to have been ὀξυκέφαλος ἐν τῷ ἄνω καὶ ὀρνιθώδης τὴν κεφαλῇ.



AGATHON was the contemporary and friend of Euripides<sup>1</sup>. At his house Plato lays the scene of his *Symposium*, given in honour of a tragic victory won by the poet. Agathon was no mean dramatist<sup>2</sup>. Plato represents him as abounding in the most exquisite ornaments and the most dazzling antitheses<sup>3</sup>. Aristophanes pays a handsome tribute to his memory as a poet and a man, in the *Ranæ* (v. 84.), where Bacchus calls him ἀγαθὸς ποιητῆς καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις. In the *Thesmophoriazusæ* which was exhibited six years before the *Ranæ*, Agathon, then alive, is introduced as the friend of Euripides, and ridiculed for his effeminacy<sup>4</sup>. He is there brought on the stage in female attire, and described as

Εὐπρόσωπος, λευκός, ἐξυρημένος,  
Γυναικόφωνος, ἀπαλός, εὐπρεπὴς ἰδεῖν—191.

<sup>5</sup>His poetry seems to have corresponded with his personal appearance: profuse in trope, inflexion, and metaphor; glittering with sparkling ideas, and flowing softly along, with harmonious words and nice construction, but deficient in manly thought and vigour. Agathon may, in some degree, be charged with having begun the decline of true Tragedy. It was he who first commenced the practice of inserting choruses betwixt the acts of the drama<sup>6</sup>, which had no reference whatever to the circumstances of the

1. Plat. Symp. §. 3.

2. He is called Ἀγαθὼν ὁ κλεινός by Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 29.

3. See Agathon's panegyric on Love, Symp. p. 56. See also Athen. V. 187, and Ælian V. H. xvi. 13.

4. In accordance with this, Socrates, when asked by Aristodemus why he was so handsomely dressed, replies—ταῦτα δὴ ἐκαλλωπισάμην, ἵνα καλὸς παρὰ καλὸν ᾶω.—Symp. p. 8.

5. His servant is thus made to characterize it:

μέλλει γὰρ ὁ καλλιπὴς Ἀγαθὼν  
δρυσόχους τιθέναι, δράματος ἀρχάς·  
κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἀψίδας ἐπῶν·  
τὰ δὲ τορνεύει, τὰ δὲ καλλομελεῖ,  
καὶ γνωμοτυπεῖ, κἀντονομάζει,  
καὶ κηροχυτεῖ, καὶ γογγύλλει,  
καὶ χροανεύει.—*Thesmoph.* 49.

Philostratus calls him an imitator in verse of Gorgias's prose: Ἀγαθὼν ὁ τῆς τραγωιδίας ποιητῆς, ὃν ἡ κωμωδία σοφὸν τε καὶ καλλιπῆ οἶδε, πολλαχού τῶν ἱαμβείων γοργιάζει.—*De Soph.* 1.

6. Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόνειρα οὐ μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου, ἢ ἄλλης τραγωιδίας ἔστι· εἰ ὁ ἐμβόλημα ἄδουσι, πρῶτον ἄρξαντος Ἀγαθῶτος τοιοῦτον.—*Aristot. Poet.* xviii. 22.

piece: thus infringing the law by which the Chorus was made one of the actors. <sup>1</sup>Aristotle blames him also for want of judgment in selecting too extensive subjects. He <sup>2</sup>“occasionally wrote pieces with fictitious names, (a transition towards the New Comedy) one of which was called the *Flower*<sup>3</sup>; and was probably, therefore, neither seriously affecting nor terrible, but in the style of the Idyl.”

<sup>4</sup>One of his tragic victories is recorded, Olymp. xci, 2, B. C. 416. He too, like Euripides, left Athens for the court of Archelaus. He died before the representation of the *Ranæ*<sup>5</sup>.

CARCINUS was a tragic writer contemporary with Aristophanes, who pours forth his jests most lavishly upon him and his three sons, Xenocles, Xenotimus, and Demotimus. In the *Nubes*, Strepsiades alludes to the incessant lamentations of the deities in the plays of Carcinus; where, on hearing his creditor Amynias crying out *Ἰω μοί, μοί*, he says,

——— ἔα  
τίς οὐτοσί ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ θρηγῶν; οὐ' τι πον  
τῶν Καρκίνου τις δαιμόνων ἐφθέγγετο;—1240.

and then the poor creditor is made to parody a passage from the *Tlepolemus* of the father or of Xenocles the son. <sup>6</sup>In the *Vespæ*, the diminutive size and ungainly appearance of this tragic family, with the ambiguous name *Κάρκινος*, supply matter for several lines of joke and raillery. <sup>7</sup>In the *Pax*, the merciless Comedian devotes sixteen verses to a similar attack.

<sup>8</sup>Xenocles was the shortest of the dwarfish sons of Carcinus. With Philocles and Theognis he is thus introduced, in the exemplification of Mnesilochus, before mentioned (p. 63):

ὁ δὲ Ξενοκλῆς ὢν κακὸς κακῶς ποιεῖ.—Thesmoph. 169.

He is mentioned with still more disrespect in the *Ranæ* (v. 86.)

Ἡρακλῆς. ὁ δὲ Ξενοκλῆς;  
Διόνυσος. ἐξόλοιτο νῆ Δία.

1. Aristot. Post. xviii. 17. -

2. Schlegel, Dram. Lit. Vol. i. p. 189.

3. Ibid. ix. 7.

4. Athen. v. p. 217.

5. *Ranæ*, 83, &c.

6. *Vespæ*, 1501, &c.

7. *Pax*, 763.

8. So Bdelycleon asserts, when speaking of the family,

ὁ σμικρότατος, ὅς τὴν τραγωδίαν ποιεῖ.—*Vespæ*, 1511.

<sup>1</sup> Yet this contemptible poet carried off from Euripides the tragic garland, Olymp. xci. 2, B. C. 415. In the *Pax*, Aristophanes applies the term *μηχανοδίφας* to the family. From the Scholiast it appears that Xenocles was celebrated for introducing machinery and stage shows, especially in the ascent or descent of his Gods. From the two lines in the *Nubes*, quoted above, we may infer that the father, Carcinus, was like his son, fond of introducing the deities.

ACESTOR was another of the tragic contemporaries of Aristophanes, by whom he is charged with being a foreigner<sup>2</sup>, and not an Athenian citizen.

PYTHANGELUS is barely named in the *Ranæ* (86); where the Scholiast informs us that he was a sorry tragedian.

MORSIMUS, son of Philocles, and MELANTHIUS, are assailed by Aristophanes in the Chorus of the *Pax*<sup>5</sup>, where the family of Carcinus suffer. The worst imprecation Cleon can invoke upon himself, if he hate not the sausage-seller, is

Καὶ διδασκόμενην προσάδειν Μορσίμου τραγῳδίαν.—Eq. 399.

And Hercules<sup>1</sup>, enumerating the criminals who are plunged in the Tartarean *βόρβορος*, concludes the lists of parricides, perjurers, and swindlers, &c. with

Ἡ Μορσίμου τις ῥῆσιν ἐξεγράψατο.

Melanthius<sup>5</sup> was afflicted with the leprosy, to which the Comic poet alludes in the *Aves* (151). In the *Pax* (974), he is ridiculed for his gluttony.

MORYCHUS is another tragedian, whose gormandizing notoriety Aristophanes<sup>6</sup> mentions in the *Acharnians* and the *Pax*. He

1. See Bentley above, p. 23.

2. *Aves*, 31, with Schol. *Vespæ*, 1221, with Brunck's note.

3. *Pax*, 775, &c.

4. *Ranæ*, 151.

5. See *Athen.* viii. p. 343.

6. Diceopolis (*Acharn.* 852.) addresses the Copeaic eel as φίλη ἐὲ Μορύχῳ: and again Trygaeus prays Peace (*Pax*, 970.) that when marketing he may have to fight for hampers of Copeaic eels

Μορύχῳ, Τελέῳ, Γλαυκέτῃ, ἄλλοις  
τῖνθαις πολλοῖς.

seems to have been a fop as well as an epicure<sup>1</sup>. The same failings are ascribed to him by Plato the Comedian.

IOPHON was the son of Sophocles<sup>2</sup>, whose plays he was suspected of exhibiting as his own. Be that as it may, he is represented as being the best tragic poet at the time when the *Ranæ* was composed; for Sophocles, Euripides, and Agathon were then dead. Iophon is said to have contended against his father, with much honour to himself as a dramatist. He, too, is the son who is reported to have brought the unsuccessful charge of dotage against the age of Sophocles. See above, p. 46.

CLEOPHON was contemporary with Critias<sup>3</sup>. His style was perspicuous, but not elevated, and sometimes the addition of a lofty-sounding epithet to a trifling noun made it ridiculous<sup>4</sup>. His characters were drawn with an accurate but unpoetic adherence to reality. Ten tragedies of his are enumerated by Suidas and Eudocia, and a piece called *Μανδρόβουλος* by Aristotle<sup>5</sup>, from its name a comedy or other light poem.

STHENELUS<sup>6</sup> is coupled by Aristotle with Cleophon as instances of too low a style. His compositions appear to have been dull and uninteresting<sup>7</sup>; for which fault we find him ridiculed by Aristophanes in a fragment of the *Gerytade*,

A. καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμ' ἂν ῥήματα;

B. εἰς ὅξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ λευκοὺς ἄλας.

1. Ζῆν βίον γενναῖον, ὥσπερ Μορύχου. *Vespæ*, 506.—In the same play (1142) Philocleon compares his handsome new cloak Μορύχου σάγματι.

2. Ἡρακλῆς. τί δ'; οὐκ Ἰοφῶν ζῆ;

Διώνυσος. τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ μόνον

ἐτ' ἐστὶ λοιπὸν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα.

οὐ γὰρ σάφ' οἶδ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὅπως ἔχει.

Ἡρακλῆς. εἴτ' οὐχὶ Σοφοκλέα, πρότερον ὄντ' Εὐριπίδου,

μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἴπερ ἐκείθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;

Διώνυσος. οὐ, πρὶν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον,

ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὃ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω.—*Ranæ*, 73.

3. Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15. iii. 7.

4. Id. *Poet.* ii. 5. xxii. 2. Herm. Tyrwhitt (§ 4, note) however is inclined to doubt whether the Cleophon here mentioned be the tragic poet. He suspects, too, that the Cleophon noticed in the *Rhetoric* was some orator.

5. *Soph. Elench.* xv. 14.

6. *Poet.* xxii. 2.

7. *Athen.* ix. p. 367. *Pollux.* vi. 65. *Schol. ad Vespæ*, 1303. See also Tyrwhitt (*Poet.* § 37).



Harpocration<sup>1</sup> likewise informs us that he was attacked by another comic writer as a plagiarist.

ASTYDAMAS first exhibited Olymp. xcv, 3, B. C. 398, and lived sixty years<sup>2</sup>. He was the son of Morsimus, and grandson of Philocles, the nephew of Æschylus. He studied under Isocrates, and composed two hundred and forty tragedies, according to Suidas; a rather improbable number.

MELETUS was the contemporary of Euripides, who is accused by<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes of copying his scolia. The Scholiast (in l. c.) asserts that this Meletus was the unworthy accuser of Socrates. On the same authority we are informed that he was a frigid, inanimate poet, and a bad, unprincipled man.

APHAREUS<sup>4</sup> was the step-son of Isocrates. He began to exhibit Olymp. ciii, B. C. 368, and continued to compose till B. C. 341. He produced thirty-five or thirty-seven tragedies, and was four times victor.

EURIPIDES junior, was the nephew of the great dramatist of that name<sup>5</sup>. Besides his own compositions he also exhibited several plays of his uncle then dead; one of which gained the prize. Böckh suspects that he reproduced the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and perhaps the *Palamedes*. To this Euripides is ascribed by Suidas an edition (ἐκδοσις) of Homer.

SOPHOCLES, the grandson of the great tragedian<sup>6</sup>, exhibited the *Ædipus Coloneus* of his grandfather Olymp. xciv, 4, B. C. 401. He first contended in his own name Olymp. xcvi, B. C. 396<sup>7</sup>.

SOSICLES<sup>8</sup>, a native of Syracuse, composed seventy-three tra-

1. Harpoc. in V.

2. Diod. Sic. xiv. 43.

3. οὔτος δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει πορνιδίων  
σκολιῶν Μελήττου, &c.

Ranae, 1297.

4. Plutarch in Isoc.

5. Suidas in V. See also Böckh de Trag. Græc. xiv. and xviii.

6. Arg. Œd. Col. apud Elmsleium ad Bacch. p. 14, and Suidas.

7. Diod. Sic. xiv. 53.

8. Suidas in V.

gedies, and was seven times victor. He lived during the reigns of Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander.

HERACLIDES PONTICUS, the pupil of Aristotle, wrote a work on the three great tragedians, and also published a series of dramas under the name of Thespis<sup>1</sup>.

Under the Ptolemies flourished several tragic poets, particularly the seven distinguished by the appellation of the *Pleiades*. They were contemporary inmates at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and are stated by the Scholiast on Hephæstion<sup>2</sup> to have been *Homer*, son of Mycon, *Sositheus*, *Lycophron*, *Alexander*, *Æantiades*, *Sosiphanes*, and *Philiscus*. Of their dramatic works not a fragment remains. The loss is probably not great, if we may judge from the only poetical piece composed by one of that body which is left us, the *Cassandra* of Lycophron<sup>3</sup>. The creative powers of the Greeks were now so completely exhausted, that henceforth they were under the necessity of repeating the works of the ancient masters<sup>4</sup>.

1. Laertius. v. 87. See above, page 15. note.

2. P. 32. ed. Pauw. The particular individuals, who composed the Pleiades, and their works are matters of great uncertainty. Should any one wish for a full discussion of this subject, he may refer to an article in the *Acta Soc. Philolog. Lipsiensis*, Vol. 11. pars 2, p. 389, &c.

3. Schlegel, Vol. i. p. 189.

4. In the fourth century after the Christian æra a strange dramatic piece—fabula longè insulsissima (Porson, *Orest.* 837)—was published under the name of Gregory Nazianzenus, entitled, *Χριστὸς πάσχων*. See Porson *Orest.* 857. *Medea*, 389. 1314, &c. This is the last recorded Greek tragedy, if such it can be called. It seems to have been a mere piece of mosaic patch-work, composed of disjointed lines and phrases gathered here and there from the old dramatists, and so arranged as to give the history of the Passion: something after the manner of the *Virgilius Evangelizans* by Alexander Ross.

## CHAPTER II.

### SECTION I.

#### THE OLD COMEDY.

THE early history of Grecian Comedy is enveloped in still more obscurity than that of Grecian Tragedy. <sup>1</sup> We have seen its origin referred by Aristotle to the Phallic songs of the ancient rustic Bacchanalia. This fact stands single and solitary. <sup>2</sup> The same great critic acknowledges his own inability to trace downwards the progress of this branch of the Drama. The utmost, therefore, that modern research can hope to accomplish, is to form by inference and conjecture a faint line of connexion between those rude Bacchanalian ebullitions and the finished dramas of Aristophanes.

The first shape, then, under which Comedy presents itself, is that of a ludicrous, licentious, and satyrical song; the extemporal effusion of a body of carousing countrymen, whilst accompanying the procession of the Phallus. In emerging from the disorderly bursts of these Phallic *αὐτοσχεδιάσματα* towards a more regular form, the first step of Comedy would be, as in the progress of Tragedy, the establishment of a chorus, and the introduction of something like subject and composition into its songs and recitations. <sup>3</sup> The performers no longer, as heretofore, directed their jests

1. See above, p. 5. For a critical account of Grecian Comedy the reader is referred to the extracts from Schlegel's Lectures, given below, Part ii.

2. Δί μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγωδίας μεταβάσεις, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο, οὐ λεγέσθαι· ἢ δὲ κωμῳδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σπονδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔλαθε.—Poet. v. 3.

3. Ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους.—Aristot. Poet. iv. 10.

This was probably the era of Susarion. He is called the Inventor of Comedy by the Arundel Marble; and his date may be inferred to be about 562 B. C. If the Marble be correct, by the term *κωμῳδία*, as applied to him, we can understand nothing beyond a kind of rough extemporal farce performed by the chorus, into which Susarion might have improved the Phallic song. We are also told by Aristotle that the Megarians claimed the invention of comedy:—Τῆς μὲν κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, οἱ τε ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας. (Poet. iii. 5.)

With

against each other. Country scandal would furnish many a laughable theme; whilst a wealthy miser, a cruel master, or an overbearing proprietor, would present a fair mark for sarcasm and raillery. Such was Comedy at the time of Thespis: rude, unformed, and unpolished;—its actors, a band of peasants smeared with wine lees; its stage a village green. <sup>1</sup> But now the improvements in the sister art would speedily extend to Comedy. <sup>2</sup> It became an object of attention to poets, who, possessing more wit than elevation of sentiment, preferred this lighter species of composition to the solemn grandeur of Tragedy. Interlocutors were introduced with the consequent dialogue. The Iambic metre superseded in a great measure the Trochaic, though not subjected to many of the nicer restrictions in the Tragic senarius. <sup>3</sup> Masks and appropriate dresses were given to the performers, with all

With regard to the claims of the Sicilian colonists, they were, as we shall see, well founded; but as to those of the parent city, they were, in all likelihood, derived solely from the early improvements made in the Phallic chorus by Susarion; who, according to some, was a native of Megara. (See Bentley Dissert. p. 200). Aristophanes is supposed to refer, in the *Vespæ*, to the Megarian exhibitions, which seem to have long been popular there:

μηδ' αὖ γέλωτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλέμενον.—v. 57.

Their coarse nature is mentioned by Eupolis, in a line of his *Προσπάλτιοι* still extant:

τὸ σκῶμ' ἀσελγεί ἢ δὲ Μεγαρικὸν σφόδρα.

1. The study of Homer's *Margites* gave a turn and tone to Comedy, as the reading of his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had exercised a similar influence upon Tragedy. (See above, p. 17). Ridicule, not invective, became thenceforth more peculiarly its characteristic.—“Ὡς περ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητῆς Ὀμηρος ἦν (μόνος γὰρ αὐχὸς ἐστὶν εὖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μυμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν) οὕτω καὶ τῆς κωμωδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ἐπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποίησας: ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥς περ Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας (Aristot. Poet. iv. 12). “And as, in the serious kind, Homer alone may be said to deserve the name of Poet, not only on account of his other excellencies, but also of the dramatic spirit of his imitations; so was he likewise the first who suggested the idea of Comedy, by substituting *ridicule* for *invective*, and giving that ridicule a dramatic cast; for his *Margites* bears the same analogy to Comedy as his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Tragedy.”—Twining.

At what time this change took place is uncertain; it was in all likelihood gradually produced, and seems only to have been partially effected in the old Comedy; for in the remains of its poets *invective* is plentifully mixed up with *ridicule*. Epicharmus, Phormis, and Dinolochus, the early Sicilian comedians, would, in their mythological dramas, deal more in the ludicrous than the sarcastic; whilst the first Athenian comic writers rather adhered to the old iambic or satyric form; Crates being the first who adopted the Margitic style and subject.

2. Arist. Poet. iv. 8. and 13.

3. Καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὅψι ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθέλονταί ἦσαν. ἥδη δὲ σχήματα τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται: τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν, ἢ λόγους, ἢ πλῆθη ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἡγνόνται.—Aristot. Poet. v. 3, 4.



other requisite properties, the expenses of which the contending poets were obliged to defray themselves; since it was long before the magistrate would allow the Comic chorus to enjoy the privileges of the Tragic, and be equipped at the public cost. At what period, and by whom these several improvements were effected is not known: even Aristotle's researches into the history of the Drama could elicit nothing satisfactory on this head.

The first Comic writer, of whom we have any certain account, is EPICHARMUS, a Syracusan<sup>1</sup> by birth or emigration.<sup>2</sup> It was about Olymp. LXX, 1, B. C. 500,—thirty-five years after Thespis began to exhibit, eleven years after the commencement of Phrynichus, and just before the appearance of Æschylus as a tragedian,—that Epicharmus produced the first Comedy properly so called. Before him this department of the Drama was, as we have every reason to believe, nothing but a series of licentious songs and satiric episodes, without plot, connexion, or consistency.<sup>3</sup> He gave to each exhibition one single and unbroken fable, and converted the loose interlocutions into regular dialogue. The subjects of his comedies, as we may infer from the extant titles<sup>4</sup> of

1. Theocritus, *Epig.* ιζ'. Some make him a native of Crastus, some of Cos (Suidas, *Eudocia*, p. 166.); but all agree that he passed his life at Syracuse.

2. Ἐκκίδεν [ἐκ Σικελίας] γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητής, πολλῶ πρότερος ὢν Χιονίδου καὶ Μάγνητος. *Arist. Poet.* iii. 5.—Chionides, on the authority of Suidas and *Eudocia*, began to exhibit B. C. 487: Aristotle's expression, πολλῶ πρότερος ὢν Χιονίδου, would therefore almost induce us to carry back the date of Epicharmus's first comedy still higher than B. C. 500.

3. Τοῦ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπιχάρμος καὶ Φόριμος ἤρξαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε.—*Aristot. Poet.* v. 5.

4. These titles, as collected by Meursius and others, are as follows:—

1. Ἀλκυὼν, 2. Ἀμυκος, 3. Ἀπαλάνται, 4. Βάκχαι, 5. Βούσιρις, 6. Γὰ καὶ Θάλασσα, 7. Διονύσοι, 8. Ἐλπίς ἢ Πλούτος, 9. Πῖρας γάμος, 10. Πρακλῆς Παράφορος, 11. Κύνλωψ, 12. Κωμιασταὶ ἢ Ἡφαιστος, 13. Μέγαρις, 14. Μούσαι, 15. Νιόβης γάμος, 16. Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτομόλος, 17. Ὀδυσσεὺς ναυάγης, 18. Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαῖς, 19. Σειρήνες, 20. Σκίρων, 21. Σφίγξ, 22. Τρώες, 23. Φιλοκτήτης, 24. Ἀγρωστίνοι, 25. Ἀρπαγαί, 26. Δίφιλος, 27. Ἐορτή, 28. Οἰωροί, 29. Λόγος ἢ Λογισή, 30. Νάσαι, 31. Ὀρέα, 32. Περιάλλος, 33. Πέρσαι, 34. Πίθων, 35. Χύτραι.

Of these the first twenty-three were evidently mythological, and possibly several of the remainder may have been so likewise. The few which had no connexion with mythology were, perhaps, the productions of Epicharmus in his later days. We know that he continued to compose several years after the first representations of Chionides and Magnes at Athens; whose subjects seem to have been much of the same nature as those of Aristophanes.

thirty-five of them, were chiefly mythological. <sup>1</sup> Tragedy had, some few years before the æra of Epicharmus, begun to assume its staid and dignified character. The woes of heroes and the majesty of the gods had, under Phrynichus, become its favourite theme. The Sicilian poet seems to have been struck with the idea of exciting the mirth of his audience, by the exhibition of some ludicrous matter dressed up in all the grave solemnity of the newly-invented art. Discarding, therefore the low drolleries and scurrilous invectives of the ancient *κωμῳδία*, he opened a novel and less invidious source of amusement, by composing a set of burlesque dramas <sup>2</sup> upon the usual Tragic subjects. They succeeded; and the turn thus given to Comedy long continued; so that when it once more returned to personality and satire, as it speedily did, Tragedy and Tragic poets were the constant objects of its parody and ridicule. The great changes thus effected by Epicharmus justly entitled him to be called the *Inventor* of Comedy <sup>3</sup>. But his merits rest not

1. This appears to be the only solution which can be given of the curious fact,—that between the personality of the Phallic song, at the one end, and that of the Aristophanic drama at the other, there intervened a species of Comedy very different from these two similar and opposite extremities,—the mythological Comedy of Epicharmus, Phormis, and Dinolochus.—In the *Amphitryo* of Plautus we may possibly have an imitation of one of the mythological plays written by his model, Epicharmus.

As a specimen of the style in which Epicharmus treated his mythological subjects, this graphic description of Hercules at his repast is given. It is a fragment from the *Busiris*:

πρῶτον μὲν αἶκ' ἔσθοντ' ἴδοις νιν, ἀποθάνοις·  
βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἔνδοθ', ἀραβεῖ δ' ἁ γνάθος,  
ψοφέϊ δ' ὁ γόμφιος, τέτριγεν ὁ κυνόδων,  
σίττει δὲ ταῖς ῥίνεσσι, κινεῖ δ' οὐάτα.—Athen. x. p. 411.

2. According to Athenæus, Epicharmus not only parodied the subject and external circumstances of Tragedy, but sometimes the words also and the sentiments of its poets:—*Κέχρηται δὲ [παρωδία] καὶ Εὔπικχαρμος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἐν τινὶ τῶν ἔραμάτων ἐπ' ὀλίγον* (xv. p. 693):—for in this sense *παρωδία* must be here understood. The same author likewise confirms this idea of the early Sicilian Comedy, when, speaking of the famous parodist, Hegemon, he adds, *Γέγραφε δὲ καὶ κωμῳδίαν εἰς τὸν ἄρχαϊον τρόπον, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσι Φιλύνην* (xv. 699).

3. Thus the epigram on Epicharmus, ascribed to Theocritus; which perhaps deserves transcription:

ἂ τε φωνὰ Δώριος, χώνηρ, ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν  
εὐρὼν Ἐπίχαρμος·  
ὦ Βάκχε, χάλκεόν νιν ἀντ' ἀλαθινοῦ  
τὴν ὧδ' ἀνέθηκαν,  
τοὶ Συρακόσσαις ἐνὶ δρυνται Πελωρεῖς τῇ πόλει,  
οἱ ἄνδρ' πολίται,

here: <sup>1</sup> he was distinguished for elegance in composition, as well as originality of conception. So many were his dramatic excellencies, that Plato terms him the first of Comic writers <sup>2</sup>; and, in a later age and foreign country, Plautus chose him as his model <sup>3</sup>. The plays of Epicharmus, to judge from the fragments still left us, abounded in apophthegms, little consistent with the idea we might otherwise have entertained of their nature, from our knowledge of the buffooneries whence his Comedy sprung, and the writings of Aristophanes, his partially extant successor. <sup>4</sup> But Epicharmus was a philosopher and a Pythagorean. <sup>5</sup> In the midst of merriment he failed not to inculcate, in pithy gnomæ, the otherwise distasteful lessons of morality to the gay and thoughtless; and, sheltered by comic license <sup>6</sup>, to utter offensive political truths, which, promulged under any other circumstances, might have subjected the sage to the vengeance of a despotic government. We find Epicharmus still composing comedies, <sup>7</sup> B. C. 485; and

σωρὸν γὰρ εἶχε χρημάτων, μεμναμένοι  
τελεῖν ἐπίχειρα.  
πολλὰ γὰρ ποττὰν ζῶαν τοῖς παισὶν εἶπε χρήσιμα  
μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ.—Epig. ιζ'.

Aristotle indirectly asserts the same thing; see above, p. 72, note 2.

1. Demetrius Phalereus (see Vossius de Poet. Gr. vi. p. 31.) says that Epicharmus excelled in the choice and collocation of epithets; on which account the name of Ἐπιχάρμος was given to his kind of style, making it proverbial for elegance and beauty. Aristotle (Rhet. iii. 9.), lays one fault to his charge as a writer, the employment of false antitheses.

2. Οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρω, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, Τραγωδίας δὲ Ὀμηρος.—Plato in Theæteto, p. 33.

3. Dicitur Afranī toga convenisse Menandro,  
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi prosperare Epicharmo.—Horat. 2. Epist. ii. 58.

4. Many scholars have supposed that there were two persons of this name, the one a philosopher, the other a comic poet; but the contrary opinion seems the more correct. It is therefore of one and the same Epicharmus that Laetius speaks, both when (viii. 73.) he mentions "Epicharmus the Pythagorean," and also when (iii. 9.) he asserts from Alcimus that "Plato transcribed much from Epicharmus the comedian into his own writings." It is of our Epicharmus that Cicero says, "Epicharmi acuti, nec insulsi hominis ut Siculi." (Tusc. Quæst. i. 8.); and to him is by some ascribed the invention of two letters in the Greek alphabet.

5. So the epigram of Theocritus quoted above,

πολλὰ γὰρ ποττὰν ζῶαν τοῖς παισὶν εἶπε χρήσιμα.

6. The accounts of Plutarch (De Adulatore, p. 63.) and Iamblichus (De vit. Pythag. xxxvi.), which attribute his *original* adoption of this mode of communicating his philosophical opinions to a dread of Hiero, must be erroneous. That prince did not succeed to the supreme power in Syracuse till B. C. 478, at which time Epicharmus had already been exhibiting above twenty years.

7. Suidas in Ἐπιχ.

again during the reign of Hiero, <sup>1</sup> B. C. 477. <sup>2</sup> He died at the age of ninety or ninety-seven years.

<sup>3</sup> PHORMIS was the countryman and contemporary of Epicharmus, and tutor to the sons of Gelon, the elder brother and predecessor of Hiero. <sup>4</sup> His comedies also appear to have been mythological parodies.

DINOLOCHUS, another Sicilian, the son <sup>5</sup>, the scholar, or the rival of Epicharmus <sup>6</sup>, is said to have flourished, B. C. 488. <sup>7</sup> Fourteen plays are ascribed to this poet; but neither of him nor of Phormis do any fragments remain. <sup>8</sup> These three Sicilian dramatists used the Doric dialect.

<sup>9</sup> CHIONIDES was the first Comic writer among the Athenians. His representations date from Olymp. LXXIII, 2, B. C. 487. <sup>10</sup> The names of three of his comedies are recorded—*Ἡρώες*, *Περσαὶ ἢ Ἀσσυριοί*, and *Πτωχοί*. The two latter do not apparently bear any reference to mythology, and therefore it is probable that Comedy was beginning to adopt subjects of a different nature <sup>11</sup>; or rather, that the *Attic* Comedy did, from its earliest times, incline, as in the days of Aristophanes, to personality and satire.

MAGNES <sup>12</sup>, the Athenian, was of the same age as Chionides. All his comedies have perished; but such of their <sup>13</sup> titles as are

1. His *Nᾶσαι* was composed about this date. See Clinton, Fast. Hell. B. C. 477.

2. Lucian (Macrob. xxv.) says 97; Laert. (viii. 78.) 90.

3. Suidas in *Φορ*. Aristot. Poet. iii. 5. v. 5.

4. The names of three were, *Κεφαίος*, *Ἀλκυνόες*, and *Ἰλίου πόρθησις*.

5. Suidas in V. 6. Ælian. H. A. vi. 51. 7. Suidas in *Διον*.

8. Suidas, ibid.—Theocritus, Epig. ιζ'. above, p. 73, note.

9. Aristot. Poet. iii. 5. Suidas in *Χίων*.

10. Suidas in *Χίων*. and Athenæus, iii. p. 119, and xiv. p. 638. Some of this poet's comedies were extant in the time of Vitruvius; who, mentioning a saying of Epicurus, adds, "Hæc ita esse plures philosophi dixerunt, non minus etiam poetæ, qui antiquas comedias Græcè scripserunt, et easdem sententias versibus in scena pronuntiaverunt. Eucrates, *Chionides*, Aristophanes, &c. Vitruv. Præf. in Lib. vi.—It would appear from this that Epicharmus was not singular amongst the old comedians, in admitting such gnomic into his dramas.

11. See above, p. 71, note.

12. Aristot. Poet. iii. 5.

13. *Πίτακις Βαρβιτίαις* or *Βαρβιτιστάις*, *Ὀρυθες*, *Αυτοὶ*, *Ψῆνες*, and *Βάτραχοι*. To the five last of these plays allusion is made by Aristophanes in the lines quoted



preserved confirm our suspicion that the materials of Athenian Comedy were derived from other sources than mythology. The plays of Magnes were probably much of the same nature with those of Aristophanes. Indeed two of them, the *Βάτραχοι* and the *Ὀρνίθες*, had the very titles which are borne by two of the surviving dramas of the latter poet. <sup>1</sup> Magnes, whilst in his prime, was an active and popular writer, full of wit and invention; but in his old age he fell into disrepute: his services were forgotten by an ungrateful audience, and he was left to die in neglect and obscurity.

CRATINUS <sup>2</sup>, the son of Callimedes, an Athenian, was born <sup>3</sup> Olymp. Lxv. 2, B. C. 519. It was not till late in life that he directed his attention to Comic composition. <sup>4</sup> The first piece of his on record is the *Ἀρχίλοχοι*, which was represented about Olymp. Lxxxiii, B. C. 448; at which time he was in his seventy-first year. Soon after this, Comedy became <sup>5</sup> so licentious and

quoted below. The expression there, *σκώπτειν* (v. 523.), strongly supports our opinion respecting the early Attic comedy; indeed Aristotle seems expressly to assert it. See below, *Crates*, p. 79.

1. Aristophanes, in a parabasis of the *Equites* (505, &c.), descanting on the peculiar difficulties of the comic poet, from the nature of his task itself, and the fickleness of his auditors, instances his assertions in the cases of Magnes, Cratinus, and Crates. Of Magnes he says:

τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ἃ ἴπαθε Μάγνης ἅμα ταῖς πολλαῖς κατιούσαις,  
ὃς πλεῖστα χορῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων νίκης ἔστησε τρόπαια,  
πᾶσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἰεῖς, καὶ ψάλλον, καὶ πτερυγίζων,  
καὶ λυδίζων, καὶ ψηνίζων, καὶ βαπτόμενος βατραχείῃς,  
οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν· ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ γήρῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡβῆς,  
ἐξέβληθ' ἐπὶ πρεσβύτης ὢν, ὅτι τοῦ σκώπτειν ἀπελείφθη.—518.

2. Suidas in V.

3. Cratinus died B. C. 422, at the age of ninety-seven (Lucian, *Macrob.* xxv.); his birth-year would therefore be B. C. 519.

4. In this play, according to Plutarch (*Vit. Cim.* x.), he thus makes mention of the celebrated Cimon, who had died in the preceding year, B. C. 449:

καὶ γὰρ γὰρ ἡῦχον  
σὺν ἀνδρὶ θεῷ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ,  
καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῶν πανελλήνων πρόμῳ,  
Κίμωνι, λεπαρὸν γήρας εὐωχούμενος  
αἰῶνα πάντα συνδιατρίψειν· ὁ δὲ  
Λιπὼν βέβηκε πρότερος.

It would hence appear that Cratinus had been on terms of close intimacy with the Athenian general.

5. Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 67. See Clinton. *Fast. Hell.* B. C. 440 and 437.

virulent in its personalities, that the magistracy were obliged to interfere. A decree was passed, Olymp. LXXXV. 1, B. C. 440, prohibiting the exhibitions of Comedy; which law continued in force only during that year and the two following, being repealed in the archonship of Euthymenes. Three victories of Cratinus stand recorded after the recommencement of Comic performances. <sup>1</sup>With the *Χειμαζόμενοι* he was second, B. C. 425, when the *Ἀχαρνεῖς* of Aristophanes won the prize, and the third place was adjudged to the *Νουμηνίαι* of Eupolis. <sup>2</sup>In the succeeding year he was again second with the *Σάτυροι*, and Aristophanes again first with the *Ἰππεῖς*. <sup>3</sup>In a parabasis of this play, already referred to, that young rival makes mention of Cratinus; where, after having noticed his former successes, he insinuates, under the cloak of an equivocal pity, that the veteran was become doting and superannuated. The old man—now in his ninety-fifth year—in-dignant at this insidious attack, exerted his remaining vigour, and composed against the contests of the following season a comedy intitled *Πυτίνη*, or *The Flagon*, which turned upon the accusations brought against him by Aristophanes. <sup>4</sup>The aged dramatist had a complete triumph. He was first; whilst his humbled antagonist was also vanquished by Ameipsias with the *Κόννος*, though the play of Aristophanes was his favorite *Νεφέλαι*. Notwithstanding his <sup>5</sup>notorious excesses, Cratinus lived to an extreme old age,

## 1. Argum. Acharn.

## 2. Argum. Equit.

3. εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶ ρέυσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ  
 διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδιῶν ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων  
 ἐφόρει τὰς ἐρῆς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμνους·  
 ᾄσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν συμποσίῳ, πλην ΔΩΡΟΙ ΣΥΚΟΠΕΔΙΑΙΕ,  
 καὶ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ΕΥΠΑΛΑΜΩΝ ΥΜΝΩΝ· οὕτως ἦνθησεν ἐκεῖνος.  
 νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὀρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,  
 ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων, καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκ ἐτ' ἐνόντος,  
 τῶν θ' ἀρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὦν περιέρρει,  
 ὥσπερ Κόννος, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὖτον, δίψει δ' ἀπολλωλώς,  
 ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ,  
 καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

Equit. 524.

## 4. Argum. Nub.

5. To the intemperance of Cratinus he alludes in the passage from the *Equites*, quoted above. In the *Pax* (684, &c.) he humorously ascribes the jovial old poet's death to a shock on seeing a cask of wine staved and lost.

Ἐρμῆς. τί δαί; Κρατίνος ὁ σοφὸς ἔστιν;  
 Τρυγαῖος. ἀπέθανεν,  
 ὅθ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνέβαλον.

Ἰ. ἤρμης.

dying, B. C. 422<sup>1</sup>, in his ninety-seventh year. "The titles of thirty-eight of his comedies have been collected by Meursius, Kœnig, &c. "His style was bold and animated; and, <sup>4</sup>like his younger brethren, Eupolis and Aristophanes, he fearlessly and unsparingly directed his satire against the iniquitous public officer and the profligate of private life. Nor yet are we to suppose that the comedies of Cratinus and his contemporaries contained nothing beyond broad jest or coarse invective and lampoon. <sup>5</sup>They were, on the contrary, marked by elegance of expression and purity of language; elevated sometimes into philosophical dignity by the sentiments which they introduced, and graced with many a passage of beautiful idea and high poetry: so that Quintilian deems the Old Comedy, after Homer, the most fitting and beneficial object for a young pleader's study. In short, the character of this stage in the Comic Drama cannot be more happily defined than by the words of the chorus in the *Ranæ*; its duty was

πολλὰ μὲν γελοῖα εἰ-  
πεῖν πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαῖα.—389.

Ἑρμῆς.

Τρυγαῖος.

τί παθών;

ο τι;

ὠρακιάσας. οὐ γὰρ ἐξήνέσχετο  
ὀρῶν πίθον καταγνύμενον οἴνου πλέων.

Cratinus himself made no scruple of acknowledging his failing:—ὅτι δὲ φίλοις  
δ Κρατῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Πυτίνῃ λέγει σαφῶς (Schol. in Pac. 687.) Horace also opens one of his Epistles (1 Epp. xix.) with a maxim of the Comedian's, in due accordance with his practice,

Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino,  
Nulla placere diu, nec vivere carmina possunt,  
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.

1. Lucian, Macrob. xxv. Cratinus was dead at the representation of the *Pax*. B. C. 419. See the preceding note.

2. Fabric. Bib. Græc. in Cratin.

3. ——— *Audaci* quicumque adflate Cratino,  
Iratum Eupolidem prægrandi cum sene palles, &c.—Persius, i. 123.

4. Eupolis atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,  
Atque alii, quorum comædia prisca virorum est.  
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus aut fur,  
Quod mæchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui  
Famosus, multâ cum libertate notabant.—Horat. 1 Satt. iv. 1, &c.

5. Antiqua comædia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet, tum facundissimæ libertatis, etsi est in insectandis vitiis præcipua, plurimum tamen virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet. Nam et grandis et elegans et vetusta, et nescio an ulla, post Homerum tamen, quem, ut Achillem, semper excipi par est, aut similior sit oratoribus, aut ad oratores faciendos aptior. Plures ejus auctores, Aristophanes tamen, et Eupolis, Cratinusque præcipui.—Quinct. x. 1.

CRATES<sup>1</sup> was originally an actor, and performed the principal parts in the plays of Cratinus. <sup>2</sup>Afterwards, about B. C. 450 he began to compose comedies himself. Crates, <sup>3</sup>according to Aristotle, was the first Athenian poet who abandoned the iambic or satiric form of comedy, and made use of invented and general stories or fables. Perhaps the law, mentioned above<sup>4</sup>, might have some share in giving his plays this less offensive turn. His style is said to have been gay and facetious; yet the few fragments of his writings which remain are of a serious cast<sup>5</sup>. From the expressions of Aristophanes<sup>6</sup>, in the parabasis of the *Equites* already quoted, the comedies of Crates seem to have been marked by elegance of language and ingenious ideas. <sup>7</sup>Yet, with all his endeavours to please his fastidious auditors, the poet had, in common with his rivals, to endure many contumelies and vexations. He nevertheless, with unwearied resolution, continued to compose and exhibit during a varied career of success and reverses.

PHRYNICHUS first appeared as a comic poet "a little before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. <sup>9</sup>In Olymp. xci. 3. B. C. 414. when Ameipsias was first with his *Κωμασται*, and Aristophanes second with the *Ὀρυθες*, Phrynichus was third with his *Μονότροπος*. <sup>10</sup>He was second, Olymp. xciii. 4. B. C. 405. with his *Μοῦσαι*; Plato was third with his *Κλεοφῶν*; and Aristophanes first with the *Βάτραχοι*. <sup>11</sup>In this play his rival

1. Anon. περὶ Κωμωδίας Aristoph. præmiss. Schol. in *Equit.* 537.

2. Eusebius.

3. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ἀφόμενος τῆς iamβικῆς ἰδέας, καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους ἢ μύθους.—Poet. iv. 7. See above, *Chionides* and *Magnes*.

4. P. 76.

5. Such are his reflections on Poverty. and his beautiful lines on Old Age.

6. See the passage in the next note, v. 538.

7. οἷος δὲ Κράτης ὀργὰς ὑμῶν ἠνέσχετο καὶ στυφελισμούς,  
ὃς ἀπὸ συμικρᾶς δαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπεν,  
ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἀστείοτάτας ἐπινοίας.  
χ' οὗτος μέντοι μόνος ἀντήρκει, τοτὲ μὲν πίπτων τοτὲ δ' οὐχί.

*Equit.* 535.

8. B. C. 435. Suidas in V.

9. Argum. Av. ii.

10. Argum. Ran.

11. Ξανθίας. τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκέυη φέρειν,  
εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν, ὥνπερ Φρύνιχος  
εἴωθε ποιεῖν, καὶ Λύκισ, κ' Αμειψίας,  
σκευὴ φερούσ' ἐκάστοτ' ἐν κωμωδίᾳ;



accuses him of bringing on the stage slaves heavily laden with baggage, in order to put bad jests into their mouths. Phrynichus was nevertheless a poet of superior abilities. <sup>1</sup>The names of ten of his comedies are extant.

<sup>2</sup>EUPOLIS was nearly of the same age with Aristophanes, and probably exhibited for the first time B. C. 429. In B. C. 425 he was third with his *Νουμηνίαι*, when Cratinus was second, and Aristophanes first. <sup>3</sup>In B. C. 421 he brought out his *Μαρικᾶς* and his *Κόλακες*; one at the Dionysia ἐν Ἀθηναίοις, the other at those ἐν Ἄστει; <sup>4</sup>and in a similar way his *Αὐτόλυκος* and *Ἀστράτευτοι* the following year. <sup>5</sup>The titles of more than twenty of his comedies have been collected by Meursius. A few fragments remain. <sup>6</sup>Eupolis was a bold and severe satirist on the vices of his day and city. <sup>7</sup>In the *Μαρικᾶς* he attacked Hyperbolus, <sup>8</sup>in the *Αὐτόλυκος* an Athenian so named, in the *Ἀστράτευτοι*

Διώνυσος. μὴ νῦν ποιήσης· ὡς ἐγὼ θεώμενος,  
ὅταν τι τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων ἴδω,  
πλεῖν ἢ νιαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ἀπέρχομαι.—Ran. 12, &c.

Phrynichus had been mentioned before in the *Nubes*; where Eupolis is charged with copying him in the *Maricas*;

Προσθεῖς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃν τοῦ κόρδαχος οὔνεχ', ἣν  
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποιήχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν.—547.

This passage, too, shows that Phrynichus was senior to both Eupolis and Aristophanes.

1. Fabric. Bib. Græc. in Phryn.

2. Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxix. (Beck,) compared with Suidas in Εὐπ. Argument. Acham.

3. Schol. Nub. 544 and 582. Aristophanes, in the parabasis of that comedy, which seems to have been added in a third revision, accuses Eupolis of copying his *Maricas* from the *Equites*, which had been represented three years before.

οὗτοι δ' ὡς ἅπαξ παρέδωκεν λαβὴν Ὑπέρβολος,  
τοῦτον δείλαιον κολετρῶσ' αἰεὶ καὶ τὴν μητέρα.  
Εὐπολὶς μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρείλκυσε  
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς,  
προσθεῖς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃν, τοῦ κόρδακος οὔνεχ', ἣν  
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν.—Nubes. 543, &c.

It seems, too, from the Scholiast on v. 532.

Οὐδ' ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλακροὺς,

that Eupolis had offended his rival by cutting some jest upon his baldness.

4. Athen. v. p. 216. Schol. Pac. 779.

5. Fabric. Bib. Græc. *Eupolis*.

6. Persius terms him *iratum*. See above, p. 78, note.

7. Aristoph. *Nubes*. 543.

8. Athen. v. p. 216.

Melanthius. <sup>1</sup>In the *Βαπταί* he inveighed against the effeminacy of his countrymen; <sup>2</sup>in his *Λακεδαιμόνες* he assailed Cimon, accusing him, amongst other charges, of an unpatriotic bias towards every thing Spartan. <sup>3</sup>His death was generally ascribed to the vengeance of Alcibiades, whom he had lampooned, probably in the *Βαπταί*. By his orders, according to the common account, Eupolis was thrown overboard during the passage of the Athenian armament to Sicily, B. C. 415. Cicero, however, calls this story a vulgar error; since Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian librarian, had shown that several comedies were composed by Eupolis some time after the date assigned to this pseudo-assassination. His tomb too, according to Pausanias, was erected on the banks of the *Æsopus* by the Sicyonians, which makes it most probable that this was the place of his death<sup>4</sup>.

Of ARISTOPHANES antiquity supplies us with few notices, and those of doubtful credit. <sup>5</sup>The most likely account makes him the son of Philippus, a native of *Ægina*; and therefore the Comedian was an adopted, not a natural, citizen of Athens. <sup>6</sup>The exact dates of his birth and death are equally unknown.

1. Schol. Pac. 808.

2. Plut. in Cim. who says this play had a great influence on the public feeling.

3. Quis enim non dixit, Εὐπολιν, τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, ab Alcibiade, navigante in Siciliam, dejectum esse in mare? Redarguit Eratosthenes. Adfert enim, quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit.—Cicero ad Att. vi. 1.

4. Eupolis in his comedy entitled *Δῆμοι* evokes the departed orators and statesmen of Athens from the dead. Pericles appears amongst them, whose character the poet thus gives;

Κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν.

Ὅποτε παρέλθοι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δρομεῖς,

Ἐκ δέκα πόδων ἥρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας·

Ταχὺς λέγειν μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ' αὐτῷ τῷ τάχει

Πειθῷ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν·

Οὕτως ἐκλήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων

Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκυτέλιπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις.—Schol. in Acharn. 504.

5. Acharn. 628 with Schol. Vit. Aristoph. Anonym. Athen. vi. 227.

6. We can, however, approximate to the one and the other. The *Δαιταλεῖς*, his maiden comedy, was represented B. C. 427. \*At that time he had not reached the age required

\* ἐξότου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν,  
ὁ Σώφρων τε χῶ-Καταπύγων ἀριστ' ἵκουσάτην,  
καγῶ—παρθένος γάρ ἐτ' ἦν κοῦκ ἐξῆν πῶ μοι τεκεῖν,—  
ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβρὺς ἀνείλετο, &c.—Nubes, 520.

At a very early period of his dramatic career Aristophanes directed his attention to the political situation and occurrences of Athens. His second recorded comedy, the *Babylonians*, was aimed against Cleon, and his third, the *Acharnians*, turns upon the evils of the Peloponnesian war—then in its sixth year—and the advantage of a speedy peace. His talents and address soon gave him amazing influence with his countrymen; <sup>1</sup>as Cleon

required by law in those who were allowed a comic chorus by the Archon, and therefore the piece was published under the name of a friend. Now this age was either twenty or thirty years (Schol. in Nub. 522): suppose it the latter, as most likely; Aristophanes, therefore, in B. C. 427 was under thirty; and yet not much so, as the *Ἰππεις*, performed B. C. 424 (Argum. Equit.), was registered in his own name. Taking, then, the mean between these two dates as the time of his attaining thirty, we shall have B. C. 456. as the year of his birth. With respect to the date of his death, we know that the *Plutus*, the last play represented under his own name (Arg. Plut. iii.) was performed B. C. 388; and further that he lived long enough after this to compose two more comedies—the *Κόκκαλος* and *Αἰολοσικῶν*—which were exhibited under the name of his son Araros. Hence we may fix his death, with some degree of certainty, at or about B. C. 380: which would make him then nearly eighty years of age.

1. The *Equites* was exhibited the very year after that in which Cleon had undeservedly gained so much glory by the capture of the Spartans in Sphacteria (Argum. Equit. et Thucyd. iv. 39). He was then in the height of his power and insolence. No actor durst personate his character in the comedy, and no artist model a mask after his likeness (Eq. 230-4.) Aristophanes himself was compelled to undertake the part, and appeared for the first time on the stage, his face smeared with wine lees. His success was complete. To this bold attack he refers with pride in the *Nubes*;

Ὅς μέγιστον ὄντα Κλέων' ἐπαῖς' εἰς τὴν γαστέρα,  
Κοῦκ' ἐτόλμησ' αὖθις ἐπεμπεδῆσ' αὐτῷ κειμένῳ.—541.

and again in the *Vespæ* (v. 62), performed two years after the *Equites*; where Xanthias, recounting all the subjects which should *not* form the plot of the present comedy, concludes the catalogue with

Οὐδ', εἰ Κλέων γ' ἔλαμψε τῆς τύχης χάριν,  
Λῦθις τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα μυττώτεύσομεν.

Mr. Mitford (Hist. of Greece, chap. xvi. §. 6.) supposing the *Acharnians* to have been written subsequently to the *Equites*, attributes the fine there mentioned, as imposed through the Knights upon Cleon, to the effect produced against that demagogue by the comedy of Aristophanes. This cannot be correct, if any credit is to be attached to the Scholia and Arguments. They uniformly place the *Acharnians* a year before the *Equites*, and make no mention of Aristophanes in their account of the suit instituted by the Knights, but on the contrary assign the part they then took against Cleon, as the reason which induced Aristophanes to introduce them as a chorus, and give their name to the play\*. Nay the poet himself, in the *Acharnians*, plainly intimates this attack on Cleon as a thing intended and not effected; though the *Equites* of the following year was probably at that time already commenced:

Ὅς μεμίσηκά σε Κλέωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὃν  
κατατεμῶ ἡγῶ τοῖσιν ἰππεῦσιν ποτ' εἰς καττύματα.—282.

\* See the Arguments of the *Acharn.* and *Equit.* and Schol. on *Acharn.* 6. and *Equit.* 225.

felt to his cost the succeeding year on the representation of the *Equites*<sup>1</sup>. The fame of Aristophanes was not confined to his own city. Dionysius of Syracuse would gladly have admitted the popular dramatist to his court and patronage; but his invitations were steadily refused by the independent Athenian.<sup>2</sup> In B. C. 423. the Sophists felt the weight of his lash, for in that year he produced, though unsuccessfully, his *Nubes*. The vulgar notion that the exhibition of Socrates in this play was an intentional prelude to his capital accusation in the criminal court, and that Aristophanes was the leagued accomplice of Melitus,<sup>3</sup> has of late been frequently and satisfactorily refuted. The simple consideration that twenty-four years intervened between the representation of the *Nubes* and the trial of Socrates, affords a sufficient answer to any such charge.<sup>4</sup> In fact, after the performance of this very comedy, we find Socrates and Aristophanes become acquainted, and occasionally meeting together on the best terms. An imperfect knowledge of Socrates at the time, his reputed doctrines, and his constantly consorting with notorious Sophists, along with the marked singularity of his face, figure, and manners, so well adapted to comic mimicry, were doubtless the main reasons for the selection of him as the sophistic Coryphæus.<sup>5</sup> In the *Peace* and the *Lysistrata* Aristophanes again reverts to politics and the Peloponnesian war: in the *Wasps*, the *Birds*, and the *Ecclesiazusæ*, he takes cognizance of the internal concerns of the state; in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and the *Ranæ*, he attacks Euripides and discusses the drama; whilst in the *Plutus*

1. Aristophanes himself thus appeals, in a parabasis of the *Acharnians*, to this fame and popularity of his:

Τοιγάρτοι νῦν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες  
 "Ἡξουσιν, ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον,  
 "Ὅστις παρεκιδύννευσε λέγειν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια.  
 Οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τόλμης ἥδη πόρρω κλέος ἦκει,  
 "Ὅτε καὶ Βασιλεὺς, Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσβείαν βασανίζων,  
 Ἠρώτησεν πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοῦς, πότεροι ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατοῦσιν.  
 Εἶτα δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν, ποτέρους εἴποι κακὰ πολλά.—618, &c.

The last boast, however, seems of a somewhat dubious character.

2. Argument. Nub. See above, p. 168.

3. See particularly Mr. Mitchell's elegant and able Introduction to his translation of Aristophanes.

4. Plato, Symposium.

5. For the chronology of these several dramas see the table at the end of this historic sketch.



he presents us with a specimen of the Middle Comedy. Eleven of his comedies are still extant out of upwards of sixty<sup>1</sup>.

Aristophanes, during the whole of his career, had a numerous body of rival comedians to oppose. *Eephantides*, *Pisander*, *Callias*, *Hermippus*, *Myrtilus*, *Lysimachus*, *Lycis*, *Leucon*, and *Pantacles*, besides the more celebrated writers whom we have noticed above, were a little his seniors; *Aristomenes*, *Ameipsias*, *Teleclides*, *Pherecrates*, *Plato*, *Diocles*, *Sannyrio*, *Philyllius*, *Philonides*, *Strattis*, and *Theopompus*, with several others, to the number of thirty in all, were somewhat his juniors; with most of whom Aristophanes had to contend in the course of his dramatic exhibitions. Of these poets little is left us beyond their names and a few isolated fragments. Yet Plato, Pherecrates, and Philonides were men of superior talent. With Theopompus, who flourished B. C. 386, closes the list of the Old Comedians.

1. Fab, Bib. Græc. *Aristoph.*

## CHAPTER II.

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### SECTION II.

#### THE MIDDLE COMEDY.

THE Old Comedy had exercised the most unbounded liberty in satirizing the public faults and private failings of contemporary citizens. No rank, age, profession, or authority could shelter the object of Comic abuse or ridicule. He was not only assailed by name and jeered to his face whilst seated as a spectator, but he was actually dragged on the stage as one of the *dramatis personæ*, and thus made to behold himself, acting as it were, his own shame. This licentious freedom against person and character vanished of course with Athenian independence. The temporary abolition of the Democracy, towards the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, was quickly followed by a law, which forbade the introduction of individuals by name as personages in Comedy. It does not appear that the law went further, yet all other attacks upon the powerful leaders of affairs at that time or their partisans, would be sedulously avoided by those, who wished to escape the vengeance of men no less relentless than suspicious. Thus deprived by political circumstances of the rich materials, which public events and public characters had hitherto supplied, the Comic poets were constrained to look elsewhere for subjects. Sometimes the old Sicilian style was adopted, and the mythologic stories of antiquity were transformed into ludicrous exhibitions. Sometimes the pieces of the tragedians were parodied; and as personal ridicule was too favorite a weapon to be altogether laid aside, its shafts were turned from the demagogue and the peculator upon the Platonist and the Pythagorean;—men, whose habits and pursuits might be safely attacked without exciting political jealousy or alarm. It was now too that the host of characters sprung up, which in after times entered regularly into

the composition of every Comedy:—stupid rustics, drunken old women, aged misers, braggadocios, harlots, cooks, slaves, and parasites.

Such are the leading features of that class of dramas, which appeared during the interval that elapsed between the sudden annihilation of the Old and the final formation of the New Comedy<sup>1</sup>.

The following is a brief biographical list of the most eminent writers assigned to the Middle Comedy.

<sup>2</sup>EUBULUS, who exhibited about Olymp. ci, 2, B. C. 375, is called by Suidas μεθόριος τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς. He was a native of Atarneus, and the author of fifty comedies<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup>ARAROS, son of Aristophanes, was the contemporary of Eubulus. <sup>5</sup>Under his name the two last pieces of his father were represented, <sup>6</sup>whose talents he by no means possessed. <sup>7</sup>Nicostratus and Philippus, two other sons of Aristophanes, are also recorded amongst the poets of the Middle Comedy. The titles of several comedies written by these three brothers are preserved in Athenæus.

<sup>8</sup>ANTIPHANES of Rhodes, Smyrna, or Carystus, was born (B. C. 408) of parents in the low condition of slaves. This most prolific poet (he is said to have composed upwards of three hundred dramas), notwithstanding the meanness of his origin, was so popular in Athens, that on his decease a decree was passed to remove his remains from Chios to that city, where they were interred with public honours.

1. It is difficult to define the precise limits of the Middle Comedy, either in respect of its nature or its age. Mr. Clinton has touched upon the subject in the Introduction to his admirable *Fastæ Hellenicæ*, (p. xxxvi. &c.). He has shown that the generally received idea, which would distinguish the Middle from the Old Comedy by its abstinence from personal satire, is completely at variance with the fragments still extant; and that the celebrated law—τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινα—simply forbade the introduction of any individual on the stage *by name as one of the dramatis personæ*. This prohibition, too, might be evaded by suppressing the name and identifying the individual by means of the mask, dress, and external appearance alone. “This law, then, when limited to its proper sense, is by no means inconsistent with a great degree of comic liberty, or with those animadversions upon eminent names with which we find the comic poets actually to abound.” (*Fast. Hell.* p. xlii.). The date of the law is uncertain; probably about B. C. 404, during the government of the Thirty.

2. Suidas in V.

3. Fab. Bib. Græc. Eub.

4. Suidas in V.

5. See above, p. 82, note.

6. Athen. iii. 9, p. 35 and 123.

7. Ib. xiii. p. 587.

8. Suidas in V. and Eudocia.

<sup>1</sup>ANAXANDRIDES of Camirus in Rhodes, was the author of sixty-five comedies. Endowed by nature with a handsome person and fine talents, Anaxandrides, though studiously elegant and effeminate in dress and manners, was yet the slave of passion. <sup>2</sup>It is said that he used to tear his unsuccessful dramas in pieces, or send them as waste paper to the perfumers' shops. He introduced upon the stage scenes of gross intrigue and debauchery; and not only ridiculed Plato and the Academy, but proceeded to lampoon the magistracy of Athens. <sup>3</sup>For this attack he is by some reported to have been tried and condemned to die by starvation.

<sup>4</sup>ALEXIS, a native of Thurium in Italy, was either uncle or patron to Menander. Like Antiphanes, he was a very voluminous composer. Suidas states the number of his plays at 245; the titles of 113 are still upon record. Plato was occasionally the object of his satire also, as he was a mark for the wit of Anaxandrides.

EPICRATES was of Ambracia in Epirus, and the imitator, according to Athenæus, of Antiphanes. He, too, made Plato the subject of his ridicule; and a long and curious fragment is <sup>5</sup>preserved, where the disciples of that philosopher are described as engaged in deep discussion over a cucumber.

There are, with the six just mentioned, twenty-eight other recorded poets of the Middle Comedy; but of these the notices are so scanty as to furnish nothing except their names, an occasional fragment, and the titles of a few of their comedies.

1. Athen. ix. p. 374.

2. Ibid.

3. Some commentators understand these two lines in the *Ibis*, a poem commonly ascribed to Ovid, as referring to Anaxandrides:

Utque parum stabili qui cārmine læsit Athenas,  
Invisus pereas deficiente cibo.—523.

4. Suidas in V.

5. Athen. ii. p. 59.



## CHAPTER II.

### SECTION III.

#### THE NEW COMEDY.

THE comic Drama, after more than half a century of vacillating transition from its old to its subsequent form, in the age of Alexander finally settled down, through the ill-defined gradations of the Middle, into what was called the *New Comedy*. The characteristics which distinguish this style of comedy from that of Aristophanes are strongly marked, and naturally arose out of its different political situations. The Old Comedy drew its subjects from public, the New from private life. The Old Comedy often took its dramatis personæ from the generals, the orators, the demagogues, or the philosophers of the day; in the New the characters were always fictitious. The Old Comedy was made up of personal satire and the broadest mirth, exhibited under all the forms, and with all the accompaniments, which uncontrolled fancy and frolic could conceive. The New Comedy was of a more temperate and regulated nature; its satire was aimed at the abstract vice or defect, not at the individual offender. Its mirth was of a restrained kind; and, as being a faithful picture of life, its descriptions of men and manners were accurate portraits, not wild caricatures; and, for the same reason, its gaiety was often interrupted by scenes of a grave and affecting character. Such were the leading distinctions between the Old and New Comedies, when compared in their general and predominant forms. We shall now subjoin, as before, a short biographical notice of the principal writers of the New Comedy<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> PHILIPPIDES, the son of Philocles, an Athenian, is the earliest writer of the New Comedy. <sup>3</sup>He flourished B. C. 335. <sup>4</sup>He was in great favour with Lysimachus, the general, and afterwards one

1. For a more full and critical account of the New Comedy see the extracts from Schlegel, inserted in a more advanced part of this compilation.

2. Suidas.

3. Ibid.

4. Plutarch, de Garrulit. p. 506. Apophtheg. p. 183, &c. Demet. xii.

of the successors of Alexander. <sup>1</sup>This intimacy was the cause of many benefits to the Athenians, bestowed by Lysimachus at the intercession of the patriotic poet. In B. C. 301, we find the poet, in a fragment preserved by Plutarch, ridiculing the flatteries shown to Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athens, through the exertions of Stratocles the demagogue. <sup>2</sup>Philippides died at an advanced age, from excess of joy on obtaining the comic prize contrary to his expectations. <sup>3</sup>The number of his plays was forty-five; the titles of nine have been collected.

TIMOCLES, too, was one of the earlier poets of the New Comedy. He was the contemporary of Demosthenes, whom he attacks in a fragment of the <sup>4</sup>*Ἡρώες*, for a disinclination to peace; and in another, the <sup>5</sup>*Δήλος*, he accuses him of receiving bribes from Harpalus, the unfaithful treasurer of Alexander.

PHILEMON, the rival of Menander, was a native of Syracuse<sup>6</sup>,

1. Plutarch. Demet. xxvi.

2. Aul. Gell. iii. 15.

3. Fab. Bib. Grec. Phil.

4. B. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σοι παύσεται Δημοσθένης  
 Ὀργιζόμενος. A. Ὅποῖος; B. Ὁ Βριάρεως,  
 Ὁ τοὺς καταπέλτας τὰς τε λόγχας ἐσθίων  
 Μισῶν λόγους ἀνθρώπος· οὐδὲ πώποτε  
 Ἀντίθετον εἰπὼν οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' Ἄρη βλέπων.—Athen. vi. p. 224.

5. The enumeration of the bribe-taking orators is so curious that the passage deserves to be given at length:

A. Δημοσθένης τάλαντ' ἀπὸ πεντήκοντ' ἔχει.  
 B. Μακάριος, εἴ περ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί.  
 A. Καὶ Μοίροκλης εἰλήφε χρυσίον πολὺ.  
 B. Ἀνόητος ὁ δίδους, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων.  
 A. Ἐίληφε καὶ Δήμων τε καὶ Καλλισθένης.  
 B. Πένητες ἦσαν, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχον.  
 A. Ὅ τ' ἐν λόγοισι δεινὸς Ὑπερεΐδης ἔχει.  
 B. Τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας οὗτος ἡμῶν πλουτιεῖ.  
 Ὅψοφάγος, ὥστε τοὺς λίρους εἶναι Σύρους.—Athen. viii. p. 342.

Hyperides is again mentioned by Timocles in his *Ἰκαρίοι*:

Τόν τ' ἰχθυόρρουν ποταμὸν Ὑπερεΐδην πέρα,  
 Ὃς ἡπίας φωναῖσιν, ἔμφρονος λόγου  
 Κόμποις παφλάζων, ἡπίοις πυκνώμασι  
 Πρὸς πᾶν δύσας ἔχει \* \*  
 Μισθωτὸς ἄρδει πέδιλα τοῦ δεδωκότος.—Ib.

6. Suidas.

or Solæ<sup>1</sup>, a town of Cilicia. He seems to have been a writer of considerable powers. <sup>2</sup>His wit, ingenuity, skill in depiction of character and expression of sentiment, are praised by Apuleius; whilst he pronounces him inferior to his more celebrated antagonist. <sup>3</sup>Temperance of body with cheerfulness of mind prolonged his life to the great age of 101 years; <sup>4</sup>during which period he composed ninety-seven comedies. The manner of his death is variously related. <sup>5</sup>The account of Apuleius is the most probable, which makes him expire without pain or disease from the mere exhaustion of nature.

MENANDER, the chief of the New Comedy, <sup>6</sup>was born B. C. 342. <sup>7</sup>His father, Diopithes, was at this time commander of the forces stationed by the Athenians at the Hellespont, and must therefore have been a man of some consequence. Alexis <sup>8</sup>the comic poet was his uncle and instructor in the drama. <sup>9</sup>Theophrastus was his tutor in philosophy and literature. <sup>10</sup>In his twenty-first year, B. C. 321, he brought out the *Ὀργή*, his first drama. <sup>11</sup>He lived twenty-nine more years, dying B. C. 292, after having composed one hundred and five plays. All antiquity seems to combine in celebrating Menander. Terence, the first of Latin comedians, was but the translator of his dramas, and, according to Cæsar's well known expression, only a *dimidiatus Menander*: Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom prefer him to Aristophanes: <sup>12</sup>Ovid declares that his fame shall never die whilst the characters, which he so admirably exhibited, exist among mankind; and Quintilian pronounces this splendid eulogy on his works<sup>13</sup>: "Menander vel

1. Strabo, xiv.

2. Apul. iii. Florid.

3. Lucian, Macrob. xxv.

4. Anonym. *περὶ Κωμωδίας*, Eudocia says 90.

5. Apul. ubi supra. Val. Max. xii. 6.

6. Suidas.

7. Ulp. ad Demosth. p. 54, 55, Ed. Paris. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 666. See also Demosth. *περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερ.*

8. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx.

9. Diog. Laert. v. 36.

10. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx.

11. Ibid. He is said to have been drowned whilst bathing in the Piræan harbour.—Ovid, Ibis, 591.

12. Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba læna

Vivent, dum meretrix blanda, Menandrus erit.—i. Am. xv. 18.

13. Quintet. X. i. 69, &amp;c.

We learn from Phædrus that the works of Menander were much admired by Demetrius Phalereus (V. Fab. i. 10): where we are also told that the poet was a perfect fop in dress and manner:

Unguento delibutus, vestitu adfluens

Veniebat gressu delicato et languido.

unus, meo quidem iudicio, diligenter lectus, ad cuncta, quæ præcipimus, efficienda sufficiat: ita omnem vitæ imaginem expressit: tanta in eo inveniendi copia, et eloquendi facultas: ita est omnibus rebus, personis, affectibus accommodatus. Nec nihil profecto viderunt, qui orationes, quæ *Charisii* nomine eduntur, a Menandro scriptas putent. Sed mihi longe magis orator probari in opere suo videtur, nisi forte aut illa mala iudicia, quæ Ἐπιτρέποντες, Ἐπὶ κληρος, Λοκροὶ habent: aut meditationes in Ψοφοδέει, Νομοθέτῃ, Ὑποβολιμαίῳ non omnibus oratoriis numeris sunt absolutæ. Ego tamen plus adhuc quiddam collaturum esse declamatoribus puto, quoniam his necesse est secundum conditionem controversiarum plures subire personas, patrum, filiorum, maritorum, militum, rusticorum, divitum, pauperum, irascentium, deprecantium, mitium, asperorum. In quibus omnibus mire custoditur ab hâc poetâ decorum. Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus abstulit nomen, et fulgore quodam suo claritatis tenebras obduxit. Habent tamen alii quoque, si cum veniâ legantur, quædam, quæ possis decerpere; et præcipue *Philemon*, qui ut pravis sui temporis iudiciis Menandro sæpe prælatus est, ita consensu omnium meruit credi secundus."

<sup>1</sup> DIPHILUS, the contemporary of Menander, was born at Sinope in Pontus, and died at Smyrna in Ionia. His comedies were celebrated for their <sup>2</sup> wit, sense, and pleasantness: <sup>3</sup> though some accused them of occasional dulness and insipidity. <sup>4</sup> Plautus took his *Casina* from the Κληρούμενοι of Diphilus.

<sup>5</sup> APOLLODORUS was a writer of much repute amongst the poets of the New Comedy. Terence copied his *Hecyra* and *Phormio* from two of his dramas; all of which, though very numerous, are now lost, save the titles of eight, with a few fragments.

<sup>6</sup> POSIDIPPUS, the last poet of the New Comedy, was a Macedonian, and born at Cassandria. He did not begin to exhibit till

1. Strabo, xiii. p. 546.

2. Diphilus is called by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. v. p. 611), γνωμικώτατος, χαρίεις, and κωμικώτατος; and Athenæus styles him ἡδιστος (ix. p. 383).

3. Athen. xiii. p. 580.

4. Prolog. in Cas.

5. Apollodorus was one of the six writers whom the ancient critics selected as the models of the New Comedy. The other five were Philippides, Philemon, Menander, Diphilus, and Posidippus.

6. Suidas.



three years after Menander's death, B. C. 289. He attained great fame by the excellence of his dramatic compositions, of which he published upwards of fifty.

With Posidippus ends the history of the Grecian Comic Drama.

# APPENDIX

TO

## CHAPTERS I. AND II.

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE GRECIAN DRAMA.

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
700		<i>Archilochus.</i>	<i>Gyges</i> of <i>Lydia.</i>
600		<i>Arion.</i>	<i>Pisander</i> of <i>Corinth.</i>
562		<i>Susarion.</i>	Usurpation of <i>Pisistratus</i> , B. C. 560.—The accession of <i>Cyrus</i> . B. C. 559.
549	LVII. 4.		Death of <i>Phalaris.</i>
535	LXI. 2.	<i>Thespis</i> first exhibits.	<i>Anacreon</i> , <i>Ibycus</i> , <i>Hipponax</i> , <i>Theognis</i> .— <i>Pythagoras.</i>
525	LXIII. 4.	<i>Æschylus</i> born.	<i>Cambyses</i> conquers <i>Egypt.</i>
524		<i>Chœrilus</i> first exhibits.	
519		<i>Cratinus</i> born.	<i>Pindar</i> born the year after.
511	LXVII. 2.	<i>Phrynichus</i> first exhibits.	Expulsion of the <i>Pisistratidæ</i> , B. C. 510—of the <i>Tarquins</i> , B. C. 509.
508		Institution of the <i>Χορὸς ἀνδρῶν</i> . <i>Lasus</i> of <i>Hermione</i> , the dithyram- bic poet.	<i>Heraclitus</i> and <i>Parmenides</i> , the philosophers. — <i>Hecataeus</i> , the historian.
500	LXX.	<i>Epicharmus</i> perfects Comedy.	
499		<i>Æschylus</i> first exhibits.	<i>Ionian</i> war commences, and <i>Sar-</i> <i>dis</i> burnt.
495		Birth of <i>Sophocles.</i>	<i>Miletus</i> taken, B. C. 494.
490		<i>Æschylus</i> at <i>Marathon.</i>	<i>Miltiades.</i>

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
487	LXX.	<i>Chionides</i> first exhibits.	
484	LXXIV.	<i>Æschylus</i> gains his first tragic prize.	Birth of <i>Herodotus</i> .
480	LXXV.	<i>Euripides</i> born.	Thermopylæ, Salamis.— <i>Leonidas</i> , <i>Aristides</i> , <i>Themistocles</i> .— <i>Pherecydes</i> , the historian.— <i>Gelon</i> of Syracuse.
477		<i>Epicharmi</i> Νᾶσοι.	<i>Hiero</i> succeeds <i>Gelon</i> , B. C. 478.
476	LXXVI.	<i>Phrynichus</i> victor with his Φοινισσαί. <i>Themistocles</i> choragus.	<i>Simonides</i> gains the prize Ἀνδρῶν Χορῶ.
472	LXXVII.	<i>Æschyli</i> Πέρσαι, Φινεύς, Γλάυκος Ποτνιεύς, Προμηθεύς Πυρφόρος.	Birth of <i>Thucydides</i> , B. C. 471.
468	LXXVIII.	<i>Sophocles</i> gains his first tragic prize.	<i>Socrates</i> born.— <i>Mycenæ</i> destroyed by the Argives.—Death of <i>Simonides</i> , B. C. 467.
458	LXXX. 3.	<i>Æschyli</i> Ὀρεστέα.	<i>Anaxagoras</i> . Birth of <i>Lysias</i> .
456	LXXXI.	<i>Æschylus</i> dies.	<i>Herodotus</i> at Olympia.
455		<i>Euripides</i> begins to exhibit.	End of the Messenian and Egyptian wars.— <i>Empedocles</i> and <i>Zeno</i> .— <i>Pericles</i> .
454		<i>Aristarchus</i> of Tegea, the tragedian, and <i>Cratinus</i> the comic poet, flourish.	
451		<i>Ion</i> of Chios begins to exhibit.	
450		<i>Crates</i> exhibits.	<i>Bacchylides</i> , the lyric poet.— <i>Archelaus</i> , the philosopher.
448		<i>Cratini</i> Ἀρχίλοχοι.	Death of <i>Cimon</i> , B. C. 449.
447		<i>Achæus</i> Erctriensis, the tragedian.	Battle of Coronæ.
441		<i>Euripides</i> gains the first tragic prize.	<i>Herodotus</i> and <i>Lysias</i> go with the colonists to Thurium, B. C. 443.
440	LXXXV.	Comedy prohibited by a public decree.	The Samian war; in which <i>Sophocles</i> is colleague with <i>Pericles</i> .
437		The prohibition of comedy repealed.	<i>Isocrates</i> born, B. C. 436.
435	LXXXVI. 2.	<i>Phrynichus</i> , the comic poet, first exhibits.	Sea-fight between the Corinthians and Coreyrians.

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
434		<i>Lysippus</i> , the comic poet, is victorious.	<i>Andocides</i> , <i>Meton</i> , <i>Aspasia</i> .
431		<i>Euripidis</i> Μήδεια, Φιλοκτη- της, Δίκτυς, Θερισταί.	Attempt of the Thebans on Pla- tæa.
		<i>Aristomenes</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Hippocrates</i> .
430		<i>Hermippus</i> , the comic poet.	Plague at Athens.
429		<i>Eupolis</i> exhibits.	Siege of Platæa.—Birth of <i>Plato</i> .
428	LXXXVIII.	<i>Euripidis</i> Ἰππόλυτος.	<i>Anaxagoras</i> dies.
		<i>Plato</i> , the comic poet.	
427		<i>Aristophanes</i> Δαιταλεῖς.	Surrender of Platæa.— <i>Georgias</i> of <i>Leontium</i> .
426		<i>Aristophanis</i> Βαβυλώνιοι,	<i>Tanagra</i> .
425		<i>Aristophanes</i> first with the ' <i>Ἀχαρνεῖς</i> ; <i>Cratinus</i> second with the <i>Χειμαζόμενοι</i> ; <i>Eu-</i> <i>polis</i> third with the <i>Νουμηνίαι</i> .	<i>Cleon</i> at <i>Sphacteria</i> .
424	LXXXIX.	<i>Aristophanes</i> first with the Ἰπ- πεῖς; <i>Cratinus</i> second with the Σάτυροι; <i>Aristomenes</i> third with the Ὀλοφυρμοί.	<i>Xenophon</i> at <i>Delium</i> .— <i>Amphi-</i> <i>polis</i> taken from <i>Thucydides</i> by <i>Brasidas</i> .
423		<i>Cratinus</i> first with the <i>Πυτίνη</i> ; <i>Ameipsias</i> second with the <i>Κόννος</i> ; <i>Aristophanes</i> third with the <i>Νεφέλαι</i> .	The year's truce with <i>Lacedæ-</i> <i>mon</i> .— <i>Alcibiades</i> begins to act in public affairs.
422		<i>Aristophanis</i> Σφήκες & αἱ δεύ- τεραι <i>Νεφέλαι</i>	<i>Brasidas</i> and <i>Cleon</i> killed at <i>Amphipolis</i> .
		<i>Cratinus</i> dies.	
421		<i>Eupolidis</i> Μαρικᾶς et Κόλακες.	Truce for fifty years with <i>Lace-</i> <i>dæmon</i> .
420	XC.	<i>Eupolides</i> Ἀντόλυκος et Ἀσ- τράτευτοι.	Treaty with the <i>Argives</i> .
419		<i>Aristophanis</i> Εἰρήνη.	
416	XCI.	<i>Agathon</i> gains the tragic prize.	Capture of <i>Melos</i> .



B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
415		<i>Xenocles</i> first; <i>Euripides</i> second with the <i>Τρωές</i> , <i>Ἀλεξάνδρος</i> , <i>Παλαμήδης</i> , and <i>Σίσυφος</i> .	Expedition to Sicily.
415		<i>Archippus</i> , the comic poet, gains the prize.	
414		<i>Aristophanis</i> <i>Ἀμφιάραιος</i> (εἰς <i>Λήναια</i> .)  <i>Ameipsias</i> first with the <i>Κωμοσταιί</i> ; <i>Aristophanes</i> second with the <i>Ὀρνιθες</i> ; <i>Phrynichus</i> third with the <i>Μονότροπος</i> (εἰς <i>ἄστυ</i> ).	
413		<i>Hegemonis</i> <i>Γιγαντομαχία</i> .	Destruction of the Athenian army before Syracuse.
412	XCII.	<i>Euripidis</i> <i>Ἀνδρομέδα</i> .	Lesbos, Chios, and Erythræ revolt.
411		<i>Aristophanis</i> <i>Λυσιστράτη</i> and <i>Θεσμοφορίαῖζουσαι</i> .	The 400 at Athens.
409		<i>Sophocles</i> first with the <i>Φιλοκλήτης</i> .	
408	XCIII.	<i>Euripidis</i> <i>Ὀρέστης</i> .	
406		<i>Euripides</i> dies.	<i>Arginusæ</i> .— <i>Dionysius</i> becomes master of Syracuse.— <i>Philistus</i> , the Sicilian historian.
405		Death of <i>Sophocles</i> .  <i>Aristophanis</i> <i>Βάτραχοι</i> , first; <i>Phrynichi</i> <i>Μούσαι</i> , second; <i>Platonis</i> <i>Κλεοφών</i> , third.	<i>Ægospotamos</i> .— <i>Conon</i> .  The <i>Thirty</i> at Athens.
401		<i>Sophocles</i> <i>Ὀιδίπους ἐπὶ Κολώνῳ</i> exhibited by the younger <i>Sophocles</i> ; who first represented in his own name, B. C. 396.	<i>Xenophon</i> , with <i>Cyrus</i> .— <i>Ctesias</i> , the historian.— <i>Plato</i> .
392	XCVII.	<i>Aristophanis</i> <i>Ἐκκλησιαῖζουσαι</i> .	<i>Agésilas</i> .
388	XCVIII.	<i>Aristophanis</i> <i>Πλούτος β</i> .	
387		<i>Antiphanes</i> begins to exhibit.	Peace of <i>Antalcidas</i> .

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
386		<i>Theopompus</i> , the last poet of the Old Comedy.	
376	CI.	<i>Eubulus</i> , <i>Araros</i> , and <i>Anaxandrides</i> , the comic poets, flourished.	
368	CIII.	<i>Apharcus</i> , the tragedian.	
356	CVI.	<i>Alexis</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Alexander</i> born.—Expulsion of <i>Dionysius</i> .—Death of <i>Timotheus</i> , the musician.
348	CVIII.	<i>Heraclides</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Demosthenes</i> against <i>Midias</i> .— <i>Philip</i> and the Olynthian war.
342		Birth of <i>Menander</i> .	<i>Timolcon</i> at Syracuse.— <i>Isocrates</i> .— <i>Aristotle</i> .
336	CXI.	<i>Amphis</i> , the comic poet, still exhibits.  <i>Philippides</i> , the comedian.	<i>Philip</i> assassinated.
332	CXII.	<i>Stephanus</i> , the comic poet.	Siege of Tyre.
330		<i>Philemon</i> begins to exhibit.	<i>Darius</i> slain.
323		<i>Timocles</i> still exhibits.	<i>Alexander</i> dies. — <i>Demosthenes</i> dies, B. C. 322.
321		<i>Menandri</i> 'Οργή.  <i>Diphilus</i> .	
307		<i>Demetrius</i> , the comic poet.	<i>Epicurus</i> .— <i>Agathocles</i> .
304	CXIX.	<i>Archedippus</i> <i>Philippides</i> , and <i>Anaxippus</i> , the comic poets, flourished.	<i>Demetrius Poliorcetes</i> .
291		Death of <i>Menander</i> .	<i>Arcesilaus</i> .
289		<i>Posidippus</i> begins to exhibit.	



## CHAPTER III.

### SECTION I.

#### DRAMATIC CONTESTS.

THE precise time at which the contests of the Drama commenced is uncertain. <sup>1</sup>The Arundel Marble would make them coeval with the first inventions of Thespis. On the other hand, Plutarch<sup>2</sup> assures us that no scenic contests were established until some years after the early Thespian exhibitions. The true account appears to be this. The contests of the Dithyrambic and Satyric choruses were almost contemporaneous with their origin. Those of the Dithyramb continued without interruption to the latest period of theatric spectacle in ancient Greece: and, although the great improvements of Thespis might, for the moment, excite admiration rather than competition; yet doubtless his distinguished success soon stimulated others to attempt this new and popular kind of entertainment, and rival the originator<sup>3</sup>. Under Æschylus and his immediate successors the Theatrical contests advanced to a high degree of importance. They were placed under the superintendence of the magistracy; the representations were given with every advantage of stage decoration, and the expences defrayed as a public concern. <sup>4</sup>These contests were maintained at Athens with more or less splendour and talent

1. Bentley Dissert. p. 246.

2. Ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγωδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὗ πω δ' εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγμένον.—Plut. Solon. xxix.

3. At any rate, a regular contest had been established before the time when Phrynichus is first mentioned; for it is then recorded of him, ἐνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς ξξ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. Suidas in voc. This was twenty-five years after the date of Thespis in the Arundel Marble. In B. C. 476, thirty-five years after this, when Phrynichus won the prize with the *Phonissa*, the Tragic contests were carried on with great zeal and emulation; so at least we are informed by Plutarch; who, noticing this victory in his life of Themistocles, the Choragus of Phrynichus, says,—Μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπονδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος.

4. Even down to the time of Julius Cæsar, the exhibitions of the rival dramatists continued, taking place as heretofore at the *great Dionysia*. We learn this fact from a decree passed by the Athenians in favour of Hyrcanus, then high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, recorded by Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 8.):—Ἀνείπειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίῳ, τραγωδῶν τῶν καινῶν ἀγομένων.



for several centuries, long surviving her independence and grandeur.

In accordance with the origin of the Drama, its contests were confined to the *Dionysia*, or festivals of Bacchus, the patron deity of scenic entertainments. These festivals were three<sup>1</sup> in number, and took place in the spring<sup>2</sup> months of the Attic year.

1. Τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς<sup>3</sup>, or the *rural Dionysia*, were held in all the country towns and villages throughout Attica, in Ποσειδεῶν<sup>4</sup>, the sixth Athenian month, corresponding to the latter part of December and the beginning of January. Aristophanes has left us a picture of this festival in the *Acharnians*<sup>5</sup>. About to offer a sacrifice to Bacchus, Dicæopolis appears on the stage with his household marshalled in regular procession. His young daughter carries the sacred basket; a slave bears aloft the mystic symbol of

1. See especially Ruhnken de Festis Dionysiorum apud Atticos, (ex auctario emend. ad Hesych. 1. 1000. 17.), given among the *Opuscula Ruhnkeniana*, collected and edited by Mr. Kidd.

2. Aristophanes, as Dr. Blomfield rightly understands the passage (Mus. Crit. V. p. 76.), alludes to this fact in the *Nubes*, v. 310.

ἦρί τ' ἐπερχομένῳ Βρομία χάρις,  
εὐκελάδων τε χορῶν ἐρεθίσματα,  
καὶ Μοῦσα βαρύβρομος αὐλῶν.

3. Perhaps this festival was the same as the Ἀσκήλια and Θεοΐνια. See Ruhnken de Festis Dionys.

4. Ὁ δὲ ἀδολέσχης τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἶος... λέγειν... ὡς... Ποσειδεῶνος ἐστι τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονύσια.—Theophrast. Char. 3.

Some have thought that the Διονύσια ἐν Πειραιεῖ, mentioned in a decree quoted below (p. 102, note), from Demosthenes, were the same as the Διονύσια κατ' ἀγροῦς; others as the Ἀθηναῖα. This opinion Ruhnken considers decidedly erroneous. These *Dionysia*, according to him, had no connexion with the three we have enumerated in the text. (De Fest. Dionys. p. 42.). Plays however were performed at the Peiræan festival. See the passage from Demosthenes referred to above.

5. ὦ Διόνυσσε δέσποτα,  
κεχαρισμένως σοι τήνδε τὴν πομπὴν ἐμέ  
πέμψαντα, καὶ θύσαντα μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν,  
ἀγαγεῖν τυχηρῶς τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονύσια.—235, &c.

πρόϊθ' ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἢ κανηφόρος  
ὁ Ξανθίας τὸν φαλλὸν ὀρθὸν στησάτω—  
ἐγὼ δ' ἀκολουθῶν ἄσομαι τὸ Φαλλικόν·  
σὺ δ', ὦ γύναι, θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγονος. πρόβα.

Acharn. 230, and 249.

This rural procession appears to have been deemed quite a *spectacle*:—Καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεκαλούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦγεν αἱ ἡμεῖς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτόν, &c.—Isæus de Ciron. Hæred. Vol. i. p. 114. Orator. Attic. Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> II. Τὰ Ἀγραῖα or τὰ ἐν Λίμναις, so termed from Λίμναι, <sup>2</sup>a part of the city near the Acropolis, in which was situated the Ἀήναιον, <sup>3</sup>an enclosure dedicated to Bacchus. <sup>4</sup>This festival was celebrated on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of Ἀνθεστηριῶν, the eighth Attic month, answering to part of February and March, whence these *Dionysia* were in later times called τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. <sup>5</sup>Each day's ceremonies had their particular name. <sup>6</sup>On the 11th was the Πιθογία; <sup>7</sup>on the 12th, the Χόες; <sup>8</sup>on the 13th, the Χύτροι. <sup>9</sup>It was at these second *Dionysia* that the Comic con-

- φθεγξώμεθ', εὐγηνρην ἐμὰν αἰοιδάν,  
 κοᾶξ, κοᾶξ,  
 ἦν ἀμφὶ Νυσηϊὸν Διὸς  
 Διόνυσον ἐν Λίμναισιν ἰαχήσαμεν,  
 ἡνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος  
 τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι  
 χωρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.—213, &c.

9. The extant extracts from the *Didascalie* show this to have been the case. Of the eleven remaining plays of Aristophanes, four—the *Acharnians*, *Equites*, *Vespæ*, and *Rana*—were represented, as we are told in their several arguments, at the *Lenæa*; two, the *Nubes* and *Aves*, at the *great Dionysia*; with regard to the remaining five nothing is recorded. We learn, too, from a passage of the *Acharnians* (474, &c.) quoted below, that the Βαβυλώνιοι, the preceding drama there hinted at, had been performed in some former Διονύσια μεγάλη. Sometimes, as in the case of Eupolis with the *Μαρικᾶς* and *Κόλακες*, (see his *Life*, p. 30), the poet exhibited one piece at the *Lenæa*, another at the *great Dionysia* of the same spring. The law, too, cited by Demosthenes (contra Mid. Vol. iv. p. 577. *Orat. Attic.* Oxford.), expressly mentions the joint exhibitions of Tragedy

tests were more particularly, though not exclusively held: as not unfrequently the rival comedians exhibited their new pieces during the *great Dionysia*. <sup>1</sup>In like manner it would seem that the tragic Poets did sometimes contend for the prize at the *Lenæa*, though, in general, the candidates reserved their dramas for the more extensive audience of the succeeding festival.

III. <sup>2</sup>Τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τὰ κατ' ἄστν, τὰ ἀστικά, or τὰ μεγάλα Διονύσια, and sometimes simply τὰ Διονύσια, were celebrated between the eighth and eighteenth of Ἑλαφβολιών, the ninth Attic month, equivalent to part of March and April. <sup>3</sup>At the time of this festival there was always a great concourse of strangers in Athens: deputations bringing the tribute from the several dependent states, visitants from the cities in alliance, and foreigners from all parts of the civilized world: for these Διονύσια were the dramatic *Olympia* of Greece. <sup>4</sup>It was then that the new tragedies were brought out, and the great annual contest took place.

Tragedy and Comedy at both *Dionysia*: Εὐήγορος εἶπεν, ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ἢ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ κωμῶδοι καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί, &c.

1. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ [Ἀγάθων] ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ληναίοις.—Athen. v. p. 217.

2. Ruhnken, De Fest. Dionys.

3. οὐ γάρ με καὶ νῦν διαβαλεῖ Κλέων, ὅτι  
ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.  
αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν, οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών.  
κούπω ξένοι πάρεισιν· οὔτε γὰρ φόροι  
ἤκουσιν, οὐτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ξυμμαχοί·  
ἀλλ' ἐσμέν αὐτοὶ νῦν γε περιεπτισμένοι·  
τοὺς γὰρ μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστών λέγω.

Aristoph. Acharn. 474, &c.

Hence Æschines takes occasion to reproach Demosthenes with being too vain to be content with the applause of his own fellow-citizens, since he must needs have the crown decreed him proclaimed at the *great Dionysia*, when all Greece was present: Οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἃ ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἀνδρα τιμῶμεν.—Contra Ctesiph. Vol. III. p. 469. Orat. Att. Oxford.

4. This fact is evident from several decrees quoted by Demosthenes and Æschines in the course of their speeches *On the Crown*:—Ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῇ θιάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλαις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ ἔθνος, &c.—Demosth. De Coronā, p. 264. Att. Orat. Oxford. We have seen above (p. 99) how long this practice continued.

We may estimate the importance attached to these scenic exhibitions, from the care manifested in providing by <sup>1</sup>public enactment for their due regulation and support. <sup>2</sup>They were placed under the immediate superintendence of the first magistrates in the state: the representations at the *great Dionysia* under that of the chief archon, those at the *Lenæa* under that of him called the king-archon. <sup>3</sup>To this presiding archon the candidates presented their pieces. He selected the most deserving compositions, and assigned to every poet, thus deemed worthy of admission to the contest, <sup>4</sup>three actors by lot, together with a <sup>5</sup>chorus. The

1. See above, the decree by Evagoras (p. 102); in which the theatrical exhibitions are established by law, and particular privileges are assigned to these seasons. In the same oration Demosthenes reminds his auditors that the Dionysiac representations were not only protected by express laws, but were also enjoined in every oracular direction addressed to their city from Delphi or Dodona. Cont. Mid. Vol. iv. p. 592. Orat. Att. Oxford.

2. 'Ο μὲν ἄρχων διατίθησι Διονύσια, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προέστηκε Ληναίων. Jul. Pollux, viii. 89, 90. In Demosthenes mention is also made of a certain superintendent, or superintendents, in the Dionysiac contests, under the names of ἀγωνοθέτης and ἐπιμελητής. In the *De Coronâ*, the decree of Ctesiphon respecting the crowning of Demosthenes, after directing that the crown should be proclaimed in the theatre at the *Dionysia*, adds—τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. Vol. iv. p. 290; and in the *Midias*, that Athenian Clodius is represented as—κελεύων ἐαυτὸν εἰς Διονύσια χειροτονεῖν ἐπίμελητήν.—Vol. iv. p. 579.

3. Παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις χορῶν ἐτύγχανον κωμῳδίας καὶ τραγῳδίας ποιηταί, οὐ πάντες, ἀλλὰ οἱ εὐδοκμοῦντες καὶ δοκιμασθέντες ἄξιοι.—Suidas in Χορὸν διδῶμι.

4. So Hesychius, who also states that the successful poet had the privilege of selecting his own actors for the next year's *Dionysia*. The archon, in like manner, allotted the musicians in the Χορὸς αὐλητῶν:—Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ καθεστηκότος χορηγοῦ τῇ Πανδιονίδι φυλῇ τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπικληροῦν ὁ νόμος τοῖς χοροῖς τοὺς αὐλητὰς κελεύει, λόγων καὶ λαιδωρίας γιγνομένης, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ μὲν ἄρχοντος τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν τῆς φυλῆς, τῶν δ' ἐπιμελητῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, παρελθὼν ὑπεσχόμεν ἐγὼ χορηγήσειν ἐβελοντίης, καὶ κληρουμένων πρῶτος αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν αὐλητὴν ἔλαχον.—Demosth. Cont. Mid. Vol. iv. p. 579.

5. Καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὁψέ ποτε ἔδωκεν ὁ ἄρχων—Aristot. Poet. v. 3. This evidently implies that the archon also distributed the choruses among the tragic candidates. We have a fragment of Cratinus adverting to this regulation; if, as is most probable, the ὅς refers to the archon (See Mus. Crit. V. p. 84):—Σκώπτει δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ποιήματα καὶ ἐν Βουκόλοις.

ὅς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλεῖ χορόν,  
τῷ Κλεομάχῳ δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἤξιον ἐγώ  
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδῶνια.—Athen. xiv. p. 638.

As the archon was said Χορὸν δῶναι, so the poet was said Χορὸν λαμβάνειν;—ἦν μόνον χορὸν λάβη.—Aristoph. Ran. 94: where the comedian is speaking of the worthless candidates in his day. See also the *Pax*, 775, &c.



equipment of these choruses was considered a public concern, and as such, like the fitting out of triremes, and the other *λειτουργίαι*, or *state duties*, was imposed upon the wealthier members of the community. <sup>1</sup>The *ἐπιμεληταί* of each tribe selected one of their body to bear the cost and superintend the training of a chorus. This individual was termed *Χορηγός*, his office *Χορηγία*. Whilst some of the Choragi provided the tragic and comic choruses at the two *Dionysia*, the others furnished the remaining choruses—the *Χορός ἀνδρῶν*, the *Χορός παίδων*, &c.

We have fortunately a particular statement of the several Choragic expenses left us by Lysias, in one of his minor orations. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐδοκιμάσθην μὲν ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, καταστάς δὲ χορηγὸς τραγῳδοῖς ἀνήλωσα τριάκοντα μνᾶς, καὶ τρίτῳ μηνὶ Θαργηλίοις νικήσας ἀνδρικῶ χορῷ δισχιλίας δραχμᾶς, ἐπὶ δὲ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος εἰς πυρρίχιστάς Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλαις ὀκτακοσίας. ἔτι δ' ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐνίκησα, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀναθέσει πεντακισχιλίας δραχμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς κυκλικῶ χορῷ τριακοσίας.....Καὶ ὕστερον κατέστην χορηγὸς παιδικῶ χορῷ, καὶ ἀνήλωσα πλέον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς. ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κωμῳδοῖς χορηγῶν Κηφισοδότῳ ἐνίκων, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει ἑκκαίδεκα μνᾶς, καὶ Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς ἐχορήγουν πυρρίχισταῖς ἀγενεῖσι, καὶ ἀνήλωσα ἐπτὰ μνᾶς. Ἀπολογ. Δωροδ. Vol. i. p. 395. Att. Orat. Oxford. The dates referred to in this passage extend from B.C. 410 to B.C. 402; and consequently include the latter years of Sophocles and Euripides, with the prime of Aristophanes. During this period we see that the expences of a tragic *χορηγία* were not quite £100; of a comic, little more than £50; whilst that of the *χορός ἀνδρῶν*, the most costly of them all, amounted to about £160. <sup>2</sup>Some years after this

1. Demosth. Cont. Mid. Vol. iv. p. 579, Orat. Att. (quoted above, p. 103, note); where the archon is represented as reprimanding the *epimelete* of the Pandionid tribe for their neglect in not providing a choragus, which ought to have been done some time before the festival.—Ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ προεῖδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, τίς χορηγός, ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς—Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 55. Sometimes the choragic *λειτουργία* was undertaken voluntarily by a public-spirited individual, as by Demosthenes. See above, p. 103, note, and Lysias, *Ἀπολογ. Δωροδ.*—in the text above.

2. Lysias pro Aristoph. Bon.—Aristophanes complains in the *Rana* of attempts to retrench the sums laid out upon the comic exhibitions:

a reduction seems to have taken place in choral expenses, for the charges of a tragic chorus are then stated as being 2500 (£80) instead of 3000 drachmæ (£100).

<sup>1</sup>No one could legally be choragus of a chorus of boys unless he were above forty years of age. <sup>2</sup>With respect to the other choruses, the age required in the several choragi is not known. <sup>3</sup>No foreigner was allowed to dance in the choruses of the *great Dionysia*. If any choragus was convicted of employing one in his chorus, he was liable to a fine of a thousand drachmæ. <sup>4</sup>This law did not extend to the *Lenæa*; there the *Μέτοικοι* also might be choragi. <sup>5</sup>The rival choragi were termed *ἀντιχόρηγοι*; the contending dramatic poets, and the composers for the Cyclian or other choruses<sup>6</sup>, *ἀντιτιδύσκαλοι*; the performers<sup>7</sup>, *ἀντίτεχνοι*.

Ἡ τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ῥήτωρ ὦν εἶτ' ἀποτρῴγει,  
Κωμῶδηθείς ἐν ταῖς πατρίοις τελεταῖς ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου.—367.

He appears also again to advert to some such economical measure,

Ἰακχε φιλοχορευτὰ, συμπρόπεμπέ με·  
Σε γὰρ κατεσχίσω μὲν ἐπὶ γέλῳτι  
Κάπ' εὐτελείᾳ τόνδε  
Τὸν σανδαλίσκον, καὶ τὸ ῥάκος,  
Κᾶ' ἔξενρες ὥστ' ἀζημίους  
Παίξειν τε καὶ χορεύειν.—V. 403, &c.

Upon these lines the Scholiast remarks: "Ἔοικε παρεμφάνειν ὅτι ἤδη λιτῶς ἐχορηγεῖτο τοῖς ποιηταῖς· ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνεσο ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμωδοῖς ὥστε ἦν τις καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον συστολὴ χρόνῳ, εἰ οὐ πολλοὶ ὕστερον καθάπερ τὰς χορηγίας περιεῖλε Κινησίας.—Mr. Clinton is inclined to infer from the silence of the Argument to the *Plutus* respecting the adjudgement of any second or third prize, that the number had, by this time (B. C. 333), been reduced to one (Fast. Hell. p. 93). It does not, however, appear whether any thing more is meant, when a dramatist is said *δευτεραῖα*, or *τρίτα λαβεῖν*, than simply that he was second or third in merit, without any reference to an actual prize; just as on the turf the judge not only declares the winner, but also places the two or three next horses in the order of their coming in.

1. Petit. p. 336.

2. Demosthenes in his thirty-second year was choragus to the *Χορὸς Ἀλέκτων*.

3. Petit. p. 353. Yet so averse were the Athenians to any interruption in their theatrical entertainments, that a rival choragus, however certain he might be that a competitor was employing a foreigner in his chorus, was forbidden, under a penalty, to stop the representation of the suspected chorus:—Καὶ μὴν ἵστε γε τοῦθ', ὅτι βουλόμενοι μηδὲν ἀγνίζεσθαι ξένον, οὐκ ἐδώκατε ἀπλῶς τῶν χορηγῶν οὐδενὶ προκαλέσαντι τοὺς χορευτὰς σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν καλέσῃ, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς, ἐὰν δὲ καθίζεσθαι κελεύσῃ, χιλίας ἀποτίνειν ἐτάξατε. Demosth. Cont. Mid. Vol. iv. p. 594.

4. Petit. 353.

5. Demosth. Cont Mid. Vol. iv. p. 595.

6. Aristoph. Vesp. 1410.

7. Alciphron iii. 48.

During one period in the history of the Athenian stage the tragic candidates were each to produce three serious and one satyric drama, together entitled a *τετραλογία*; otherwise, omitting the satyric drama, the three tragedies taken by themselves were called a *τριλογία*. The earliest *τετραλογία* on record is that one of Æschylus, which contained the *Persæ*, and was exhibited B.C. 472. From that date down to B.C. 415, a space of fifty-seven years, we have frequent notices of tetralogies. In B.C. 415 Euripides represented a tetralogy, one of the dramas in which was the *Troades*. After this time it does not appear from any ancient testimony whether the custom was continued or not. <sup>1</sup> Indeed it is matter of great doubt whether the practice was at any time regular and indispensable. Sometimes, as in the *Oresteiad*<sup>2</sup> of Æschylus, and the *Pandionid*<sup>5</sup> of Philocles, the three tragedies were on a common and connected subject; in general we find the case otherwise.

The prize of Tragedy was, as has already been<sup>4</sup> noticed, originally a goat; of Comedy a jar of wine and a basket of figs: but of these we have no intimation after the first stage in the history of the Drama. In later times<sup>5</sup> the successful poet was simply rewarded with a wreath of ivy. <sup>6</sup> His name was also proclaimed

1. Sophocles, according to Suidas, broke through the custom, and contended with single plays. That he did, however, sometimes produce tetralogies is evident from the celebrity of his satyric dramas.

2. *πρῶτον δὲ μοι τὸν ἐξ Ὀρεστέας λέγε.*—Aristoph. *Ran.* 1122.

3. *Φιλοκλῆς Ἐποπα ἐσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ Πανδιονίδι τετραλογία*—Schol. in Aristoph. *Av.* 280.

4. See above, p. 7.

5. *Ἀγαθὼν . . . στεφανοῦται Ἀθηναίοις.* Athen. v. 217. a. The chorus of Mystics in the *Roma* petition Ceres—the *ἀγῶν ὀργίων ἄνασσα*—to grant that they *παίσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα, νικήσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι.*—392.

To this practice Euripides also adverts in the invocation with which he closes his *Orestes*, *Phænissæ*, and *Iphigenia in Tauris*:

ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη, τὸν ἐμὸν  
βίοτον κατέχοις,  
καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.

The garland was naturally made of ivy, the favourite shrub of the dramatic deity. *Μὰ τὸν Δίονυσον καὶ τοὺς Βακχικοὺς αὐτοῦ κισσοὺς, οἷς στεφανωθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Πτολεμαίου βούλομαι διαδήμασιν.* Alciphron. ii. Epist. 3. and again in the same epistle.—*ἔμοί γένοιτο, βασιλεῦ Πτολεμαῖς, τὸν Ἀπτικὸν αἰεὶ στέφεισθαι κισσόν.*—See also Callimachus, *Epig.* 8.

6. *Ὅτε νικῶν ἐκηρύχθη, χαρὰ νικητῶν ἔθηκε.*—such is one of the accounts re-

before the audience. His choragus<sup>1</sup> and performers were adorned in like manner. The poet<sup>2</sup> used also, with his actors, to sacrifice the ἐπινίκια, and provide an entertainment, to which his friends were invited. The victorious choragus<sup>3</sup> in a tragic contest dedicated a tablet to Bacchus, inscribed with the names of himself, his poet, and the archon. In Comedy<sup>4</sup> the choragus likewise consecrated to the same god the dress and ornaments of his actors.

The merits<sup>5</sup> of the candidates were decided by judges appointed by the archon. Their number was usually five. In the

respecting the death of Sophocles (Vit. Soph.); though probably not correct, it shows the general practice.

1. During the contest all the Ἀντιχόρηγοι and their choruses had the privilege of wearing the garland indiscriminately; but as soon as the decision was given, no one but the victor, with his performers, was allowed to retain the ornament: οἱ τοίνυν χοροὶ πάντες οἱ γιγνόμενοι καὶ οἱ χορηγοὶ δῆλον ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, ἅς συνερχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ τὰς μαντείας ταύτας, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν στεφανούμεθα, ὁμοίως ὅ τε μέλλων νικᾶν καὶ ὁ πάντων ὕστατος γενήσεσθαι, τὴν ἐξ τῶν ἐπινικίων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε ἦδη στεφανοῦται ὁ νικῶν.—Demosth. Cont. Mid. Vol. IV. p. 594.

2. Plato, Sympos.

3. Plutarch says of Themistocles—ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγωδοῖς, μεγάλην ἦδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος· καὶ πινάκα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε, τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα, ΘΗΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΙΓΕΙ. ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙ. ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ.—Them.

The victor with the χορὸς ἀνδρῶν used to receive a tripod as his prize, which was also dedicated in the Lenæan temple to Bacchus, inscribed like the dramatic tablets:—ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς τε κριτὰς διαφθείραντος τούτου καὶ ἐὰν τοῦτο τῆς φυλῆς ἀδίκως ἀφαιρεθείσης τὸν τρίποδα, &c. Demosth. Cont. Mid. p. 576. So in the quotation from Lysias above, p. 202, we have ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν . . . ἐνίκησα, καὶ ἀνῆλωσα σὺν τῇ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀναθέσει, &c.

From the tripods and tablets thus dedicated subsequent authors formed chronological tables of the various theatric contests, stating the names of the three poets placed first, according to their respective rank, the titles of their dramas, and the name of the archon for the year. These tables were called Διδασκαλία. The principal compilers of them were Aristotle, Dicæarchus, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Carylus Pergamensis, and Aristophanes Byzantius.

4. See the quotation from Lysias—καμωδοῖς χορηγῶν—ἐνίκων, καὶ ἀνῆλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει, &c. Theophrastus enumerating the characteristic actions of a mean fellow, says—ὁ δὲ ἀνελεύθερος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος νικήσας τραγωδοῦς ταυρίαν ἀναθεῖναι ξυλὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐπιγράψας αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.—Charact. xxii.

5. Αἰφύων, ὁ ἄρχων, . . . κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος.—Plutarch, in Cim. See above, p. 44, note.



case of the Cyclian<sup>1</sup> choruses any injustice or partiality was punishable by fine. No<sup>2</sup> prize drama was allowed to be exhibited a second time; but an unsuccessful piece, after being altered and retouched, might be again presented. The<sup>3</sup> plays of Æschylus were exempted by a special decree from this regulation. Afterwards<sup>4</sup> the same privilege was extended to those of Sophocles and Euripides; but as the superiority of these three great masters was so decided, few candidates could be found to enter the lists against their produced tragedies. A law<sup>5</sup> was consequently passed, forbidding the future exhibition of these three dramatists, and directing that they should be read in public every year.

The<sup>6</sup> whole time of representation was portioned out in equal spaces to the several competitors by means of a clepsydra. It was the poet's business, therefore, so to limit the length of his play, as not to occupy in the acting more than the time allowed. It<sup>7</sup> is

1. Æschines, Cont. Ctesiph. And not without reason, if we may judge from the incidental accusations and complaints still extant. See Aristophanes, *Aves*, 445. Ælian, ii. 3. Demosthenes, Cont. Mid. Volume iv. pages 575 and 581. We may judge of the violent scenes which occasionally occurred in the theatre, from the account Demosthenes gives of the behaviour of his enemy Midias. After telling his auditors that Midias had first endeavoured to destroy the ornaments which he had provided for his chorus, and next attempted to bribe their trainer, he proceeds—Καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταυθ' ἔστη τῆς ὑβρεως, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιῆν, ὥστε τὸν ἐστεφανωμένον ἄρχοντα διεφθειρε, τοὺς χορηγοὺς συνήγεν ἐπ' ἐμέ, βοῶν, ἀπειλῶν, ὁμύουσι παρεστηκῶς ταῖς κριταῖς, τὰ παρασκήνια φράττων, προσηλῶν, ἰδιώτης ὢν τὰ δημόσια, κακὰ καὶ πράγματα ἀμύθητα ἐμοὶ παρέχων διετέλεσεν. *Ib.* p. 581.—See also Andocid. cont. Alcib.—τύπτων τοὺς ἀντιχορηγοῦντας.—Vol. i. page 186.

2. Thus Aristophanes exhibited three different editions of the *Nubes*, and two of the *Plutus*.

3. See above, p. 38.

4. Aul. Gell. vii. 5.

5. Plut. Rhet. Vit.

6. Τοῦ δὲ μήκουσ ὁρος, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οὐ τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν. Ἐὰ γὰρ ἔδει ἑκατὸν τραγωιδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πρὸς κλεψυδρας ἂν ἠγωνίζοντο, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε φασιν.—Aristot. § 16. See Tyrwhitt and Hermann in l. c.

7. Yet that number seems to have been a fixed thing: so Aristotle speaks of it: Εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων ἐλάττους αἱ συστάσεις εἶεν, πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τραγωιδῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασιν τιθεμένων παρήκοιεν. Poet. § 40. See Tyrwhitt's note. If each tribe furnished but one choragus, and not, as some appear to have supposed, one for each different kind of contest, the number of tragic candidates could scarcely have exceeded three. For there seem never to have been less than three or four distinct kinds of choruses at the great Dionysian festivals; which, when portioned out amongst the ten choragi, could not by any chance allow of more than three or four choragi to the tragic competitors; which agrees very well with all that is elsewhere mentioned on this head, for we seldom meet with more than three candidates recorded, and probably this was in general the whole number of exhibitors. Aristophanes, indeed, had on one occasion *four* rival comedians to oppose (*Argum.* iii. in Plut.); but this was, in all likelihood, at the *Lenæa*, when, perhaps, not a single tragedy had been offered for representation, and, consequently, a large proportion of choruses would be left disengaged for comic candidates.

impossible now to ascertain the average number of pieces produced at one representation. Perhaps from ten to twelve dramas might be exhibited in the course of the day.

If the custom of contending with tetralogies was still retained, Aristotle, in the passage above, most probably intended by τῶν τραγῳδῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασιν τιθεμένων the exhibition of one such tetralogy. (See Hermann's note in 1.). This supposition is in some measure supported by the fact, that there were three or four separate hearings in the day (see below, p. 217); since four tetralogies would occupy from twelve to sixteen hours: and if, as is natural, each competitor took up a whole hearing, this will confirm our former induction with regard to the number of candidates.

## CHAPTER III.

### SECTION II.

#### THE THEATRE AND AUDIENCE.

IN the first stage of the art no building was required or provided for its representations. In the country the Dionysian performances were generally held <sup>1</sup> at some central point, where several roads met; as a rendezvous most easy of access, and convenient in distance to all the neighbourhood. In the city the public place was the ordinary site of exhibition. But when at Athens Tragedy began to assume her proper dignity, and dramatic contests were becoming matter of national pride and attention, the need of a suitable building was soon felt. <sup>2</sup> A theatre of wood was erected. <sup>3</sup> Through the weakness of the material or some defect in the construction, this edifice fell beneath the weight of the crowds assembled to witness a representation, in which Æschylus and Pratinas were rivals. It was then that the noble theatre of stone was erected, within the *Ἀναῖον*, or enclosure dedicated to Bacchus. In this theatre the master-pieces of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were exhibited. Here too did Aristophanes pour forth his wit and his sarcasm; and here were seen the splendid contests of the Cyclian choruses.

To form an accurate conception of the Athenian theatre in all its minutiae, as it stood in the days of Pericles, is now impracticable. The only detailed accounts left us on this subject are two, that of Vitruvius, the architect of Augustus, and that of Julius Pollux, his junior by two centuries. From the descriptions of these writers, aided and explained by incidental hints in other ancient authors, and a reference to the several theatric remains in Greece, Asia Minor, Sicily and Italy, Genelli, an able scholar and architect of Berlin, has drawn up a statement, in the main satisfactory. From his learned quarto <sup>4</sup> the following sketch and

1. *Præmiisque ingentes pagos et compita circum Thesidae posuere.* Virg. Georg. ii. 332.

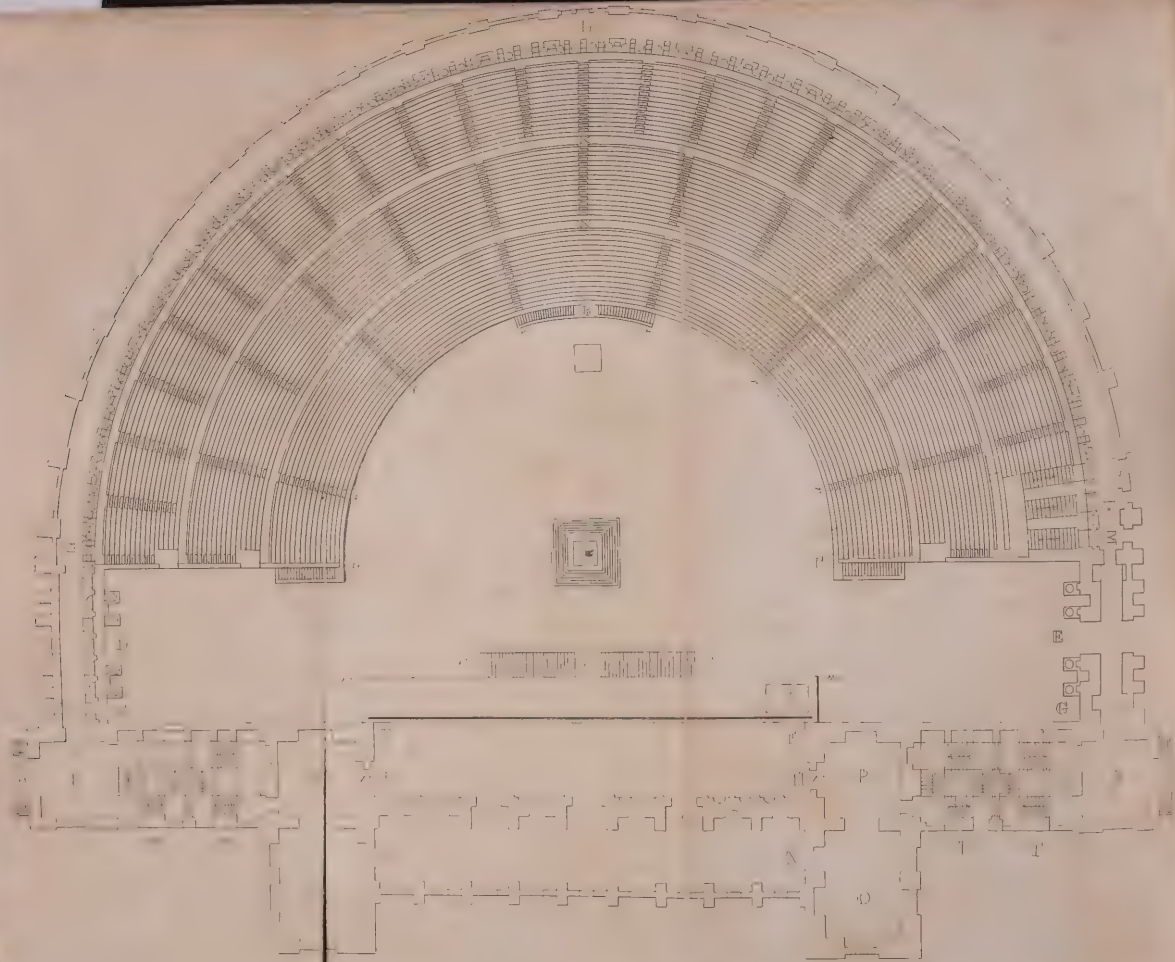
2. Photius in *Ἰκρία*.

3. Liban. Argum. in Olynth. i.—Suidas in *Πρατίνας*.

4. Entitled *Das Theater zu Athen*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1813.







accompanying plan are borrowed, with hearty thanks for the assistance derived in this and other instances from his ingenuity and erudition.

<sup>1</sup> The theatre of Bacchus at Athens stood on the south-eastern side of the eminence crowned by the noble buildings of the Acropolis. <sup>2</sup> From the level of the plain a semicircular excavation gradually ascended up the slope of the hill to a considerable height. Round the concavity seats for an audience of thirty thousand persons arose range above range; and the whole was topped and enclosed by a <sup>3</sup> lofty portico, adorned with statues and surmounted by a balustraded terrace. The tiers of benches were divided into two or three broad belts, by passages termed <sup>4</sup> διαζώματα, and again transversely into wedge-like masses, called <sup>5</sup> κέρκιδες, by several flights of steps, radiating upwards from the level below to the portico above. The lower seats, as being the better adapted for hearing and seeing, were considered the most honourable, and therefore appropriated to the high magistrates, the priests and the senate. This space was named <sup>6</sup> Βουλευτικόν. The body of the citizens were probably arranged according to their tribes. The young men sat apart in a division, entitled Ἐφηβικόν. The sojourners and strangers had also their places allotted them.

1. The reader will have the plan of the Theatre before him, to which constant reference is given in the notes.

2. This situation on the slope of a hill obviated the necessity of those immense substructions, which amaze the traveller in the remains of Roman theatres.

3. Marked L L L.

4. In the plan X X. These διαζώματα were called in the Roman theatres *præcinctiones*. Vitruv. v. 3.

5. r r r. In Latin *Cunei*. Ib.

6. καὶ ὅ ῥα τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν βουλευτικῷ. Aves 794.—On which the Scholiast remarks, οὗτος τόπος τοῦ θεάτρου, ὁ ἀνεμνένος τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὡς καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἐφήβοις Ἐφηβικός.

To this custom allusion is made in the *Equites*, 669.

Κλέων. ἀπολῶ σε νῆ τὴν προεδρίαν τὴν ἐκ Πύλου.  
Ἀλλαντοπώλης. ἰδοὺ προεδρίαν οἷον ὄψομαι σ' ἐγὼ  
ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας ἔσχατον θέωμενον.

From whence and elsewhere we may infer, that eminent public services were rewarded by this high-prized προεδρία.—It is a great matter with the vain-glorious man in Theophrastus—τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου καθῆσθαι, ὅταν ᾗ θεά, πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν. Char. ii.

Twelve feet beneath the lowest range of seats lay a level space, partly enclosed by the sweep of the excavation, and partly extending outwards right and left in a long parallelogram. This was the <sup>1</sup>Ὀρχήστρα. In the middle of this open flat stood a small platform, square and slightly elevated, called <sup>2</sup>Θυμέλη, which served both as an altar for the sacrifices, that preceded the exhibition, and as the central point, to which the choral movements were all referred. That part of the orchestra, which lay without the concavity of the seats, and ran along on either hand to the boundary wall of the theatre, was called <sup>3</sup>Δρόμος. The wings, as they might be termed, of this Δρόμος, were named <sup>4</sup>Παρόδοι, and the entrances, which led into them through the boundary wall, were entitled <sup>5</sup>Εἰσόδοι.

On the side of the orchestra opposite the amphitheatre of benches, and exactly on a level with the lowest range, stood the platform of the <sup>6</sup>Σκηνή, or stage, in breadth nearly equal to the diameter of the semicircular part of the orchestra, and communicating with the Δρόμος by <sup>7</sup>a double flight of steps. The stage was cut breadth-wise into two divisions. The one in front, called <sup>8</sup>Λογεῖον, was a narrow parallelogram projecting into the orchestra. This was generally the station of the actors when speaking, and therefore was constructed of wood, the better to reverberate the voice. The front and sides of the Λογεῖον, twelve

1. Marked G D C B C E G.

2. Marked O. The Thymele sometimes was made to represent a tomb, as in the Persæ and the Choëphoræ of Æschylus.

Ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμαί τι οὐσα εἴτε βῶμος.—Pollux iv.

3. The Roman *Iter*. Vitruv.—Marked G D C O C E G.

4. C D G F. C E G F.

5. The Roman *Aditus*.—D and E.

6. H F m m F H.

7. o n o.

8. The Latin *Pulpitum*.—Marked m F F m.

Speaking of the construction of a Roman theatre, Vitruvius says, “Ita latius factum fuerit pulpitum, quam Græcorum, quod omnes artifices in scenam dant operam, in orchestra autem Senatorum sunt sedibus loca destinata.” V. 6. Again—“Ampliores habent orchestram Græci, et scenam recessiorem minoreque latitudine pulpitum, quod λογεῖον appellant: ideoque apud eos Tragici et Comici Actores in scena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram præstant actiones, ideoque ex eo *Scenici* et *Thymelici* Græce separati nominantur.”—V. 8.

feet in height, adorned with columns and statues between them, were called <sup>1</sup> τὰ ὑποσκήνια.

The part of the platform behind the Λογεῖον was called the <sup>2</sup> Προσκήνιον, and was built of stone, in order to support the heavy scenery and decorations, which there were placed. The Proscenium was backed and flanked by lofty buildings of stone-work, representing externally a palace-like mansion, and containing within <sup>5</sup> withdrawing rooms for the actors and <sup>4</sup> receptacles for the stage machinery. <sup>5</sup> In the central edifice were three entrances upon the proscenium, which by established practice, were made to designate the rank of the characters as they came on; the highly ornamented portal in the middle, with the altar of Apollo on the right, being assigned to royalty, the two side entrances to inferior personages. <sup>6</sup> In a similar way, all the personages who made their appearance by the Εἰσοδος on the right of the stage, were understood to come from the country; whilst such as came in from the left were supposed to approach from the town.

On each side of the proscenium and its erections ran the <sup>7</sup> Παρασκήνια, high lines of building with architectural front; which contained <sup>8</sup> spacious passages into the theatre from without, communicating on the one hand with the stage and its contiguous apartments; on the other, through <sup>9</sup> two halls, with the Παρόδοι of the orchestra, and with the portico which ran round the topmost range of the seats.

1. The term τὸ ὑποσκήνιον was sometimes applied to the room or vault beneath the stage.

2. F H H F.

3. NN, a large saloon. O and O, dressing rooms.

4. P and P, communicating with the stage by the doors v, v.

5. A, the royal portal (βασιλείος), h and g, the two inferior entrances, called by Vitruvius *Hospitales*.

Τριῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν θυρῶν, ἡ μέση μὲν, βασιλείου, ἡ σπηλαιον, ἡ οἶκος ἑνδοξος, ἡ πᾶν τὸ πρωταγωνιστοῦν τοῦ δράματος. ἡ δὲ δεξιὰ, τοῦ δευτεραγωνιστοῦντος καταγώγιον. ἡ δὲ ἀριστερὰ, ἡ τὸ εὐτελέστατον ἔχει πρόσωπον, ἡ ἱερὸν ἐξηρημαμένον, ἡ αἰκὸς ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ τραγωδίᾳ, ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ θύρα, ξενῶν ἐστίν, εἰρκτὴ δὲ, ἡ λαϊά. Pollux iv. 9. A little before he says, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ἀγνιεύς ἐκεῖτο βωμὸς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

6. Παρ' ἐκάτερα δὲ τῶν δύο θυρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν μέσην, ἄλλαι δύο εἶεν ἂν, μία ἐκατέρωθεν, πρὸς ἃς αἱ περιίκτοι συμπεπῆγασιν. ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἀριστερὰ, τὰ ἐκ πόλεως, μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος, καὶ θεοῦ τε θαλαττίους ἔπαγει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαχθέστερα ὄντα ἡ μηχανὴ φέρειν ἀδυνατεῖ. Τῶν μέντοι παρόδων, ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ ἀγρόθεν, ἡ ἐκ λιμένος, ἡ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει. οἱ δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι, κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν εἰσίσουσιν. εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνουνσι. —Ibid.

7. F G T T, F G T T.

8. T T; T T. Genelli supposes there might be other passages at the sides: as at M L in the plan.

9. R, R.



Behind the whole mass of Stage buildings was an open space, covered with turf and planted with trees. Around this ran a portico, called the Eumenic, which was the place of rehearsal for the Chorus, and, with the upper portico, <sup>1</sup>afforded a ready shelter to the audience during a sudden storm. There too the servants of the wealthier spectators awaited the departure of their masters.

Such was the construction and arrangement of the great Athenian Theatre. Its dimensions must have been immense. If, as we are assured, 30,000 persons could be seated on its benches, the length of the *Δρόμος* could not have been less than 400 feet, and a spectator in the central point of the topmost range must have been 300 feet from the actor in the *Λογέιον*.<sup>2</sup>

The scenery of the Athenian stage was doubtless corresponding to the magnificence of the theatre. The catalogue, which Julius Pollux has left us, bespeaks great variety of devices and much ingenuity of contrivance, although we may not altogether be able to comprehend his obscure descriptions. We may however safely conclude that the age and city, which witnessed the dramas of a Sophocles, the statues of a Phidias and the paintings of a Zeuxis, possessed too much taste and too much talent to allow of aught mean and clumsy in the scenery of an exhibition, which national pride, individual wealth and the sanctity of religion conspired to exalt into the most splendid of solemnities.

<sup>3</sup>The massive buildings of the Proscenium, were well adapted for the generality of Tragic dramas, where the chief characters were usually princes, and the front of their palace the place of action. But not unfrequently the locality of the play was very different. Out of the seven extant pieces of Sophocles there are but four, which could be performed without a change of proscenium. The *Œdipus Coloneus* requires a grove, the *Ajax* a camp, and the *Philoctetes* an island solitude. In Comedy, which was exhibited on the same stage, the necessity of alteration was still more common. To produce the requisite transformations various means were employed. Decorations were introduced before the Proscenic buildings, which masked them from the view, and substituted a prospect suitable to the play. These decorations

1. Plato Symp.

2. Genelli, p. 52, note.

3. "Genera sunt scenarum tria, unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. Horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimiles disparique ratione: quod tragice deformantur columnis, fastigiis et signis, reliquisque regalibus rebus. Comice autem edificiorum privatorum et mœnianorum habent speciem, perspectusque fenestris

were formed of wood-work below; above were 'paintings on canvass, resembling our scenes, and like them so arranged on perspective principles, as to produce the proper illusion. No expense or skill seems to have been spared in the preparation of these scenic representations; nay it is not improbable that even living trees were occasionally introduced to produce the better effect<sup>2</sup>.

The stage-machinery appears to have comprehended all that modern ingenuity has devised. As the intercourse between earth and heaven is very frequent in the mythologic dramas of the Greeks, the number of aerial contrivances was proportionably great. Were the deities to be shewn in converse aloft; there was the *Θεολογεῖον*, a platform surrounded and concealed by clouds. Were gods or heroes to be seen passing through the void of the sky; there were the *Αἴωραι*, a set of ropes, which suspended from the upper part of the Proscenic building, served to support and convey the celestial being along.

The *ἸΜηχανή* again, was a sort of crane turning on a pivot with a suspender attached, placed on the right, or country, side of the stage, and employed suddenly to dart out a god or hero before the eyes of the spectators, and there keep him hovering in air, till his part was performed, and then as suddenly withdraw him.

fenestris dispositos communium ædificiorum rationibus. Satyricæ vero ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus, reliquisque agrestibus rebus, in topiarii operis speciem deformatis." Vitruv. v. 8.

Apuleius gives the following description of a Pantomimic scene in the Theatre at Corinth.—Dies ecce muneri destinatus aderat. ad conspectum cavæ, prosequente populo, pompatico favore deducor. Ac dum ludicris scenicorum choreis primitiæ spectaculi dedicantur, tantisper ante portam constitutus pabulum lætissimi graminis, quod in ipso germinabat aditu, libens affectabam: subinde curiosos oculos, patente porta, spectaculi prospectu gratissimo reficiens. Nam puelli puellæque virenti florentes ætatula, forma conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gestuosi, Græcanici saltantes pyrrhicham, dispositis ordinationibus decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbe rotatim flexuosi, nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, et in quadratum patorem cuneati, et in catervæ dissidium separati. At ubi discursus reciproci multimodas ambages tubæ terminalis cantus explicuit, aulæo subducto, et complicitis sipariis, Paridis scena disponitur. Erat mons ligneus, ad instar incliti montis illius, quem vates Homerus Idæum cecinit, sublimi instructus fabrica, consitus viretis et vivis arboribus, summo cacumine, de manibus fabri fonte manante, fluvialis aquas eliquans. Capellæ pauculæ tondebant herbulas: et, in modum Paridis Phrygii pastoris, barbaricis amiculis humeris defluentibus, pulchre indusiatus adolescens, aurea tyara contexto capite, pecuarium simulabat magisterium.—Metamorph. x.

1. Καταβλήματα. Pollux. iv. 19.

2. Genelli.

3. ἼΜηχανή δὲ θεοὺς δείκνυσιν, καὶ Ἡρώας τοὺς ἐν αἵετι.—Poll. iv. 19. In Comedy this machine was called κράδην.—Ib.

The <sup>1</sup> Γέρανος was something of the same sort, with a grapple hanging from it, used to catch up persons from the earth, and rapidly whirl them within the circle of scenic clouds; Aurora was thus made to carry off the dead body of her son Memnon.

There was moreover the <sup>2</sup> Βροντεῖον, a contrivance in the Ὑποσκήνιον, or room beneath the Δογείον; where bladders full of pebbles were rolled over sheets of copper to produce a noise like the rumbling of thunder. The Κεραυνοσκοπεῖον was a place, on the top of the stage buildings, whence the artificial lightning was made to play through clouds, which concealed the operator.—When the action was simply on earth, there were certain pieces of frame work, the Σκοπή, Τείχος, Πύργος and Φρυκτώριον, representing, as their names import, a look-out, a fortress wall, a tower and a beacon. These were either set up apart from the stationary erections of the Proscenium, or connected so as to give them, with the assistance of the canvass scene, the proper aspect. Here a sentinel was introduced, or a spectator, supposed to be viewing some distant object. The <sup>3</sup> Ἡμικύκλιον was a semicircular machine placed, when wanted, on the country side of the stage, which enclosed a representation of the sea or a city in the distance, towards which the eye looked through a passage between cliffs, or an opening among trees. What the Στροφεῖον and Ἡμιστροφεῖον were, it is difficult to make out. It would seem that they were constructed something like the Ἡμικύκλιον, but moved on a pivot, so that by a sudden whirl the object they presented might be shewn or withdrawn in an instant. <sup>4</sup> They were employed to exhibit heroes transported to the company of deities, and men perishing in the waves of the sea or the tumult of battle.—In some cases one or more stories of the front wall in a temporary house were made to turn upon hinges, so that when this front was drawn back, the interior of a room could be wheeled

1. Ἦ δὲ γέρανος, μηχανήμα τι ἐστὶν ἐκ μετεώρου καταφερόμενον, ἐφ' αἶρα γῇ σώματος ᾧ κέχρηται ἢ ἰδὼς αἰρπάζουσα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Μήμνονος.—Pollux iv. 19.

2. Τὸ ἐν βροντεῖον, ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν ὀπισθεν, ἄσκοι ψήφων ἔμπλοιοι ζωκόμενοι φέρονται κατὰ χαλκωμάτων.—Ib. The κεραυνοσκοπεῖον, Pollux merely states to be περιάκτος ὑψηλή, which, according to Kuhn, “instar speculae fuit, unde Jupiter fulmina vibrabat.”

3. Ib.

4. ἢ τοὺς εἰς τὸ θεῖον μεθεστηκότας, ἢ τοὺς ἐν πελάγει, ἢ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντας. Ib.

out and exposed to view: as in the *Acharnians* where Euripides is so brought forward. This contrivance was called <sup>1</sup> Ἐκκύκλημα.

Such were some of the devices for the scenes of heaven and earth; but as the ancient dramatists fetched their personages not unfrequently from Tartarus, other provisions were required for their due appearance.—Beneath the lowest range of seats, under the stairs, which led up to them from the orchestra, was fixed a door, which opened into the orchestra from a vault beneath it by a flight of steps, called <sup>2</sup> Χαρίωνιοι κλίμακες. Through this passage entered and disappeared the shades of the departed. Somewhat in front of this door and steps, was another communication by a trap-door with the vault below, called <sup>3</sup> Ἀναπίεσμα: by means of which any sudden appearance like that of the Furies was effected. <sup>4</sup> A second Ἀναπίεσμα was contained in the floor of the *Λογεῖον*, on the right, or country, side, whence particularly marine or river gods ascended, when occasion required.

In Tragedy the scene was rarely changed. In Comedy however this was frequently done. To conceal the stage during this operation, a curtain, called *αὐλαία*, wound round a roller beneath the floor was drawn up through a slit between the *Λογεῖον* and *Proscenium*.

## II.

### *Audience.*

<sup>5</sup> Originally no admission-money was demanded. The theatre was built at the public expense, and therefore was open to every individual. The consequent crowding and quarrelling for places amongst so vast a multitude was the cause of a law being passed, which fixed the entrance price at one drachma each person. This regulation, debarring as it did the poorer class from their favourite entertainment, was too unpopular to continue long unrepealed. Pericles, anxious to ingratiate himself with the commonalty,

1. Pollux iv. 19.

2. At B.—Αἱ δὲ Χαρίωνιοι κλίμακες, κατὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰδωλίων καθόδους κείμεναι, τὰ εἶδωλα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναπέμπουσι.—Ibid.

3. Ibid. Marked b in the plan.

4. Marked p.

5. Hesych. Suidas and Παρρε in *Οἰωνικά*. Liban. *Argument in Olynth. i.* Vol. iv. p. 10.



brought in a decree which enacted that the price should be reduced to two oboli<sup>1</sup>; and farther, that one of the magistrates should furnish out of the public funds these two oboli to every applicant. The sum thus spent was drawn from the contributions originally paid by the allies towards carrying on war against the Persians. By degrees the expenses of the festivals engrossed the whole of this fund, and that money which ought to have been employed in supporting a military force for the common defence of Greece, was scandalously lavished away upon the idle pleasures of the Athenian people. This measure proved most ruinous to the republic; yet so jealous were the multitude of any infringement upon their *theoric* expenses, that, <sup>2</sup> when an orator had ventured to propose the restoration of the sums then squandered upon spectacles foreign to their original purpose, a decree was instantly framed, making it death to offer any such scheme to the general assembly. <sup>3</sup> Demosthenes twice cautiously endeavoured to convince the people of their folly and injustice, but finding his exhortations were ill received, he was constrained reluctantly to acquiesce in the common resolution<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The spectators hastened to the theatre at the dawn of day to secure the best places, as the performances commenced very early. After the first exhibition was over, the audience retired for a while, until the second was about to commence. <sup>6</sup> There were three or four such representations in the course of the day, thus separated by short intervals. <sup>7</sup> During the performance the people regaled

1. Demosthenes, when defending his conduct towards the Macedonian ambassadors against the reproaches of Æschines, says, in reference to his procuring them seats in the theatre gratis,—*ἢ θεῶν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεύσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δνοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρου ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη*.—De Coronâ, Vol. iv. p. 254.—From which it would seem that the price for an ordinary place was then still two oboli, whilst as high a sum as a drachma was demanded for the best places. Plat. Apol. Socrat. Some of the ancient scholiasts and lexicographers state the admission-price to have been only one obolus, and that the other was added to procure the poor spectator refreshments. This idea, however, seems incompatible with the words of Demosthenes.

2. Liban. Arg. in Olynth. i.

3. Olynth. i. Vol. iv. p. 16, and Olynth. iii. p. 34.

4. Philipp. iv. Vol. i. p. 154.

5. Æschines, in reproaching Demosthenes with mean flatteries towards the ambassadors of Philip, mentions among them—*καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡγάτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον*.—Cont. Ctesiph. iii. 488.

6. *Καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάμασι τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλήρωματα ὑπομένειν, τὰ ἄσματα ἐκμανθάνων*.—Theophrast. Char. xxvii.

7. Athenæus, after noticing this practice amongst the Athenian spectators, adds—*λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁ Φιλόχορος οὕτως*· Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς ἀγῶσι,

themselves with wine and sweetmeats. <sup>1</sup> The two oboli each paid at the entrance seems to have gone to the <sup>2</sup> ἄρχιτεκτων; who in return for this engaged to keep the theatre in repair. He paid also a certain rent to the state, and perhaps likewise furnished the machinery; for the choragi appear to have supplied little more than the dresses. <sup>3</sup> This master of the works used sometimes to give an exhibition gratis, and sometimes to distribute tickets which entitled the bearer to free admission. <sup>4</sup> The number of spectators in the Athenian theatre amounted occasionally to thirty thousand. This immense assembly were wont to express in no gentle terms their opinion of the piece and actors. <sup>5</sup> Murmurs, jeers, hootings,

ἀγῶσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡριστηκότες καὶ πεπωκότες ἐβάαιζον ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν, καὶ ἐστεφανωμένοι ἐθεώρουν· παρὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα οἶνος αὐτοῖς ὀνοχρεῖτο, καὶ τραγῆματα παρεφέρετο, καὶ τοῖς χοροῖς εἰσιούσι ἐνέχρεον πίνειν, καὶ διηγωνισμένοις ὅτ' ἐξεπορεύοντο ἐνέχρεον πάλιν.—xi. p. 465. This account does not altogether agree with the representation of Aristophanes, who speaks of his spectator as having come to the theatre impransus, and as having nothing to eat whilst sitting there:

Χορ. Οὐδέν ἐστ' ἄμεινον οὐδ' ἡδίων ἢ φῦσαι πτερὰ.  
αὐτίχ' ὑμῶν τῶν θεατῶν εἰ τις ἦν ὑπόπτερος,  
εἴτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγῶδων ἤχθετο,  
ἐκπετόμενος ἂν οὗτος ἡρίστησεν ἐλθὼν οἰκαδε,  
καῖτ' ἂν ἐμπλησθεῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὖθις αὖ κατέπτατο.  
Aves, 785, &c.

The richer spectators used to have cushions placed on the marble benches for their accommodation: Καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια, αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσαι. Theophrast. Char. ii. Æschin. περί παρι. Vol. 111. p. 420. Bekker.

1. See the quotation from Demosthenes above, p. 118, note.

2. Called also θεατρῶνης and θεατροπώλης.

3. Καὶ ἐπὶ θεάν ἡνίκα ἂν δέη πορεύεσθαι, οὐκ ἔαν τοὺς ὕεις, [ἀλλ'] ἡνίκα προῖκα ἀφιασι οἱ θεατρῶνοι. Charact. xi.

Theophrastus mentions this as one of the marks of ἀπόνοια in a person, Καὶ ἐν θεάμασι δὲ τοὺς χαλκοὺς ἐκλέγειν, καθ' ἕκαστον παρίων· καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι, καὶ προῖκα θεωρεῖν ἀξιούσι. Charact. vi. Among the relics from Pompeii and Herculaneum preserved in the Studii at Naples, is an oblong piece of metal about three inches in length and one in breadth, inscribed Ἀισχύλος. This was perhaps the σύμβολον of Theophrastus.

4. Socrates, complimenting Agathon on his skill and acquirements, tells him that they were displayed the day before, when he gained his tragic victory, ἐν μάρτυσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίοις. Plato Symp. p. 13.

5. Demosthenes, in his sarcastic rehearsal of his rival's early life, thus adverts to his situation as a player.—Μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σικύλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστηις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυν καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὑπωρῶνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ

and angry cries, were directed in turn against the offending performer. They not unfrequently proceeded still further; sometimes compelling the unfortunate object of their dissatisfaction to pull off his mask and expose his face, that they might enjoy his disgrace; sometimes assailing him with every species of missile at hand, they drove him from the stage, and ordered the herald to summon another actor to supply his place, who, if not in readiness, was liable to a fine. On the other hand, when the impetuous spectators happened to be gratified, the clapping of hands and shouts of applause were as loud as the expression of their displeasure. <sup>1</sup> In much the same manner the dramatic candidates themselves were treated<sup>2</sup>.

ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεαταίς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ᾧ πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὥς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. De Coronâ, Vol. IV. p. 345. Again—'Ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθροῦν· ἐξέπιπτεώς, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. p. 346.

From the pelting usually given bad performers, the following lines of Machon, the comic poet, (Athen. vi. p. 245) derive their point:

κακός τις ὥς ἔοικε κιθαρωδὸς σφόδρα,  
μέλλων ποτ' οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν φίλον  
αὐτοῦ λίθους ἤτησεν. Ἀποδώσω δ' ἐγὼ  
αὐτῶν πολὺ πλειούς, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς δειξέως.

Ἐκ τῆς δειξέως signifies—after I have exhibited a specimen of my skill in the theatre. See also Theophrast. Charact. xi., Plato de Leg. iii.

1. See the case of Euripides (above, p. 54.), and the anecdote of Diphilus, the comedian. Athen. xiii. p. 583. f. In the Symposium of Plato Socrates talks of Agathon's ἀνδριάν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην in facing the Tragic audience, p. 55, Bekker.

2. It has been a question whether the Grecian women were present at dramatic representations. That they were wont to form part of the tragic audience is a point sufficiently established. Whatever may be the truth respecting the story of the Furies in Æschylus, the story itself could not have been invented had Grecian females never visited the theatre. Pollux, too, has recorded the term θεάτρια, a *spectatress*. Plato speaks of tragedy as ῥητορικὴν τινα πρὸς δῆμον τοιοῦτον οἶον παιδῶν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. Gorg. LVII.—Elsewhere (De Leg. ii.) he numbers amongst the spectators of tragic exhibitions αἱ πεπαιδευμέναι τῶν γυναικῶν. Upon the lines in Aristophanes (Eccles. 21—23.)

Καταλαβεῖν δ' ἡμᾶς ἔδρας  
ὥς Σφυρόμαχος ποτ' εἶπεν, εἰ μέμνησθ', ἔτι  
δεῖ τὰς εἰτάρας ἐγκαθίζομένας λαθεῖν,

the Scholiast remarks—Ὁ δὲ Σφυρόμαχος ψήφισμα εἰσηγήσατο, ὥστε δεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς εἰτάρας χωρὶς τῶν ἐλευθέρων καθέζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ὅτι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας χωρὶς καθέζεσθαι. These testimonies will probably be deemed sufficient to prove the presence of females at the tragic exhibitions; whether the same was the case at the comic is doubtful. Aristophanes on one occasion (Pax, 963—967), does speak as if part of his auditors were females:

Οἰκ.

Οἷκ. τῶν θεωμένων  
 Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδείς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει.  
 Τρ. Οὐχ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔλαβον;

It has been suggested, however, "that their presence might possibly be feigned to give a handle for the coarse joke," with which the servant replies to Trygæus. At any rate, this single passage, exceptionable as it is on the score of positive evidence, will perhaps scarcely outweigh the argument on the other side of the question; which is drawn from the general silence of Aristophanes with respect to the presence of women at his representations. In his *parabases*, accustomed as he is to distinguish his audience according to their several ages, and otherwise, we never remark any mention of females. In his numerous side-blows at individuals amongst the spectators, not one is aimed at a woman. Yet the comedian would not have been likely to neglect the many opportunities for raillery and witticism, which the presence of females would have given him.



## SECTION III.

### ACTORS, CHORUS, &c.

#### I.

#### *Actors.*

<sup>1</sup>IN the origin of the drama the members of the chorus were the only performers. <sup>2</sup>Thespis first introduced an actor distinct from that body. <sup>3</sup>Æschylus added a second, and Sophocles a third actor; and this continued ever after to be the legitimate number. <sup>4</sup>Hence, when three characters happened to be already on the stage, and a fourth was to come on, one of the three was obliged to retire, change his dress, and so return as the fourth personage. <sup>5</sup>The poet, however, might introduce any number of *mutes*, as

1. See above, p. 6.

2. Thespis was his own actor. See above, p. 12.

3. See above, p. 36. “Neque vero diffitendum est Æschylum, in tragædiis adhuc superstitionibus, tres histriones in scenâ simul colloquentes exhibuisse: v. c. in Choëphoris, a 665 ad 716. Sed hoc, opinor, non fecit nisi post Sophoclem, et ab illo edoctus, a quo etiam duodecim ad minimum ante mortem suam annis in tragico certamine victus est.”—Tyrwhitt in Aristot. §. 10. The commentator goes on to observe that in the Choëphoræ there are apparently, on one occasion (v. 900, &c.), not less than four *speaking* actors on the stage at once.—Clytemnestra, Orestes, the Ἐξάγγελος, or extra-messenger, and Pylades: a difficulty which is cleared up by the Scholiast, who, as happily amended by Tyrwhitt, tells us—μετεσκεύασται ὁ Ἐξάγγελος εἰς Πυλάδην, ἵνα μὴ δ' λέγωσιν;—the extra-messenger quitted the stage after v. 886, changed his dress, and came on again transformed into Pylades before v. 900. The necessity for such changing must often have occurred. “Cum autem tota Tragædia per tres histriones ageretur, necesse est ex iis unum aliquem duas aut plures personas sæpius induisse; ad quod respicit Lucianus, Νεκρομ. c. xvi. 479. Καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, εἰ τύχοι, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν μάλα σεμνῶς τὸ τοῦ Κέκροπος ἢ Ἐρεχθίδος σχῆμα μιμησάμενος, μετ' ὀλίγον οἰκέτης προήλθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ κεκελευσμένος.”—Tyrwhitt, l. c.

4. See the preceding note. The same practice was enforced on the Roman stage;

*Neu quarta loqui persona laboret.*

5. The word ἑκσκήνα occurs in Hesychius, by whom it is explained—τὰ παρεπομένα πρόσωπα ἐπὶ σκηνῇς. Dr. Blomfield (Mus. Crit. vi. p. 206) interprets the term thus,—ἑκσκήνα, the *supernumerary figures* introduced upon the stage;—understanding by *figures*, images dressed up as soldiers, servants, &c. This explanation he thinks

guards, attendants, &c. The actors were called ὑποκριταὶ or ἄγωνισταί. They took every pains to attain perfection in their art: <sup>3</sup>to acquire muscular energy and pliancy they frequented the palaestra, <sup>4</sup>and to give strength and clearness to their voice they observed a rigid diet. An eminent performer was eagerly sought after and liberally rewarded. <sup>5</sup>The celebrated Polus would sometimes gain a talent (or nearly £200) in the course of two days. The other states of Greece were always anxious to secure the best Attic performers for their own festivals. They engaged them long beforehand, and <sup>6</sup>the agreement was generally accompanied by a stipulation, that the actor, in case he failed to fulfil the contract, should pay a certain sum. <sup>7</sup>The Athenian government, on the other hand, punished their performers with a heavy fine if they absented themselves during the city's festivals. Eminence in the histrionic profession seems to have been held in considerable estimation in Athens at least. <sup>8</sup>Players were not unfrequently sent, as the representatives of the republic, on em-

is confirmed by a passage of Hippocrates, Νόμος, p. 19. ed. Basil; ὁμοιότατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῦδε τοῖσι παρεισαγομένοισι προσώποισιν ἐν τῇσι τραγωδίῃσιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σχῆμα μὲν, καὶ στολὴν, καὶ πρόσωπον ὑποκριτοῦ ἔχουσιν, οὐκ εἰσι δὲ ὑποκριταί, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἱητροί, φήμη μὲν, πολλοί, ἔργῳ δὲ πάγχυ βαιοί. This interpretation has, however, been deemed faulty. It has been thought that neither the words of Hesychius, nor the expressions of Hippocrates necessarily or naturally convey such a meaning; but rather that the ἔκσκευα were *living* mutes, and not dressed up figures. Hippocrates would scarcely have used the masculine pronoun ἐκεῖνοι in referring to the preceding πρόσωπα, unless those πρόσωπα had been real men.

1. Ὑποκρίεσθαι was originally *to answer* (Herodot. i. 78, et passim); hence, when a locutor was introduced who *answered* the chorus, he was called ὁ ὑποκριτής, or the *answerer*; a name which descended to the more numerous and refined actors in after days. Subsequently ὑποκριτής, from its being the name of a performer assuming a feigned character on the stage, came to signify a man who assumes a feigned character in his intercourse with others, a *hypocrite*.

2. Æschines, Cont. Ctesiph. Vol. III. p. 472. The three actors were termed πρωταγωνιστής, δευτεραγωνιστής, τριταγωνιστής, respectively, according as each performed the principal or one of the two inferior characters.

3. Cic. Orat. cap. iv.

4. Plato. de Leg. lib. ii.

5. Plut. in Rhet. Vit.

6. Æschines de fals. Legat.

7. Plut. in Alex.

8. Thus the actor Aristodemus was sent on an embassy to Philip of Macedon. Æschines de fals. Legat. Vol. III. p. 347. Others took a distinguished part in the assembly. Demosth. de fals. Leg. Vol. iv. p. 377. De Coron. p. 281. In earlier times Æschylus, the grave and high-minded warrior, thought it no degradation to appear on the stage as an actor, and Sophocles more than once played subordinate characters in his own dramas.

bassies and deputations. Hence they became in old, as not unfrequently in modern, times, self-conceited and domineering, *μείζον δύνανται*, says <sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί*. They were, however, as a body, men of loose and dissipated character, and as such were regarded with an unfavourable eye by the moralists and philosophers of that age<sup>2</sup>.

## II.

### *Chorus.*

The chorus, <sup>3</sup> once the sole matter of exhibition, though successively diminished by Thespis and Æschylus, was yet a very essential part of the drama, during the best days of the Greek Theatre. The splendour of the dresses, the music, the dancing, combined with the loftiest poetry, formed a *spectacle* peculiarly gratifying to the eye, ear, and intellect of an Attic audience. The number of *χορευταί* was probably at first indeterminate; afterwards, according to <sup>4</sup> Pollux, it was fixed by law at fifteen in tragedy and twenty-four in comedy. <sup>5</sup> The situation assigned to the chorus was the orchestra, <sup>6</sup> from whence it always took a part in the action

1. Rhet. iii. 1. Yet, however good performers might be prized and honoured, inferior actors were handled severely enough, if Lucian may be trusted. *Οἱ ἀβροθέται*, says he, *μαστιγοῦν εἰώθασιν, ἢν τις ὑποκριτῆς Ἀθηναῖν ἢ Ποσειδῶνα ἢ τὸν Δία ὑποδεδυνῶς μὴ καλῶς ὑποκρίνηται, μηδὲ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν θεῶν*. In *Ἀλικῷ*.

2. See an anecdote recorded by Aulus Gellius of Aristotle, where the philosopher stigmatizes the players of his day as ignorant, intemperate, and unworthy of a respectable man's company.

3. See above, pp. 6, &c.

4. Jul. Pollux iv. The common account, which refers the legal determination of the number in the chorus to the consequences produced by the chorus of fifty furies, at the representation of the *Eumenides*, may perhaps be erroneous.—See Dr. Blomfield's preface to the *Perseæ*, pp. xxi., &c.

5. Jul. Poll. The choristers entered the orchestra preceded by a player on the flute, who regulated their steps, sometimes in single file, more frequently three in front and five in depth, (*κατὰ στοίχους*), or vice versa, (*κατὰ ζυγά*), in tragedy; and four in front by six in depth, or inversely, in comedy. Its first entrance was called *πάροδος*; its occasional departure, *μτανάστας*; its return, *ἐπιπάροδος*; its final exit, *ἄφοδος*.—Jul. Poll. iv. 15.

6. According to the rules of the drama, the chorus was to be considered as one of the actors: *Καὶ τῶν χορῶν δὲ ἕνα δὲ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μῶριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι*.—Aristot. Poet. xviii. 21. Horace lays down the same law in describing the duties of the chorus:

*Actoris*

of the drama, joining in the dialogue through the medium of its *κορυφαῖος*, or leader. <sup>1</sup> Sometimes, again, the chorus was divided into two groups, each with a coryphæus stationed in the <sup>2</sup> centre, who narrated some event, or communicated their plans, their fears, or their hopes; and sometimes, on critical occasions, several members of the chorus, in short sentences, gave vent to their feelings. Between the acts, the chorus poured forth hymns of supplication or thanksgiving to the gods, didactic odes upon the misfortunes of life, the instability of human affairs, and the excellence of virtue, or dirges upon the unhappy fate of some unfortunate personage; the whole more or less interwoven with the course of action. <sup>3</sup> Whilst engaged in singing these choral strains to the accompaniment of flutes, the performers were also moving through dances in accordance with the measure of the music, passing, during the *strophe*, across the orchestra, from right to left; during the *antistrophe*, back, from left to right, and stopping, at the *epode*, in front of the spectators. <sup>4</sup> Each department of the drama had a peculiar style

*Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile*  
*Defendat: neu quid medios intercinat actus,*  
*Quod non proposito conducat et hæreat apte.*  
*Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amicis,*  
 - *Et regat iratos et amet peccare timentes;*  
*Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis, ille salubrem*  
*Justitiam, legesque et apertis otia portis;*  
*Ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret,*  
*Ut redeat miseris; abeat fortuna superbis.* Epist. ad Pis. 193, &c.

1. This division of the chorus was called *ἐιχορία*; each division, *ἡμιχόριον*; and their responsive songs, *ἀντιχόρια*.

2. Photius in *Τρίτος ἀριστεροῦ*.—The inferior stations in the chorus were called *ὑποκόλπια*;—*τῆς στάσεως χωραὶ αἱ ἄτιμόι*, as Hesychius; or *χοροῦ ἐπονιδίστοι χωραὶ*, as Xenophon expresses it. To guide the movements of the *στοῖχοι*, lines, called *γραμμαὶ*, were marked out along the floor of the orchestra. The *χοροδέκτης*, or *χοροποιός*, was the person who arranged the choristers in their proper places.—Jul. Pollux iv. 15. Suidas in *Χοροδέκτης*.

3. Argument. Schol. in Pindar. Etymol. Mag. in *Προσῶδ*.

4. There perhaps is nothing in which the ancients more surpassed the moderns than in the perfection of their dancing. The accounts left us by eye-witnesses of the skill displayed in that art are almost incredible. Every passion of the mind was distinctly expressed in the movements of the body. (See above, p. 38, note.) The number of the ancient dances was very great, and their character as diversified. In the *ἐμμέλεια* prevailed the “*τὸ βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν*,” (Athen. xiv. p. 631.). The *κόρδαξ* was of a low and licentious nature (*φορτικὸς*. Ibid.); so much so, that Aristophanes on one occasion prides himself for having excluded it.

Οὐδ’ ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλακροὺς, οὐδὲ κόρδαχ’ εἴλκυσεν.—Nubes, 540.

Hence it appears that the *κόρδαξ* was by no means uniformly employed in comedy. The *σίκινις* was a rapid, lively dance (*ταχυτάτην οὔσαν*. Ibid.). full of frolic and gambol,



of dance suited to its character. That of Tragedy was called ἐμμέλεια; that of Comedy, κόρδαξ; that of the Satyric drama, σίκιννις.

The music of the chorus was of varied kind, according to the nature of the occasion, or the taste of the poet. <sup>1</sup> The Doric mood seems to have been originally preferred for Tragedy; it was sometimes combined with the Mixo-Lybian <sup>2</sup>, a pathetic mood, and therefore adapted to mournful subjects. <sup>3</sup> The Ionic mood, also, was, from its austere and elevated character, well suited to Tragedy. <sup>4</sup> Sophocles was the first who set choral odes to the Phrygian mood. <sup>5</sup> Euripides introduced the innovations of Timotheus; for which he is severely attacked by Aristophanes in the *Ranæ*.

<sup>6</sup> The chorusses were all trained with the greatest care during a length of time before the day of contest arrived. Each tribe felt intensely interested in the success of the one furnished by its choragus; and the choragi themselves, animated with all the energies of rivalry, spared no expense in the instruction and equipment of their respective choruses. <sup>7</sup> They engaged the most celebrated choral performers, employed the ablest χοροδιδάσκαλοι to perfect

gambol, but without any expression of feeling. These were the three dramatic dances: lyric poetry had three corresponding dances—ἡ πυρρίχη, ἡ γυμνοπαιδική, and ἡ ὑπορχηματική. The first resembled the satyric, the second the tragic, the third the comic dance, (Ath. xiv. 630.). Besides these six, Athenæus enumerates upwards of fifty different species.

1. Its character was of a grave and lofty nature. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Δωρίος ἀρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ οὐ διακεχυμένον, οὐδ' ἱλαρὸν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρὸν, οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον οὔτ' ἐπολύτροπον.—Athen. xiv. p. 624.

2. Plutarch. De Mus. p. 1136.

3. Διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰαστί γένος ἀρμονίας οὔτ' ἀνθρῶν οὔτε ἱλαρὸν ἐστὶ, ἀλλὰ αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν, ὅγκον δὲ ἔχον οὐκ ἀγεννῇ διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ προσφιλὴς ἡ ἀρμονία.—Athen. xiv. 625.

4. Vit. Anon. on the authority of Aristomenes.

5. Schlegel. Dram. Lit. vid. infra.

6. Demosth. Cont. Mid. Vol. iv. p. 580. See especially Antiph. περὶ Χορ., Vol. i. p. 83.

The first tragic poets were their own χοροδιδάσκαλοι:—Φασι δὲ καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταὶ Θέσπης, Πρατίνης, Καρκίνος, Φρένιχος, ὀρχηστικοὶ ἐκάλουντο, διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὰ ἐαντῶν δράματα ἀναφέρειν εἰς ὄρχησιν τοῦ χοροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων διδάσκειν τοὺς βουλομένους ὀρχεῖσθαι. Athen. Epit. i. p. 22. Æschylus taught his chorus figure dances. See above, p. 38.

7. Demosth. ubi supra.

the choristers in their music and dancing, and provided sumptuous dresses and ornaments for their decoration.

### III.

#### *Scenic Dresses and Ornaments.*

<sup>1</sup> In the first age of the Drama, the rude performers disguised their faces with wine lees or a species of pigment called βατραχέιον.

<sup>2</sup> Æschylus, amongst his many improvements, introduced the mask, first termed πρόσωπον, and subsequently προσωπεῖον.

<sup>3</sup> These masks were of various kinds, to express every age, sex, country, condition, and complexion; to which they were assimilated with the greatest skill and nicety. With equal care the dresses of the actors were adapted to the characters represented. Gods, heroes, satyrs, kings, soothsayers, soldiers, hunters, peasants, slaves, pimps, and parasites, young and old, the prosperous and the unfortunate, were all arrayed in their appropriate vestments; each of which Julius Pollux has separately and minutely described in a <sup>4</sup>chapter devoted to the subject.

The buskin was the ancient Cretic hunting boot. For tragic use it was soled with several layers of cork to the thickness of three inches. It was laced up in front as high as the calf; which kept the whole tight and firm in spite of the enormous sole.—It was not worn by all tragic characters, nor on all occasions. Agamemnon is introduced by Æschylus in sandals. The sandal raised by a cork sole was called ἑμβάτος. The ladies and the chorus had also the buskin, but that of the latter had only an ordinary sole. These buskins were of various colours. White was commonly the colour for ladies, red for warriors. Those of Bacchus were purple. Slaves wore the low shoe, called the sock, which was also the ordinary covering for the foot of the comic actor.

As the cork-sole of the cothurnus gave elevation to the stature, so the κόλπωμα, or stuffing, swelled out the person to heroic dimensions. Judiciously managed it added expansion to the chest and shoulders, muscular fulness to arm and limb.

1. Schol. in Aristoph. Equit. 320.

2. See above, p. 38. It is not known when, or by whom, masks were employed in the Comic exhibitions. Aristot. Poet. v. 4.

3. Jul. Poll. iv. 133.

4. Jul. Poll. iv. 115.

The dresses were very various. There was the *χιτὼν ποδηρῆς* for gods, heroes, and old men. That for hunters, travellers and young nobles and warriors, when unarmed, was shorter, and sat close to the neck. The girdle for heroes was that called the Persian. It was very broad, made of scarlet stuff, and fringed at the lower edge. Goddesses and ladies wore one broad and plain, of purple and gold. The *σύρμα* or *σύρτος* was a long purple robe for Queens and Princesses, with a train which swept the ground. The lower part of the sleeve was brodered with white.—The *Χύστις* was a short train with short sleeves drawn over the *Χιτὼν ποδηρῆς*. Slaves wore the *ἱμάτιον*, a kind of short shirt, or the *ἑξωμῖς*, a shirt with only a sleeve for the right arm; the left was bare to the shoulder. Herdsmen and Shepherds were clad in the *διφθέρα*, a kind of goatskin tunic without sleeves. Hunters had the *ἱμάτιον* and a short horseman's cloak of a dark colour. If they were great personages, they were dressed in a tunic of deep scarlet with a rich and embroidered mantle. Warriors were arrayed in every variety of armour, with helmets adorned with plumes. The palla or mantle for heroes was ample enough to cover the whole person. So large also was the ladies' *Πέπλον*, of fine cloth embroidered. Matrons wore this peplum fastened veil-like on the head; Virgins clasped on the shoulder. The Peplum of a Queen was like that assigned to Juno, decked with golden stars and fastened behind the diadem. The dress of the gods was particularly splendid. Bacchus, for instance, was represented in a saffron coloured inner vest, rich with purple figures and glittering with golden stars, and falling in many folds to the ground. This vest was girt, female fashion, high up under the breast and shoulders with a broad girdle of dark purple, set with gold and jewels. Over this inner robe was thrown the Palla of purple also, and such was the colour of his buskins.

The Comic dresses were of course chiefly those of ordinary life, except during an occasional burlesque upon the Tragic equipment.

LIST of the Works to which reference has more particularly  
been made in the foregoing Sketch.

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Aristoteles de Arte Poetica. Hermann.....	<i>Lipsiæ,</i>	1802
Aristophanes. Bekker.....	<i>London,</i>	1828
Athenæus. Dindorf.....		
Julii Pollucis Onomasticon. Wetstein.....		1706
Longinus. Weiske.....	<i>London,</i>	1820
Oratores Attici. Bekker.....	<i>Oxon,</i>	1823
Plutarch. Schaefer.....	<i>Lipsiæ,</i>	1812
Quinctilian. Gesner.....	<i>Oxon.</i>	1806
Suidas. Kuster.....	<i>Cantab.</i>	1705
Bentley Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris.....	<i>London,</i>	1699
Böckh Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.....	<i>Berolini,</i>	1828
Böckh De Græcæ Tragediæ Principibus.....	<i>Heidelberg,</i>	1817
Clinton's Fasti Hellenici .....	<i>Oxford,</i>	1827
Genelli Das Theater zu Athen.....	<i>Leipzig,</i>	1818
Museum Criticum.....	<i>Cambridge,</i>	
Schlegel über Dramatische Kunst und Litteratur....	<i>Heidelberg,</i>	1817
Schneider de Originibus Græcæ Tragediæ et Comediæ, .....	<i>Pratislaviæ,</i>	1817
Thiersch Einleitung in die Pindarischen Gesänge ;		
prefixed to his Edition and Translation of Pindar, .....	<i>Leipzig,</i>	1820
Welcker Nachtrag zu der Schrift über die Æschy- lische Trilogie .....	<i>Frankfurt am Main,</i>	1826





**PART II.**



**ARISTOTLE.**



FROM

ARISTOTLE'S

TREATISE ON POETRY,

(*TWINING'S TRANSLATION.*)

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

My design is to treat of Poetry in general, and of its several species—to inquire, what is the proper *effect* of each—what construction of a *fable*, or *plan*, is essential to a good poem—of *what*, and *how many*, parts, each species consists; with whatever else belongs to the same subject; which I shall consider in the order that most naturally presents itself.

I.

(*Poetry a species of Imitation.*)

Epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambics, as also, for the most part, the music of the flute, and of the lyre—all these are, in the most general view of them, *Imitations*<sup>1</sup> (οὔσαι μίμησις τὸ

1. Twining prefixed two dissertations to his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*; the first upon poetic, the second upon musical imitation. The result of his first investigation is, that generally "poetry can be justly considered as imitation only by sound, by description, by fiction, or by personation" (Vol. i. p. 32); and that Aristotle's notion of poetic imitation "seems, as far as he has explained it, to have been simply that of the imitation of human actions, manners, passions, events, &c. in a feigned story, and that principally when conveyed in a dramatic form" (p. 40).

In his second dissertation Twining remarks, "It appears, then, in the first place, that music, considered as affecting, or raising emotions, was called imitation by the ancients, because they perceived in it that which is essential to all imitation—resemblance. This resemblance, however, as stated by Aristotle, cannot be immediate; for between sounds themselves, and mental affections, there can be no resemblance. The resemblance can only be a resemblance of effect: the general emotions, tempers, or feelings produced in us by certain sounds, are like those that accompany actual grief, joy, anger," &c. (p. 71). In this the ancients differ from the moderns. We generally consider that music alone imitative which raises certain ideas by direct resemblance. On the contrary, "by imitation they mean what we commonly distinguish from imitation, and oppose to it under the



σύνολον); differing, however, from each other in *three* respects, according to the different *means*, the different *objects*, or the different *manner*, of their imitation.

## II.

### (*Different means of Imitation.*)

For as men, some through art, and some through habit, imitate various objects, by means of *colour* and *figure*, and others again, by *voice*; so with respect to the arts above-mentioned, *rhythm*, *words*, and *melody* (ῥυθμός, λόγος, ἁρμονία<sup>1</sup>), are the different *means* by which, either single, or variously combined, they all produce their imitation.

The Epopœia imitates by *words alone*, or by *verse*; and that verse may either be composed of various metres, or confined, according to the practice hitherto established, to a single species. For we should otherwise have no *general* name, which would comprehend the <sup>2</sup>*Mimes* of Sophron and Xenarchus, and the *So-*

general term of expression" (p. 69). In the second place, Twining goes on to observe, that among the ancients poetry, was almost invariably combined with music. "When an ancient writer speaks of music, he is almost always to be understood to mean vocal music—music and poetry united" (p. 73). Hence the vague, general, and equivocal assimilations of music were made distinct and specific by the ideas, circumstances, and objects suggested by the accompanying words. "There is now a precise object of comparison presented to the mind; the resemblance is pointed out; the thing imitated is before us. Further, one principal use of music in the time of Aristotle was to accompany dramatic poetry—that poetry which is most peculiarly and strictly imitative, and where the manners and passions are peculiarly the objects of imitation. It is then no wonder that the ancients, accustomed to hear the expressions of music thus constantly specified, determined, and referred to a precise object by the ideas of poetry, should view them in the light of imitations; and that even in speaking of music, properly so called, as Aristotle does, they should be led by this association to speak of it in the same terms, and to attribute to it powers which in its separate state do not in strictness belong to it" (p. 75).

1. These instruments of poetic imitation are afterwards termed by Aristotle, ῥυθμός καὶ μέλος καὶ μέτρον; where μέλος is substituted for ἁρμονία, and μέτρον for λόγος. It is to be observed, that there are two species of *Melos* with Aristotle;—one, in a stricter sense, answering to harmony, or bare modulation; the other, which Aristides Quintilian denominates *perfect* (τέλειον), consisting of harmony, rhythm, and words. —*Tyrwhitt*, p. 94. F. E.

2. *Tyrwhitt* inquires how it has happened that Aristotle should have included the Socratic Dialogues under the head of *Metrical Poems*, when those which have come down to us, viz. of Xenophon, Plato, and Æschines, are all written in prose; and concludes, after citing a passage of Athenæus, by conjecturing that the *Socratic Dialogues* here mentioned, are not to be understood of all the Dialogues which bear that name, but of those only which Alexamenus Tēius wrote. With respect to Sophron, he meets the assertion of Suidas—that he wrote in prose (καταλογάδην), by remarking that those fragments of his which have come down to us, have a certain poetical character and rhythm, and that the scholiast upon Gregory Nazianzen expressly asserts, that Sophron made use of certain rhythms and measured periods (ῥυθμοῖς τισὶ καὶ κώλοις ἐχρήσατο),

*cratic dialogues*; or poems in iambic, elegiac, or other metres, in which the *epic* species of imitation may be conveyed. Custom, indeed, connecting the *poetry* or *making* with the *metre*, has denominated some *elegiac poets*, i. e. *makers of elegiac verse*; others, *epic poets*, i. e. *makers of hexameter verse*; thus distinguishing poets, not according to the nature of their *imitation*, but according to that of their *metre* only. There are, again, other species of poetry, which make use of *all* the *means* of imitation, *rhythm*, *melody*, and *verse*. Such are the *dithyrambic*, that of *nomes*, *tragedy*, and *comedy*: with this difference, however, that, in some of these, they are employed *all together*, in others, *separately*. And such are the differences of these arts, with respect to the *means* by which they imitate.

### III.

#### (Different objects of Imitation.)

But, as the *objects* of imitation are the actions of *men* (ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας), and these men must of necessity be either good or bad (for on this does *character* principally depend; the *manners* being in *all* men most strongly marked by virtue and vice), it follows, that we can only represent men, either as *better* than they actually are, or *worse*, or exactly *as* they are: just as, in *painting*, the pictures of *Polygnotus* were above the common level of nature; those of *Pauson*, below it; those of *Dionysius*, faithful *likenesses*.

Now it is evident that each of the imitations above-mentioned will admit of these differences, and become a different kind of imitation, as it imitates *objects* that differ in this respect. This may be the case with *dancing*; with the *music* of the flute, and of the lyre; and, also, with the poetry which employs *words*, or *verse*, only, without *melody* or *rhythm*: thus, *Homer* has drawn men *superior* to what they are; *Cleophon*, *as* they are; *Hegemon*

ἐχρήσατο), p. 96. Hermann defends the account given by Suidas, and cites a passage of Aristotle to be found in Athenaus, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐμμέτρους τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος μίμους μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους καὶ μιμήσεις, ἢ τοὺς Ἀλεξανένου τοῦ Τηίου τοὺς πρώτους γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων. He admits, however, that the prose of Sophron might have been of that metrical kind similar to what Gesner has employed in his Idylls.—Hermann's *Arist. Poet.* p. 93. It must be remarked, that Twining has translated Aristotle's words, λόγοις ψιλοῖς, not by the usual interpretation of them, *prose*, but by "*words alone*." Other commentators on this perplexing passage have understood λόγοις ψιλοῖς to mean *verse*, *without music*. F. E.

the Thasian, the inventor of parodies, and *Nicochares*<sup>1</sup>, the author of the *Deliad*, worse than they are.

## IV.

*(Different manner of Imitation.)*

There remains the *third* difference—that of the *manner* in which each of these objects may be imitated. For the poet, imitating the *same object*, and by the *same means*, may do it either in *narration*—and that, again, either personating other characters, as Homer does, or, in his own person throughout, without change:—or, he may imitate by representing all his characters as real, and employed in the very *action* itself.

These, then, are the three differences by which all imitation is distinguished; those of the *means*, the *object*, and the *manner* (ἐν οἷς τε, καὶ ᾧ, καὶ ὡς): so that *Sophocles* is, in one respect an imitator of the same kind with *Homer*, as elevated characters are the *objects* of both; in another respect, of the same kind with *Aristophanes*, as both imitate in the *way* of action; whence, according to some, the application of the term *drama* [*i. e. action*] to such poems. Upon this it is, that the *Dorians* ground their claim to the invention both of tragedy and comedy. For comedy is claimed by the Megarians<sup>2</sup>; both by those of Greece, who contend that it took its rise in their popular government; and by those of Sicily, among whom the poet *Epicharmus* flourished long before *Chionides* and *Magnes*; and Tragedy, also, is claimed by some of the Dorians of Peloponnesus.—In support of these claims they argue from the *words* themselves. They allege, that the Doric word for a *village* is κῶμη, the Attic, Δῆμος; and that *comedians* were so called, not from κωμάζειν—to *revel*—but from their strolling about the κῶμαι, or *villages*, before they were tolerated in the city. They say, farther, that *to do*, or *act*, they express by the word ὁρᾶν; the Athenians by πράττειν.

And thus much as to the differences of imitation (μίμησις) how *many*, and *what* they are.

1. *Nicochares*. Castelvetro had conjectured ΔΕΙΛΙΑῶνα (The Poltroniad). Hermann and Tyrwhitt defend the present reading (Δηλιάδᾱ), the inhabitants of Delos being the subject of the poem, who were, almost to a proverb, *Parasites*. F. E.

2. *Megarians*. Their democracy was overturned Olymp. I. XXXIX. B. C. 424. F. E. Vide Thucyd. iv. 74, and Bentley's Phalaris (infra). F. E.

## V.

*(Origin of Poetry.)*

Poetry, in general, seems to have derived its origin from two causes each of them *natural*.

1. To *Imitate* is instinctive in man from his infancy. By this he is distinguished from other animals, that he is, of all, the most imitative, and through this instinct receives his earliest education. All men, likewise, naturally receive pleasure from imitation. This is evident from what we experience in viewing the works of imitative art; for in them we contemplate with pleasure, and with the more pleasure, the more exactly they are imitated, such objects as, if real, we could not see without pain—as the figures of the meanest and most disgusting animals, dead bodies, and the like. And the reason of this is, that to *learn* is a natural pleasure, not confined to philosophers, but common to all men; with this difference only, that the multitude partake of it in a more transient and compendious manner. Hence the pleasure they receive from a picture: in viewing it they *learn*<sup>1</sup>, they *infer*, they *discover*, what every object is: that *this*, for instance, is such a particular man, &c. For if we suppose the object represented to be something which the spectator had never seen, in that case his pleasure will not arise from the *imitation*, but from the workmanship, the colours, or some such cause.

Imitation, then, being thus natural to us; and, 2dly, *Melody* and *Rhythm*<sup>2</sup> being also natural, (for as to *metre*, it is plainly a *species* of rhythm,) those persons, in whom, originally, these propensities were the strongest, were naturally led to rude and

1. *They learn*, i. e. merely recognize, discover, &c. The fullest illustration of this passage is to be found in another work of Aristotle, his *Rhetoric*. lib. iii., where he applies the same principle to metaphorical language, and resolves the pleasure we receive from such language, into that which arises from the μάθησις TAXEIA, the exercise of our understandings in *discovering* the meaning, by a *quick* and *easy* perception of some quality or qualities common to the thing *expressed*, and the thing *intended*.—*Twining*, Vol. i. pp. 281, 282. F. E.

2. “*Rhythm* differs from *metre*, inasmuch as rhythm is *proportion*, applied to any motion whatever; metre is *proportion*, applied to the motion of words spoken. Thus, in the drumming of a march, or the dancing of a hornpipe, there is *rhythm*, though no *metre*. In Dryden’s celebrated Ode there is *metre* as well as *rhythm*, because the poet, with the *rhythm*, has associated certain words; and hence it follows that, though ALL METRE is RHYTHM, yet ALL RHYTHM is NOT METRE.”—*Harris’s Philol. Inquiries*. p. 67. where it is also observed, that “no English word expresses *rhythmus* better than the word “*time*.”—*Twining*, Vol. i. p. 109. F. E.



extemporaneous attempts, which, gradually improved, gave birth to Poetry<sup>1</sup>.

## VI.

(*Division of Poetry into two kinds, the Serious and the Ludicrous.*)

But this Poetry, following the different *characters* of its authors, naturally divided itself into *two* different *kinds*. They, who were of a grave and lofty spirit, chose for their imitation the actions and adventures of *elevated* characters; while Poets of a *lighter* turn, represented those of the *vicious* and *contemptible*. And these composed, originally, *Satires*; as the former did *Hymns* and *Encomia*.

Of the *lighter* kind, we have no poem anterior to the time of Homer, though many such, in all probability, there were; but *from* his time, we have: as, his *Margites*, and others of the same species, in which the Iambic was introduced as the most proper measure; and hence, indeed, the name of *Iambic*, because it was the measure in which they used to *satirize* each other (*ιαυβίζειν*).

And thus these old Poets were divided into two classes—those who used the *heroic*, and those who used the *iambic* verse.

And as, in the *serious* kind, Homer alone may be said to deserve the name of *Poet*, not only on account of his other excellencies, but also the *dramatic* spirit of his imitations; so was he likewise the first who suggested the idea of *Comedy*, by substituting *ridicule* for *invective*, and giving that ridicule a *dramatic* cast: for his *Margites* bears the same analogy to *Comedy*, as his *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to *Tragedy*. But when *Tragedy* and *Comedy* had once made their appearance, succeeding Poets, according to the turn of their genius, attached themselves to the one or the other of these

1. "It follows from the same idea of the *end*, which Poetry would accomplish, that not only rhythm, but *numbers*, properly so called, are essential to it. For this art undertaking to gratify all those desires and expectations of pleasure, that can be reasonably entertained by us, . . . it follows that Poetry will not be that which it professes to be, that is, will not accomplish its own purpose, unless it delight the ear with numbers, or, in other words, unless it be clothed in verse. . . . [Poetry]—is every where of the most early growth, preceding every other sort of composition; and being destined for the *ear*, that is, to be either sung, or at least recited, it adapts itself, even in its first rude essays, to that sense of measure and proportion in sounds, which is so natural to us. The hearer's attention is the sooner gained by this means, his entertainment quickened, and his admiration of the performer's art excited. Men are ambitious of pleasing, and ingenious in refining upon what they observe will please. In process of time, what was at first the extemporaneous production of genius or passion, under the conduct of the *natural ear*, becomes the labour of the closet, and is conducted by artificial rules, &c."—*Hurd, on the Idea of Universal Poetry*, Vol. II. p. 145. F. E.

new species. The *lighter* sort, instead of *Iambic*, became *Comic* Poets; the *graver*, *Tragic*, instead of *Heroic*: and that on account of the superior dignity and higher estimation of these latter *forms* (σχήματα) of Poetry.

## VII.

*(Progress of Tragedy.)*

Both Tragedy, then, and Comedy, having originated in a rude and unpremeditated manner—the first from the *Dithyrambic* hymns, the other from those *Phallic* songs, which, in many cities, remain still in use,—each advanced gradually towards perfection, by such successive improvements as were most obvious.

Tragedy, after various changes, (πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἢ τραγωδία) reposed at length in the completion of its proper form. *Æschylus* first added a second actor: he also abridged the chorus, and made the dialogue the principal part of tragedy. *Sophocles* increased the number of actors to three, and added the decoration of painted scenery. It was also late before Tragedy threw aside the short and simple *fable*, and ludicrous *language* of its satyric origin, and attained its proper magnitude and dignity. The *Iambic* measure was then first adopted: for, originally, the *Trochaic tetrameter* was made use of, as better suited to the satyric and saltatorial genius of the poem at that time (διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν); but when the dialogue was formed, nature itself pointed out the proper metre. For the *iambic* is, of all metres, the most colloquial (μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν ἔστι); as appears evidently from this fact, that our common conversation frequently falls into *iambic* verse; seldom into *hexameter*, and only when we depart from the usual *melody* of speech. *Episodes* were also multiplied, and every other part of the drama successively improved and polished.

## VIII.

*(Object and Progress of Comedy.)*

Comedy, as was said before, is an imitation of bad characters: bad, not with respect to every sort of vice, but to the *ridiculous* only, as being a *species* of turpitude or deformity; since it may be defined to be—a *fault* or *deformity* of such sort as is neither *painful* nor *destructive* (τὸ γὰρ γελοῖον ἔστιν ἀμαρτημὰ τι—καὶ

οὐ φθαρτικόν). A ridiculous face, for example, is something ugly and distorted, but not so as to cause *pain*.

The successive improvements of Tragedy, and the respective authors of them, have not escaped our knowledge; but those of Comedy, from the little attention that was paid to it in its origin, remain in obscurity. For it was not till late, that Comedy was authorized by the magistrate, and carried on at the public expense: it was, at first, a private and voluntary exhibition<sup>1</sup>. From the time, indeed, when it began to acquire some degree of form, its poets have been recorded; but who first introduced masks, or prologues<sup>2</sup>, or augmented the number of actors—these, and other particulars of the same kind, are unknown.

*Epicharmus* and *Phormis* were the first who *invented* comic fables. This improvement, therefore, is of *Sicilian* origin. But, of *Athenian* poets, *Crates* was the first who abandoned the *Iambic* form of comedy, and made use of *invented* and *general* stories, or fables.

## IX.

### (Epic and Tragic species compared.)

*Epic* poetry agrees so far with *Tragic*, as it is an imitation of *great characters* and *actions*, by means of words; but in this it differs, that it makes use of only one kind of metre throughout, and that it is *narrative*. It also differs in *length*: for Tragedy

1. *Voluntary exhibition*. This is not to be understood of the chorus but of the poets. —*Hermann*, *Arist.* p. 112. Hence, says *Tyrwhitt*, we may see what the poet had to encounter in the infancy of Comedy; not only being compelled to teach his own chorus, but to hire, feed, and furnish it with dresses, &c. F. E.

2. *Prologues*. *Hermann* has given “λόγους” in his edition, which he defends in a long note. *Twining* observes, “That we are not to look for a sense of the word Πρόλογος, as here applied to *Comedy*, different from that in which it is applied, ch. xii. [Transl. Part ii. Sect. 10.] to *Tragedy*. In both, it was that *introductory* part of the drama, the business of which was to give the spectator so much information relative to the piece as would enable him to follow the action without confusion. This we learn clearly from the following passage in *Aristotle’s Rhetoric*: Καὶ οἱ Τραγικοὶ ἀηλοῦσι περὶ τὸ ἔρᾱμα, καὶ μὴ εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ Εὐρυπίδης, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ΠΡΟΛΟΓῇ γέ τοι ἡοῦ ἀηλοῖ, ὥσπερ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς· καὶ ἡ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑ ὉΣΑΥΤΩΣ. This clearly excludes the *separate* prologue, such as that of the *Roman* comedy; and it is, also, irreconcilable with *Dacier’s* idea, that by the *prologue*, in the passage we are considering, *Aristotle* meant what was afterwards called the *parabasis*; for this was merely an address from the poet to the audience, through the mouth of the chorus, occurring indifferently in any part of the play, and even sometimes at the *end* of it. It seems to differ from the prologue of the *Roman* comedy, and of the modern drama, only in its being delivered by the chorus, and in the body of the piece. Vol. i. p. 330. See *Mus. Crit.* vii. 481. F. E.

endeavours, as far as possible, to confine its action within the limits of a single revolution of the sun, or nearly so; but the time of *Epic* action is indefinite. This, however, at first was equally the case with Tragedy itself.

Of their constituent *parts*, some are common to both, some peculiar to Tragedy. He, therefore, who is a judge of the beauties and defects of Tragedy, is, of course, equally a judge with respect to those of Epic poetry: for all the parts of the Epic poem are to be found in Tragedy: *not* all those of Tragedy in the Epic poem.



## PART II.

### OF TRAGEDY.

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#### I.

#### (Definition of Tragedy.)

OF the species of poetry which imitates in *hexameters*, and of *Comedy*, we shall speak hereafter. Let us now consider *Tragedy*; collecting, first, from what has been already said, its true and essential definition. Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an *action* that is *important*, *entire*, and of a proper *magnitude*—by *language* embellished and rendered *pleasurable*, but by *different means*, in *different parts*—in the *way*, not of *narration*, but of *action*—effecting, through *pity* and *terror*, the *correction* and *refinement* of such passions. (Ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ, χωρὶς ἐκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν.)

By *pleasurable language*, I mean a language that has the embellishments of rhythm, melody, and metre; and I add, by *different means* in *different parts*, because in some parts metre alone is employed, in others, melody.

#### II.

#### (Deduction of its constituent Parts.)

Now as tragedy imitates by *acting*, the *decoration*, in the first place, must necessarily be *one* of its parts: then the *Melopœia* (or *music*), and the *diction*; for these last include the *means* of tragic imitation. By *diction*, I mean the metrical composition. Again, tragedy being an imitation of an action, and the persons employed in that action being necessarily characterized by their *manners* and their *sentiments*, since it is from *these* that actions themselves derive their character, it follows, that there must also be *manners* and *sentiments*, as the two *causes* of actions, and, consequently, of the

happiness or unhappiness of all men. The *imitation of the action* is the *fable*: for by *fable* I now mean the *texture of incidents*, or the *plot*. By *manners*, I mean, whatever marks the *characters* of the persons. By *sentiments*, whatever they *say*.

Hence, all tragedy must necessarily contain *six* parts, which, together, constitute its peculiar character or *quality*: *fable*, *manners*, *diction*, *sentiments*, *decoration*, and *music*, ( $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , καὶ ἦθη, καὶ λέξεις, καὶ διάνοια, καὶ ὄψεις, καὶ μελοποιΐα). Of these parts, two relate to the *means*, one to the *manner*, and three to the *object* of imitation<sup>1</sup>. These *specific parts* have been employed by most poets, and are to be found in [almost] every tragedy.

### III.

#### (Comparative Importance of the Parts.)

But of all these parts the most important is the *combination of incidents*, or the *fable*: because tragedy is an imitation, not of *men*, but of *actions*<sup>2</sup>;—of life, of happiness, and unhappiness. Now the *manners* of men constitute only their *quality* or *characters*; but it is by their *actions* that they are *happy*, or the contrary. Tragedy, therefore, does not imitate action, *for the sake* of imitating manners, but in the imitation of action, that of manners is of course involved. So that the *action* and the *fable* are the *end* of tragedy; and in every thing the *end* is of principal importance.

Again—Tragedy cannot subsist without *action*; without *manners* it may: the tragedies of most modern poets have this defect; a defect common, indeed, among poets in general. Farther; suppose any one to string together a number of speeches, in which the manners are strongly marked, the language and the sentiments well turned; this will not be sufficient to produce the proper effect of tragedy: that end will much rather be answered by a

1. *Music* and *diction*, to the *means*, which are *words*, *melody*, and *rhythm*; *decoration*, to the *manner* of imitating—i. e. by *representation* and *action*; *fable*, *manners*, and *sentiments*, to the *objects* of imitation—i. e. *men*, and their actions, characters, &c.

2. If the proper end of *tragedy* be to *affect*, it follows, “that *actions*, not *characters*, are the chief object of its representations.” For that which *affects* us most in the view of human life is the observation of those signal circumstances of *felicity* or *distress*, which occur in the fortunes of men. But *felicity* and *distress*, as the great critic takes notice, depend on *action*; κατὰ τὰς πράξεις, εὐδαίμονες, ἢ τοῦναντίον. They are then the calamitous events, or fortunate issues in human action, which stir up the stronger affections, and agitate the heart with *passion*.—Hurd, on the Province of the Drama. F. E.

piece, defective in each of those particulars, but furnished with a proper fable and contexture of incidents.

Add to this, that those parts of tragedy, by means of which it becomes most interesting and affecting, are parts of the *fable*; I mean *revolutions* and *discoveries*.

As a farther proof, adventurers in tragic writing are sooner able to arrive at excellence in the language, and the manners, than in the construction of a plot; as appears from almost all our earlier poets. The *fable*, then, is the principal part, the *soul*, as it were, of tragedy; and the *manners* are next in rank: tragedy being an imitation of an *action*, and *through that*, principally, of the *agents*.

In the *third* place stand the *sentiments*. To this part it belongs to *say* such things as are *true* and *proper*.

The *manners* are whatever manifests the *disposition* of the speaker. There are speeches, therefore, which are without manners, or character; as not containing any thing by which the *aversions* or *propensities* of the person who delivers them can be known. The *sentiments* comprehend *whatever is said*; whether *proving* any thing affirmatively or negatively, or expressing some general reflection, &c.

*Fourth*, in order, is the *diction*—the *expression* of the *sentiments* by *words*.

Of the remaining two parts, the *music* stands next; of all the pleasurable accompaniments and embellishments of tragedy, the most delightful.

The *decoration* has also a great effect, but, of all the parts, is most foreign to the art. For the power of tragedy is felt without representation, and actors; and the beauty of the decorations depends more on the art of the mechanic, than on that of the poet.

#### IV.

##### (Of the Fable and its construction.)

Now we have defined tragedy to be an imitation of an action that is *complete* and *entire*; and that also has a certain *magnitude*; for a thing may be *entire*, and a *whole*, and yet not be of any *magnitude*<sup>1</sup>.

1. By *entire*, I mean that which has a *beginning*, a *middle*, and an *end*. A *beginning* is that which does not, necessarily, suppose

1. *i. e.* Not be *large*. *Magnitude* is here used in its proper and relative sense, of *greatness*; and with reference to some standard.

any thing before it, but which requires something to follow it. An *end*, on the contrary, is that which supposes something to precede it, either necessarily or probably; but which nothing is required to follow. A *middle* is that which both supposes something to precede, and requires something to follow. The poet, therefore, who would construct his fable properly, is not at liberty to begin, or end, where he pleases, but must conform to these definitions.

2. Again: whatever is beautiful, whether it be an animal, or any other thing composed of different parts, must not only have those parts arranged in a certain manner, but must also be of a certain *magnitude*; for beauty consists in *magnitude* and *order*. Hence it is that no very minute animal can be beautiful; the eye comprehends the whole too instantaneously to distinguish and compare the parts:—neither, on the contrary, can one of a prodigious size be beautiful; because, as all its parts cannot be seen at once, the *whole*, the *unity* of object, is lost to the spectator; as it would be, for example, if he were surveying an animal of many miles in length. As, therefore, in animals and other objects, a certain *magnitude* is requisite, but that magnitude must be such as to present a whole *easily comprehended by the eye*; so, in the fable, a certain *length* is requisite, but that length must be such as to present a whole *easily comprehended by the memory*.

With respect to the measure of this length—if referred to actual representation in the dramatic contests, it is a matter foreign to the art itself: for if a hundred tragedies were to be exhibited in concurrence, the length of each performance must be regulated by the hour-glass; a practice of which, it is said, there have formerly been instances. But, if we determine this measure by the nature of the thing itself, the more extensive the fable, consistently with the clear and easy comprehension of the whole, the more beautiful will it be, with respect to *magnitude*.—In general, we may say, that an action is sufficiently extended, when it is long enough to admit of a change of fortune from happy to unhappy, or the reverse, brought about by a succession, necessary or probable, of *well-connected incidents*.

## V.

### (*Unity of the Fable.*)

A *fable* is not *one*, as some conceive, merely because the *hero* of it is *one*. For numberless events happen to one man, many of



which are such as cannot be connected into *one event*: and so, likewise, there are many actions of one man which cannot be connected into any *one action*. Hence appears the mistake of all those poets who have composed *Herculeids*<sup>1</sup>, *Theseids*, and other poems of that kind. They conclude, that because *Hercules* was one, so also must be the fable of which he is the subject. But Homer, among his many other excellencies, seems also to have been perfectly aware of this mistake, either from art or genius. For when he composed his *Odyssey*, he did not introduce all the events of his hero's life,—such, for instance, as the wound he received upon Parnassus—his feigned madness when the Grecian army was assembling, &c.—events, not connected, either by necessary or probable *consequence*, with each other; but he comprehended those only which have relation to *one action*; for such we call that of the *Odyssey*.—And in the same manner he composed his *Iliad*.

As, therefore, in other mimetic arts, *one* imitation is an imitation of *one thing*, so here, the fable being an imitation of an action, should be an imitation of an action that is *one* and *entire*<sup>2</sup>; the parts of it being so connected, that if any one of them be either transposed, or taken away, the *whole* will be destroyed or changed: for whatever may be *either* retained or omitted, without making any sensible difference, is not properly a *part*.

1. The author of the *Herculeid*, according to Suidas, was Pisander, the son of Piso, who recorded the deeds of Hercules in two books. This poem is thus alluded to by Quintilian: “Audire videor undique congerentes nomina plurimorum Poetarum. Quid? *Herculis acta* non bene Pisandros?” Lib. x. cap. 1. For a farther account see Heyne's Excursus 1, to the second *Æneid*, which is a complete treasure of critical learning on the subject of what have been denominated the “*Cyclic Poets*.” The *Theseid* was composed by Pythostratus or Nicostratus.—*Heyne*, ad Apollodor. p. 394. F. E.

2. To this chapter, in which Aristotle considers so particularly the *unity* of fable, as distinct from its *totality*, it will not be out of place to annex Twining's remarks upon what are called the *three dramatic unities*.—“Any one,” he says, “not acquainted with Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry, would, I suppose, naturally take it for granted, that they are all explicitly laid down, and enforced by him, as essential and indispensable laws, in that famous code of dramatic criticism. But the fact is, that of these three rules, the only one that can be called important—that of the *unity of action*—is, indeed, clearly laid down and explained, and, with great reason, considered by him as indispensable. Of the two other unities, that of *place* is not once mentioned, or even hinted at in the whole book; and all that is said respecting the *time* of the action, is said in this chapter, and in these words: ‘Tragedy endeavours, as far as possible, to confine its action within the limits of a *single revolution of the sun, or nearly so*.’”—Vol. i. p. 338.

The first forty-five lines of Horace's Art of Poetry are taken up in recommending the unity of action, and giving examples of mistakes on the subject, the precepts for its preservation ending with this solemn decision: *Hoc amet, hoc spernet, promissi carminis auctor*. And according to Hurd, in his note on the passage, not without reason; for he insists that the reduction of a subject into one entire consistent plan, is the most difficult of all the offices of invention. Whoever reads Ricoboni (*Hist. de tous les Theatres de l'Europe*) will find that all nations, in the infancy of their Theatre, have universally offended against this unity of design. F. E.

## VI.

*(Different provinces of the Poet and Historian.)*

It appears, farther, from what has been said, that it is not the poet's province to relate such things as have actually happened, but such as *might* have happened—such as are *possible*, according either to probable or necessary consequence. For it is not by writing in *verse* or *prose*, that the historian and the poet are distinguished: the work of *Herodotus* might be versified; but it would still be a species of history, no less with metre, than without. They are distinguished by this, that the one relates what *has* been, the other what *might* be. On this account, poetry is a more philosophical, and a more excellent thing than history; for poetry is chiefly conversant about *general* truth; history about *particular*. In what manner, for example, any person of a certain character would speak, or act, probably, or necessarily—this is *general*; and this is the object of poetry, even while it makes use of *particular names*. But, what *Alcibiades* did, or what happened to *him*—this is *particular* truth.

With respect to Comedy, this is now become obvious; for here, the poet, when he has formed his plot of *probable* incidents, gives to his characters whatever names he pleases; and is not, like the iambic poets, particular, and personal.

Tragedy, indeed, retains the use of real names; and the reason is, that, what we are disposed to believe, we must think *possible*: now what has never actually happened, we are not apt to regard as possible; but what *has* been is unquestionably so, or it could not have been at all.

From all this it is manifest, that a poet should be a *poet*, or *maker* of *fables*, rather than of *verses*; since it is *imitation* that constitutes the poet, and of this imitation *actions* are the object: nor is he less a poet<sup>1</sup>, though the incidents of his fable should chance to be such as have actually happened; for nothing hinders, but that some *true* events may possess that *probability*<sup>2</sup>, the invention of which entitles him to the name of *poet*.

1. The original, as it stands, (for I doubt of its integrity,) is very ambiguous and obscure. The sense I *wished* to give it is this: "nor will he be the less a poet, though he should *found* his poem upon fact: for nothing hinders, but that some *real* events may be such as *admit* of *poetic* probability; and he who *gives* them this probability, and *makes* them such as poetry requires, is so far entitled to the name of *poet* or inventor."—*Twining*, Vol. II. p. 64.

2. It may appear to the reader to be a strange observation, that "*some true events*  
K may

## VII.

*(Episodic Fables the worst.)*

Of *simple* fables or actions the *episodic* are the worst. I call that an *episodic fable* (ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον), the *episodes*<sup>1</sup> of which follow each other without any *probable* or *necessary* connexion; a fault into which bad poets are betrayed by their want of skill, and good poets by the players: for in order to accommodate their pieces to the purposes of rival performers in the dramatic contests, they spin out the action beyond their powers, and are thus frequently forced to break the connexion and continuity of its parts.

But tragedy is an imitation, not only of a *complete* action, but also of an action exciting *pity* and *terror*. Now that purpose is best answered by such events as are not only *unexpected*, but *unexpected consequences of each other*: for, by this means they will have more of the *wonderful*, than if they appeared to be the effects of chance; since we find, that among events merely casual, those are the most wonderful and striking, which *seem* to imply design: as when, for instance, the statue of *Mityls* at Argos killed the very man who had murdered *Mityls*, by falling down upon him as he was surveying it; events of this kind not having the appearance of *accident*.

## VIII.

*(Fables Simple or Complicated.)*

Fables are of two sorts, *simple* and *complicated* (Εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν μῦθων οἱ μὲν ἀπλοῖ, οἱ δὲ πεπλεγμένοι); for so also are the *actions* themselves of which they are imitations. An action (having the *continuity* and *unity* prescribed) I call *simple*, when

*may be probable.*" But he will recollect what sort of *events*, and what sort of *probability* Aristotle here speaks of: i. e. of *extraordinary events*, such as poetry requires, and of that more *strict* and *perfect probability*, that closer connexion and *visible* dependence of circumstances, which are always required from the *poet*, though in *such* events not often to be found in *fact* and real life, and therefore not expected from the *Historian*.—Ib. Vol. 1. p. 129.

1. Tyrwhitt remarks that the *Prometheus Vinculus* affords a striking illustration of the ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον; the episode of Oceanus from 291—401, and that of Io, 577—911, having no sort of connexion, necessary or probable, with the principal fable. "The episodes were often added, that the play might possess its proper magnitude, and that the spectators might not be dismissed before the usual time, which perhaps was the reason why Sophocles in the *Ajor* introduced the long argument concerning burial: the poets also endeavoured to win popular favour by splendid episodes, of which some examples are given by the Scholiast on the *Phænissa* of Euripides."—Hermann, Arist. p. 122. F. E.



its catastrophe<sup>1</sup> is produced *without* either *revolution* or *discovery*; *complicated*, when *with* one, or both. And these should arise from the structure of the fable itself, so as to be the natural consequences, necessary or probable, of what has preceded in the action. For there is a wide difference between incidents that follow *from*, and incidents that follow only *after*, each other.

## IX.

(*Parts of the Fable. 1. Revolutions. 2. Discoveries. 3. Disasters.*)

A *revolution* (περιπέτεια), is a change into the reverse of what is expected from the circumstances of the action; and that, produced, as we have said, by *probable* or *necessary consequence*.

Thus, in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, the messenger, meaning to make Œdipus happy, and to relieve him from the dread he was under with respect to his mother, by making known to him his real birth, produces an effect directly contrary to his intention<sup>2</sup>.

A *discovery* (ἀναγνώρισις), as, indeed, the word implies, is a change from *unknown* to *known*, happening between those characters whose happiness, or unhappiness, forms the catastrophe of the drama, and terminating in friendship or enmity.

The best sort of discovery is that which is accompanied by a *revolution*, as in the *Œdipus*.

There are also other discoveries; for inanimate things of any kind may be recognized in the same manner; and we may discover whether such a particular thing was, or was not, done by such a person: but the discovery most appropriated to the *fable* and the *action* is that above defined; because such discoveries and revolutions must excite either *pity* or *terror*; and tragedy we have defined to be an imitation of *pitiable* and *terrible* actions: and because, also, by them the event, *happy* or *unhappy*, is produced.

Now discoveries, being *relative* things, are sometimes of *one* of the persons only, the *other* being already known; and some-

1. When its catastrophe—μετάβασις—ἀνευ περιπετείας ἢ ἀναγνωρισμοῦ γίνεται—Μετάβασις, is the change of fortune which constitutes the catastrophe of the piece. This, which is common to all tragedy, must not be confounded with the περιπετεία, which, however important, is not essential.—*Twining*. Vol. II. p. 74.

2. Alluding, probably, to the very words of the messenger.

ΑΓ. τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ οὐχὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φόβου σ', ἀνάξ,  
ἐπείπερ εὐνους ἦλθον, ἐξελευσάμην;—l. 1002.



times they are *reciprocal*: thus, *Iphigenia*<sup>1</sup> is discovered to *Orestes* by the letter which she charges him to deliver, and *Orestes* is obliged, by other means, to make himself known to her. These then are *two* parts of the fable—*revolution* and *discovery*. There is yet a third, which we denominate *disasters* (πάθος)<sup>2</sup>. *Disasters* comprehend all *painful* or *destructive* actions; the exhibition of death, bodily anguish, wounds, and every thing of that kind.

## X.

*(Division of Tragedy.)*

The parts of tragedy which are necessary to constitute its *quality*, have been already enumerated. Its *parts of quantity*—the *distinct* parts into which it is *divided*—are these: *prologue*, *episode*, *exode*, and *chorus*; which last is also divided into the *parode*, and the *stasimon*. These are common to all tragedies. The *commoi* are found in *some* only<sup>3</sup>.

1. *Iphigenia* in *Tauris*, l. 785—796.

2. This word, *πάθος*, in the sense here used, is very embarrassing to a translator. The word *passion*, in this sense of *suffering*, is, with us, appropriated to a subject, from which it cannot, without a sort of profanation, be transferred to any other. The French, however, have done this without scruple; though the word, when so applied, must be explained, before it can be understood. Upon the whole, I could find no *single* words that seemed to me to answer so *nearly* to *πάθος*, and its adjective, *παθητικὴν*, in the sense in which they are used here, and in cap. xviii. as *disaster*, and its correspondent adjective, *disastrous*.

“Wherein I spoke of most *disastrous* chances,

“Of *moving accidents* [πάθη] by flood and field.”

Oth. Act. I. Sc. 3.—*Twining*, Vol. II. pp. 81—2.

3. Κοινὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων ταῦτα· ἴδια δὲ, [τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς], καὶ κόμμοι. This is the passage in the original; the words included in the brackets are omitted by Mr. Twining in translation. The difficulty consists in the *κόμμος*, and the *τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς*, being here represented as distinct things; whereas in the definition afterwards, *κόμμος* is the name given to the *joint* lamentation of the chorus and the actors, i. e. *τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς* (by which phrase Aristotle commonly distinguishes the passages which were sung by the last). Hermann finds a difficulty in the word *ἀπάντων*, whether it is to be referred to all scenic fables, or to all tragedies, or to the persons who constitute the chorus. “Not to all scenic fables, for the words *πάροδος* and *στάσιμον* are not used of the choruses of comedy.—Not to all tragedy—for the words *τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς* and *κόμμοι* are not peculiar to tragedy, being also found in comedy.—Had Aristotle meant all *tragedies*, he would have written *ἀπάσιων*—if with *ἀπάντων* *δραμάτων* be understood, the difficulty is not removed, since *comedy* is included in the general term *δράμα*.—He therefore refers *ἀπάντων* to the chorus, and *ἴδια* to the coryphaeus.”—*Comment. on Arist.* p. 141. F. E.

The *prologue*<sup>1</sup> is all that part of a tragedy which precedes the *parode* of the chorus.

The *episode*<sup>2</sup>, all that part which is included between *entire choral odes* The *exode*<sup>3</sup>, that part which has *no choral ode* after it.

Of the *choral* part, the *parode*<sup>4</sup> is the first *speech* of the *whole chorus*: the *stasimon*<sup>5</sup> includes all those *choral odes* that are without *anapæsts* and *trochees*.

The *commos* is a general lamentation of the *chorus* and the *actors together* (Κόμμος ἐξ, θρῆνος κοινὸς χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς). Such are the separate parts into which Tragedy is divided.

## XI.

(*What Catastrophe, and what Character best for Tragedy.*)

Since it is requisite to the perfection of a tragedy, that its plot should be of the *complicated*, not of the *simple* kind, and

1. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* describes the prologue as being *ῥεῖγμα λόγου*—the *πρόλογος* was prefixed, when the drama assumed a regular shape, by way of introduction. It is not to be confounded with the *prologus* of the Latin comedy, which was an address of the poet to the audience.—*Mus. Crit.* vii. p. 481. F. E.

2. The *Ἐπεισόδιον* was so called from the entrance upon the stage of an actor in addition to the chorus. The episodes properly comprehend all the *action* or *drama*, introduced at first by way of relief, between the choric songs, to which were added the *πρόλογος* for an introduction, and the *ἐξόδος* for a conclusion; hence the Latins called them *actus*.—*Ib.* vii. 482. F. E.

3. It seems they (the actors and chorus) marched off to a certain tune, *ἐξόδοι νόμοι*.—*Suidas*. F. E.

4. *The first speech of the whole chorus.* Upon this passage Tyrwhitt remarks that, *ἡ πρώτη λέξις ὅλον χοροῦ*, is the same as though Aristotle had written *τὸ πρῶτον μέλος τοῦ χοροῦ*, for the whole chorus never spoke without singing in Dialogue, the coryphæus always speaking for them; and that in the *parode*, the system used was sometimes the *Anapæstic*, as in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, *Heccuba*, &c.; but more frequently the *antistrophic*. Hermann in a very long note, which is well worth consulting and comparing with p. 483, in Number vii. of the *Museum Criticum*, denies that the chorus in the *parode* sometimes used *anapæsts*. It is true that it was sometimes *interrupted* by *anapæsts*;—these however the coryphæus recited, and formed no part of the *parode*; an example of which kind he points out in the *Antigone*, l. 11—129—135. F. E.

5. *Στάσιμον μέλος, ὃ ᾄδουσιν ἰστάμενοι οἱ χορευταί.*—*Schol. ad Arist. Ran.* 1314. Hermann says that the *stasimon* was so called, not because the chorus stood still when they sang it, which they did not, but from its being continuous, and uninterrupted by *anapæsts* and *trochees*; and, as we should say, *steady*: it seems to be derived from *στάσις*, a *set*, *στάσις μελῶν*, 'a set of choric songs,' i. e. *strophe* and *antistrophe*, and perhaps an *epode*.—*Mus. Crit.* vii. 484. With respect to the uninterrupted of the *stasimon* by *anapæsts* and *trochees*, vide Tyrwhitt, p. 122, on the chorus in the *Prometheus*, beginning with *στένω σε τὰς οὐλομένας*, 405, &c. in which several *trochees* occur, and Hermann's observations thereon, p. 140—143. F. E.

that it should imitate such actions as excite *terror* and *pity* (this being the peculiar property of the tragic imitation), it follows evidently, in the first place, that the change from prosperity to adversity should not be represented as happening to a *virtuous* character; for this raises disgust, rather than terror or compassion. Neither should the contrary change from adversity to prosperity be exhibited in a *vicious* character: this, of all plans, is the most opposite to the genius of Tragedy, having no one property that it ought to have; for it is neither gratifying in a moral view, nor *affecting* nor *terrible*. Nor, again, should the fall of a *very bad* man from prosperous to adverse fortune be represented, because, though such a subject may be pleasing from its moral tendency, it will produce neither pity nor terror. For our *pity* is excited by misfortunes *undeservedly* suffered, and our *terror* by some *resemblance* between the sufferer and ourselves.

There remains then for our choice the character *between* these extremes; that of a person neither eminently virtuous or just, nor yet involved in misfortune by deliberate vice, or villany, but by some error of human frailty: and this person should, also, be some one of high fame and flourishing prosperity. For example, *Œdipus*, *Thyestes*, or other illustrious men of such families.

## XII.

(*Catastrophe should be single, and that unhappy.*)

Hence it appears, that, to be well constructed, a fable, contrary to the opinion of some, should be *single*, rather than *double*<sup>1</sup>; that the change of fortune should not be from adverse to prosperous, but the reverse; and that it should be the consequence,

1. "Quant à l'unité d'action, je trouve une grande différence entre les tragedies Grecques et les tragedies Françoises; j'apperois toujours aisément l'action des tragedies Grecques, et je ne la perds point du vûe: mais dans les tragedies Françoises, j'avoie que j'ai souvent bien de la peine à demêler l'action des episodes, dont elle est chargée."—*Hist. du Theat. Ital. par Riccoboni*. Upon this Hurd observes, that neglect of an unity, and even simplicity, in the conduct of the fable, is one of the greatest defects in the *modern drama*; which in nothing falls so much short of the perfection of the Greek scene as in this want of simplicity in the construction of its fable. But it seems probable that this distinguished critic means only to condemn a plot which, if single, is so implex as not to be intelligible; or, if double, has its parts unconnected with each other. "When we praise the refinement of Grecian taste and judgment, and give, as a proof of it, the simplicity of fable which reigns in their tragedies, while we cannot be engaged but by bustle and intrigue, we perhaps impute that to refinement, which, not improbably, was owing to inexperience."—*Anonymous Author*. Marmontel owns the Greek theatre was deficient in action, and assigns as a reason, that they attended chiefly to the *dénouement*, and troubled themselves but little with the *nœud*.—*Marmon. Poet. Tran.* Tom. II. p. 157. F. E.

not of vice, but of some great frailty, in a character such as has been described, or *better* rather than *worse*.

These principles are confirmed by experience; for poets formerly admitted almost any story into the number of tragic subjects; but now, the subjects of the best tragedies are confined to a few families—to *Alcmæon*, *Œdipus*, *Orestes*, *Meleager*, *Thyestes*, *Telephus*, and others, the sufferers, or the authors, of some terrible calamity.

The most perfect tragedy, then, according to the principles of the art, is of this construction. Whence appears the mistake of those critics, who censure Euripides for this practice in his tragedies, many of which terminate unhappily; for this, as we have shown, is right. And, as the strongest proof of it, we find that upon the stage, and in the dramatic contests, such tragedies, if they succeed, have always the most tragic *effect*: and Euripides, though in other respects faulty in the conduct of his subjects, seems clearly to be the most *tragic* of all poets<sup>1</sup>.

I place in the *second* rank that kind of fable to which some assign the *first*; that which is of a *double* construction, like the *Odyssey*, and also ends in two opposite events, to the *good*, and to the *bad*, characters. That this passes for the best, is owing to the weakness of the spectators, to whose wishes the poets accommodate their productions<sup>2</sup>. This kind of pleasure, however, is not the proper pleasure of Tragedy, but belongs rather to Comedy; for there, if even the bitterest enemies, like *Orestes*, and *Ægisthus*, are introduced, they quit the scene at last in perfect friendship, and no blood is shed on either side.

### XIII.

(*Terror and Pity to be excited by the Action, not by the Decoration.*)

Terror and pity may be raised by the *decoration*—the mere *spectacle*; but they may also arise from the circumstances of the

1. And so Quintilian: “In affectibus cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui *miseratione* constant, facile *præcipuus*.”—Lib. x. c. 1. F. E.

2. Notwithstanding the decision of the Stagirite, this latter species of fable has been strenuously defended by a celebrated French critic. “Le poète qui se ménage un dénoûment heureux pour les bons, et malheureux pour les méchants, a l’avantage de pouvoir peindre l’innocence avec tous ses charmes, la vertu dans tout son éclat, le crime avec toute son audace. Quelque violente que soit l’impression de douleur que me fait la dénoûment, elle est bientôt effacée; mais ce qui ne s’efface point de même, c’est la réflexion que j’emporte avec moi. Quelle soit donc à l’avantage de l’innocence et de la vertu, et qu’en me retraçant ce que je viens de voir, elle me repelle un Dieu juste.”—*Marmontel, Poet. Tran.* Tom. II. p. 197. F. E.



*action* itself; which is far preferable, and shows a superior poet. For the fable should be so constructed, that, without the assistance of the sight, its incidents may excite horror and commiseration in those who *hear* them only: an effect which every one, who hears the fable of the *Ædipus*, must experience.

Since, therefore, it is the business of the tragic poet to give that pleasure, which arises from pity and terror, through *imitation*, it is evident, that he ought to produce that effect by the circumstances of the *action itself*.

#### XIV.

(Of disastrous Incidents, and their proper management.)

Let us, then, see of what *kind* those incidents are, which appear most terrible or piteous.

Now, such actions must, of necessity, happen between persons who are either friends, or enemies, or indifferent to each other. If an enemy kills, or purposes to kill, an enemy, in neither case is any commiseration raised in us, beyond what necessarily arises from the nature of the action itself.

The case is the same, when the persons are neither friends nor enemies. But when such disasters happen between friends—when, for instance, the brother kills, or is going to kill, his brother, the son his father, the mother her son, or the reverse,—these, and others of a similar kind, are the proper incidents for the poet's choice. The received tragic subjects, therefore, he is not at liberty *essentially* to alter; *Clytemnestra* must die by the hand of *Orestes*, and *Eriphyle* by that of *Alcmæon*: but it is his province to invent other subjects, and to make a skilful use of those which he finds already established. What I mean by a skilful use, I proceed to explain.

The atrocious action may be perpetrated knowingly and intentionally, as was usual with the earlier poets; and as Euripides, also, has represented *Medea* destroying her children.

It may, likewise, be perpetrated by those who are ignorant, at the time, of the connexion between them and the injured person, which they afterwards discover; like *Ædipus*, in Sophocles. There, indeed, the action itself does not make a part of the drama<sup>1</sup>: the *Alcmæon* of *Astydamas*, and *Telegonus* in the *Ulysses Wounded*.

1. The murder of *Laius*, by *Ædipus*, his son, is supposed to have happened a considerable time before the beginning of the action.—*Twining*.

furnish instances *within* the tragedy<sup>1</sup>. There is yet a *third* way, where a person upon the point of perpetrating, through ignorance, some dreadful deed, is prevented by a sudden discovery<sup>2</sup>.

Beside these, there is no other proper way. For the action must of necessity be either *done* or *not done*, and that, either *with knowledge*, or *without*: but of all these ways, that of being ready to execute, knowingly, and yet *not* executing, is the worst; for this is, at the same time, shocking, and yet not tragic, because it exhibits no disastrous event. It is, therefore, never, or very rarely, made use of. The attempt of *Hæmon* to kill *Creon*, in the *Antigone*, is an example.

Next to this, is the actual execution of the purpose.

To execute, through ignorance, and afterwards to discover, is better: for thus the shocking atrociousness is avoided, and at the same time, the discovery is striking.

But the best of all these ways is the last. Thus, in the tragedy of *Cresphontes*, *Merope*, in the very act of putting her son to death, discovers him, and is prevented<sup>3</sup>. In the *Iphigenia*, the sister, in the same manner, discovers her brother.

On this account it is, that the subjects of tragedy, as before remarked, are confined to a small number of families. For it was not to *art*, but to *fortune*, that poets applied themselves, to find incidents of this nature. Hence the necessity of having recourse to those families, in which such calamities have happened.

## XV.

### (Of the Manners.)

With respect to the *Manners*, *four* things are to be attended to by the poet.

1. Of these two dramas nothing more is known than the little that Aristotle here tells us. Tyrwhitt suspects the *Ulysses Wounded*, to have been a tragedy of Chæremon. F. E.

2. As in *Merope*. F. E.

3. Plutarch's account of the effect of this coup de théâtre upon the audience, is worth transcribing, though apparently incorrect.

Σκόπει δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ Τραγῳδίᾳ ΜΕΡΟΠΗΝ, ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸν, ὡς φονέα τοῦ υἱοῦ, πέλεκυν ἀραμένην, καὶ λέγουσαν—

‘Οσιωτέραν δὴ τήνδ’ ἐγὼ δίδωμί σοι  
Πλεγὴν . . . .

ὅσον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κίνημα ποιεῖ, συνεξορθιάζουσα φόνον· [an, φόβος?] καὶ ἕως μὴ φθάσῃ τὸν ἐπιλαμβανόμενον γέροντα, καὶ τρώσῃ τὸ μισράκιον—[περὶ Σαρκοφ. p. 1837, ed. H. St.] *Twining*, Vol. II. 130.

*First*, and principally, they should be *good*, (χρηστὰ)<sup>1</sup>. Now *manners*, or *character*, belong, as we have said before, to any speech or action that manifests a certain *disposition*; and they are bad, or good, as the disposition manifested is bad, or good.

The *second* requisite, is *propriety*, (τὰ ἀρμόττοντα)<sup>2</sup>. There is a manly character of bravery and fierceness, which cannot, with propriety, be given to a woman.

The *third* requisite is *resemblance*, (τὸ ὅμοιον).

The *fourth*, is *uniformity* (τὸ ὁμαλόν)<sup>3</sup>; for even though the model of the poet's imitation be some person of ununiform manners, still that person must be represented as *uniformly ununiform*. (ὁμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἶναι).

We have an example of manners *unnecessarily bad*, in the character of *Menelaus* in the tragedy of *Orestes*; of *improper* and *unbecoming* manners, in the lamentation of *Ulysses* in *Scylla*, and in the speech of *Melanippe*: of *ununiform* manners, in the *Iphigenia* at *Aulis*; for there, the *Iphigenia*, who supplicates for life, has no resemblance to the *Iphigenia* of the conclusion.

In the manners, as in the fable, the poet should always aim, either at what is *necessary*, or what is *probable*; so that *such* a character shall appear to speak or act, necessarily, or probably, in *such* a manner, and *this* event, to be the necessary or probable consequence of *that*.—Hence it is evident, that the *development*

1. *Good*, in the usual sense of *moral* goodness; the only sense which *χρηστὰ*, applied to *manners*, will bear. *Tzening*, ib. 131, who makes this remark in consequence of its having been contended by some, that Aristotle meant *dramatic* goodness; under the notion of *moral* goodness, the rule confirms what he had before said, that vicious characters should never usurp the first place in tragedy, which should always be occupied by characters naturally good, but hurried into crimes by the excess of noble passions. F. E.

2. Horace has excellently expressed the *τὰ ἀρμόττοντα* of manners in the following lines:

Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores,  
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus, et annis.

of which he gives several examples; 1st, in the "Puer—reddere qui voces jam seit."—2dly, the "imberbis juvenis."—3dly, the old man—"Dilator, spe lentus, iners, pavidusque futuri."—Vide *Art. Poet.* 157—178. F. E.

3. The *uniformity* of Aristotle is thus enforced by Horace:

Interit multum, Davusne loquatur, an heros;—  
Colchus, an Assyrius; Thebis nutritus, an Argis.—  
Homereum si forte reponis Achillem;  
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,  
Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.  
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,  
Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.  
servetur ad imum

Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet. A. P. 115—127.

also of a fable should arise out of the fable itself, and not depend upon *machinery*, as in the *Medea*. The proper application of machinery is to such circumstances as are extraneous to the drama; such, as either happened *before* the time of the action, and could not, by human means, be known; or, are to happen *after*, and require to be foretold<sup>1</sup>: for to the gods we attribute the knowledge of all things. But nothing *improbable* should be admitted in the incidents of the fable; or, if it cannot be avoided, it should, at least, be confined to such as are *without* the tragedy itself; as in the *Ædipus* of Sophocles.

Since tragedy is an imitation of *what is best*, we should follow the example of skilful portrait-painters; who, while they express the peculiar lineaments, and produce a likeness, at the same time improve upon the original. And thus, too, the poet, when he imitates the manners of *passionate* men (or of *indolent*, or any other of a similar kind), should draw an example approaching rather to a good, than to a hard and ferocious character: as *Achilles* is drawn, by Agatho, and by Homer.

## XVI.

*(Different kinds of Discoveries.)*

*First*, the most inartificial of all, and to which, from poverty of invention, the generality of poets have recourse—is the discovery by *visible signs*, (ἡδὶδ σημεῖων.). Of these signs, some are *natural*; as the lance with which the family of the *earth-born Thebans*<sup>2</sup> were marked: others are *adventitious*; (ἐπίκτητα) and of these, some are corporal, as scars; some external, as necklaces, bracelets, &c.

*Secondly*,—*Discoveries* invented, at pleasure, by the poet, and on that account, still inartificial. For example; in the *Iphigenia*, *Orestes*, after having discovered his sister, discovers himself to her. She, indeed, is discovered by the letter; but *Orestes*, by [verbal *proofs*:] and these are such as the poet chooses to make him produce, not such as arise from the *circumstances* of the *fable*.

1. Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit: nec quarta loqui persona laborat. A. P. 191.

2. The descendants of the earth-born Thebans, who, according to fable, sprung from the Earth, when Cadmus sowed the Dragon's teeth. They are said to have been distinguished by the natural mark of a lance upon their shoulders.—Dion Chrys. Orat. IV. as quoted by Tyrwhitt. Hermann conjectures, from Aristotle using the word γηγενεῖς, and not σπαρτοὶ, as a prose writer would have written it, that these are the words of some poet. F. E.



Another instance, is the discovery by the sound of the shuttle in the *Tereus* of Sophocles<sup>1</sup>.

*Thirdly*.—The discovery occasioned by *memory*; (ἡ διὰ μνήμης) as, when some recollection is excited by the view of a particular object. Thus, in the *Cyprians* of *Dicæogenes*<sup>2</sup>, a discovery is produced by tears shed at the sight of a picture: and thus, in the *Tale of Alcinous*, Ulysses, listening to the bard, recollects, weeps, and is discovered.

*Fourthly*.—The discovery occasioned by *reasoning* or *inference*; (ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμού) such as that in the *Choëphoræ*: “The person, who is arrived, resembles me—no one resembles me but Orestes—it must be he<sup>3</sup>!”

But, of all discoveries, the *best* is that which arises from the *action itself*, and in which a *striking* effect is produced by *probable* incidents. Such is that in the *Ædipus* of Sophocles, and that in the *Iphigenia*; for nothing is more natural than her desire of con-

1. Ἢ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή.—Dacier, after some other commentators, makes a *speaking shuttle* of this; and wonders, as indeed he well might, that the great critic should let so monstrous an absurdity pass without a severer censure than that of its *wanting art*. Others understand much more reasonably, not the literal, but the metaphorical, *voice* of the shuttle, in the epistolary web by which Philomela is said to have conveyed to her sister the dismal tale of her sufferings. [Vide Ovid's *Met.* lib. vi. 572.] But as this seems to have been the current traditional story, I do not see how it could be adduced as a circumstance *invented* at pleasure by the poet. I should rather suppose, that the discovery in question, whatever it might be, was effected by the *sound* of the shuttle, which Aristotle calls, *φωνή*, voice, not, probably, in his own language, but in the poetical language to which he alludes. For these *κερκίδες*, it seems, were a very *vocal* sort of things, nothing like the shuttles of “these degenerate days.” Every one recollects the “arguto pectine” of Virgil. But this is nothing to the amplification of some Greek epigrammatists, who scruple not to compare them to swallows, and even to nightingales.

Κερκίδας ὀρθρολάλοισι ΧΕΛΙΔΟΣΙΝ εἰκελοφώνους—

and

Κερκίδα δ' εὐποίητον ΑΗΔΟΝΑ.—

Hence the ridiculous fancy of Joseph Scaliger, that the metamorphosis of Procne into a swallow was exhibited in the *Tereus* of Sophocles, and that a *shuttle* was made use of, instead of a *whistle* or *bird-pipe*, to imitate the swallow's voice! *Twining*, Vol. 11. 132. Tyrwhitt's explanation of this passage is, perhaps, better. *Κερκίς*, he says, is not only a *shuttle*, but used sometimes to signify the *web* itself. So Schol. in *Hecuba*, 1153, [*κερκίς*] τὸ ὕφανσμα—a declaration, therefore, by a *web*, may, poetically speaking, be termed the *voice* of the *web*.—P. 127. F. E.

2. Nothing is known of this fable.

3. There is much confusion in this passage. One thing, however, seems clear; that *ἐκ συλλογισμού*, cannot mean, as some interpreters have understood it to mean, “by reason or inference in the mind of the person who *makes* the discovery;” because this is common to *all* the modes of discovery. When Electra recognizes her brother, does she not *infer*, or, in the philosophers' language, *sylogise*? “This man, has seen the lance—nobody could see it but Orestes.—This is Orestes.”—*Twining*, Vol. 11. 137. See Blomfield's note on the 163th line of the *Choëphoræ*. F. E.

veying the letter. Such discoveries are the best, because they alone are effected without the help of *invented proofs*, or bracelets, &c.

## XVIII.

(Complication and Development of the Plot.)

Every tragedy consists of two parts—the *complication*, (δέσις) and the *development*, (λύσις)<sup>1</sup>. The complication is often formed by incidents supposed *prior* to the action, and by a part, also, of those that are *within* the action; the rest form the development. I call *complication*, all that is between the beginning of the piece, and the last part, where the change of fortune commences:—*development*, all between the beginning of that change, and the conclusion.

## XIX.

(Different kinds of Tragedy.)

There are four *kinds* of tragedy, deducible from so many *parts*, which have been mentioned. One kind is the *complicated*, (πεπλεγμένη) where all depends on *revolution* and *discovery*: another is the *disastrous*, (παθητική) such as those on the subject of *Ajax* or *Ixion*: another, the *moral*, (ἠθική)<sup>2</sup> as the *Phthioides* and the *Peleus*: and, fourthly, the *simple*, (οἶον) such as the *Phorcides*, the *Prometheus*, and all those tragedies, the scene of which is laid in the infernal regions.

## XX.

(Too great extent of plan to be avoided.)

We must also be attentive to what has been often mentioned, and not construct a *tragedy* upon an *epic* plan. By an *epic* plan, I mean a fable composed of *many fables*<sup>3</sup>; as if any one, for instance, should take the entire fable of the *Iliad* for the subject of a tragedy. In the *epic* poem, the length of the whole admits of a

1. Literally, the *tying* and the *untying*. Our language wants a proper term. The French expresses it exactly by *nœud* and *dénouement*. F. E.

2. *i. e.* In which the delineation of *manners*, or *character*, is predominant. Our language wants a word to express *this* sense of the Greek ἠθικόν, and the Latin *moratum*. *Mannered*, has I believe, sometimes been used in this sense; but so seldom, as to sound awkwardly. We know nothing of the subjects here given as examples; the *Phorcides* was a tragedy of Æschylus.—*Twining*, Vol. I. p. 155.

3. *i. e.* Of many distinct *parts*, or *episodes*, each of them capable of furnishing a tragic fable.—*Twining*.

proper magnitude in the parts; but in the drama, the effect of such a plan is far different from what is expected. As a proof of this, those poets, who have formed the *whole* of the destruction of Troy into a Tragedy, instead of confining themselves (as *Euripides*, but not *Æschylus*, has done, in the story of *Niobe*) to a *part*, have either been condemned in the representation, or have contended without success.

## XXI.

*(Of the Chorus.)*

The chorus should be considered as one of the persons in the drama; should be a *part* of the *whole*, and a sharer in the action: not as in *Euripides*<sup>1</sup>, but as in *Sophocles*. As for other poets—their choral songs have no more connexion with their subject, than with that of any other tragedy: and hence, they are now become detached pieces, inserted at pleasure: a practice introduced by *Agatho*.

1. This expression does not, I think, necessarily imply any stronger censure of *Euripides*, than that the choral odes of his tragedies were, in general, more loosely connected with the subject, than those of *Sophocles*; for, that *this* is the fault here meant, not the improper “*choice of the persons who compose the chorus*,” as Mr. Potter understands, is, I think, plain from what immediately follows; the connexion being this: “*Sophocles* is, in this respect, *most* perfect; *Euripides* *less* so; as to the *others*, their choral songs are *totally foreign* to the subject of their tragedies.—*Tæning*, Vol. I. p. 158.

## PART III.

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### CHAPTER II.

(*Comparison between the Epic Poem and Tragedy.*)

THE epic poem *differs* from tragedy, in the *length* of its plan, and in its *metre*.

With respect to *length*, a sufficient measure has already been assigned. It should be such as to admit of our *comprehending at one view the beginning and the end*: and this would be the case, if the epic poem were reduced from its ancient length, so as not to exceed that of such a number of tragedies, as are performed successively at one hearing. But there is a circumstance in the nature of epic poetry which affords it peculiar latitude in the extension of its plan. It is not in the power of tragedy to imitate several different actions performed at the *same time*; it can imitate only that *one* which occupies the stage, and in which the actors are employed. But the epic imitation, being *narrative*, admits of many such simultaneous incidents, properly related to the subject, which swell the poem to a considerable size. And this gives it a great advantage, both in point of *magnificence*, and, also, as it enables the poet to relieve his hearer, and *diversify* his work, by a variety of *dissimilar* episodes: for it is to the satiety naturally arising from similarity that tragedies frequently owe their ill success.

With respect to *metre*, the heroic is established by experience as the most proper; so that, should any one compose a *narrative* poem in any other, or in a variety of metres, he would be thought guilty of a great impropriety. For the heroic is the gravest and most majestic of all measures; and hence it is, that it peculiarly admits the use of *foreign* and *metaphorical* expressions; for in this respect also, the *narrative* imitation is abundant and various beyond the rest. But the Iambic and Trochaic have more *motion*; the latter being adapted to *dance*, the other to *action* and *business*.



## III.

(*Epic narration should be Dramatic and Imitative.*)

Among the many just claims of Homer to our praise, this is one—that he is the only poet who seems to have understood what part in his poem it was proper for him to take *himself*. The poet, in his own person, should speak as little as possible; for he is not then the *imitator*.

## IV.

(*Epic admits the wonderful more easily, and in a greater degree than Tragedy.*)

The *surprising* is necessary in tragedy; but the epic poem goes farther, and admits even the *improbable* and *incredible*, from which the highest degree of the surprising results, because, there, the action is not *seen*. The circumstances, for example, of the pursuit of Hector by Achilles, are such, as, upon the stage, would appear ridiculous;—the Grecian army standing still, and taking no part in the pursuit, and Achilles making signs to them, by the motion of his head, not to interfere. But in the epic poem this escapes our notice. Now the *wonderful* always pleases; as is evident from the additions which men always make in relating any thing, in order to gratify the hearers.

## PART V.

## CHAPTER III.

(Of the Superiority of Tragic to Epic Poetry.)

TRAGEDY has the *advantage* in the following respects. It possesses all that is possessed by the epic; it *might* even adopt its metre; and to this it makes no inconsiderable addition, in the music and the decoration; by the latter of which, the illusion is heightened, and the pleasure, arising from the action, is rendered more sensible and striking.

It has the advantage of greater clearness and distinctness of impression, as well *in reading*, as in representation.

It has also that, of attaining the end of its imitation in a shorter compass: for the effect is more pleasurable, when produced by a short and close series of impressions, than when weakened by diffusion through a long extent of time; as the *Ædipus* of Sophocles, for example, would be, if it were drawn out to the length of the *Iliad*. Farther: there is less *unity* in all epic imitation; as appears from this—that any epic poem will furnish matter for *several* tragedies. For, supposing the poet to choose a fable *strictly one*, the consequence must be, either, that his poem, if proportionably contracted, will appear curtailed and defective, or, if extended to the usual length, will become weak, and, as it were, *diluted*. If, on the other hand, we suppose him to employ *several* fables—that is, a fable composed of *several actions*—his imitation is no longer *strictly one*.

## IV.

(Preference of Tragedy.)

If then *tragedy* be superior to the epic in all these respects, and also in the peculiar *end* at which it aims (for each species ought to afford, not *any* sort of pleasure indiscriminately, but such only as has been pointed out), it evidently follows, that tragedy, as it attains more effectually the end of the *art itself*, must deserve the preference.



BENTLEY.





## AGE OF COMEDY.

[PP. 195—216, Ed. London, 1699.]

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IN the fifty-first Epistle to Eteonicus, there is another moral sentence: *Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς φασί τινες, οὐ προσήκει* “Mortal man ought not to entertain immortal anger(*a*).” But, I am afraid, he will have no better success with this than the former; for Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*<sup>1</sup>, among some other sententious verses, cites this Iambic, as commonly known:

*Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητός ὦν.*

This, though the Author of it be not named, was, probably, like most of those proverbial *gnomæ*, borrowed from the Stage; and, consequently, must be later than Phalaris, let it belong to what Poet you please, Tragic or Comic.

But, because it may be suspected that the Poet himself might take the thought from common usage, and

1. Lib. ii. cap. 21.

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(*a*) Bentleius in immortalī ista de Phalaridis epistolis dissertatione hæc verba. *Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς φασί τινες, οὐ προσήκει*, ex Euripide mutua sumta existimat, cui sane hæc assentior. Verum, quod non vidit Vir summus, non sunt ista ex Euripide imitando expressa, sed sunt ipsa Tragicæ verba, ita legenda:—

*Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν  
Οὔτοι προσήκει.*

Duo erant, quæ, ne Viri docti hoc perviderent, faciebant. Primum, quod nesciebant *ἀθάνατον* primam producere, quod apud omnes antiquos et genuinos Graciæ Poëtæ semper fieri præstabo, alias forsitan Brunckii et aliorum errores castigaturus. Deinde paulo minus grati sunt numeri, quam in plerisque Tragicorum senariis, non tamen omnino inusitati.—*Porson. ad Eurip. Med. 139.*

only give it the turn and measure of a verse, let us see if we can discover some plainer footsteps of imitation, and detect the lurking Sophist, under the mask of the Tyrant. Stobæus<sup>1</sup> gives us these verses, out of Euripides' *Philoctetes*:—

Ὅσπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡμῶν ἔφν,  
 Οὕτω προσήκει μηδὲ τήν ὀργήν ἔχειν  
 Ἀθάνατον, ὅστις σωφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.

Now to him that compraes these with the words of this Epistle, it will be evident that the Author had this very passage before his pen: there is ἔχειν, and προσήκει: not only a sameness of sense, but even of words, and those not necessary to the sentence; which could not fall out by accident. And where has he now a friend at a pinch to support his sinking credit? For Euripides was not born in Phalaris's time. Nay, to come nearer to our mark; from Aristophanes<sup>2</sup> the famous Grammarian (who, after Aristotle, Callimachus, and others, wrote the *Διδασκαλῖαι*, A "Catalogue and Chronology of all the Plays of the Poets": a work, were it now extant, most useful to ancient History), we know that this very Fable, *Philoctetes*, was written Olymp. LXXXVII; which is cxx years after the Tyrant's destruction (a).

1. Tit. xx. Περὶ Ὀργῆς.

2. Argument. *Medæ Eur.*

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(a) The paragraphs here printed in a larger type were originally part of Bentley's first Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris; which, with his remarks on the Fables of Æsop, was written as an appendage to Dr. Wotton's "Discourse about Ancient and Modern Learning"; a work first printed A. D. 1694. It was not, however, given to the world until the publication of Boyle's Edition of Phalaris, (January A. D. 1695), in the reprint of Wotton's Discourse. Boyle, jealous for the authenticity of his author, and suspecting Bentley's Dissertation to have been aimed purposely at his edition, attacked this treatise in his "Dr. Bentley's Dissertations Examined." It was in answer to this *Examination* that Bentley wrote his second and famous Dissertation; whence our extracts are made. In it, taking as text those passages against which Boyle had brought his objections, he subjoined, by way of comment, a series of remarks, wherein, with amazing learning and singular acuteness, he triumphantly refuted Boyle, step by step, whilst he fully confirmed the accuracy of the opinions which he himself had advanced.—[See Dr. Monk's *Life of Bentley*, pp. 45, &c.]

I had said that the Iambic verse quoted by Aristotle,

Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητός ὢν,

“was probably borrowed from the Stage.” This does not please the Examiner; for he comes upon me with this gravelling question, “Why more *probably* borrowed from the Stage than from Archilochus’ Iambics, the fragments of which are full of those proverbial sentences?” I will tell you, sir, why more *probably* from the Stage than from Archilochus (*a*). First, because in Aristotle’s time there were a thousand Iambics of the Stage for one of Archilochus. The plays of the old Comedy were CCCLXV<sup>1</sup>; of the middle Comedy, DCXVII: nay, Athenæus says<sup>2</sup>, That he himself had read above DCCC plays of the middle Comedy. Add to these all the Tragedies, which in all probability were more than the others; and it will be reasonable to suppose, that there were as many whole Plays in Aristotle’s days, as there were single Iambic verses in all Archilochus’ Poems. And, secondly, because Aristotle, in the very same place where he cites this sentence, brings several others; all of which, except one, we are sure are fetched from the Stage, out of Euripides and Epicharmus: and even that *one* is very likely to be taken from the same place. And now, I would beg leave, in my turn, to ask the Examiner a question: What he means when he says “The Fragments of Archilochus’ Iambics are full of those Proverbial Sentences?” for I believe there are not ten Iambics of Archilochus now extant; and but two of them are Proverbial Sentences. He tells me, in another place, “That collecting Greek Fragments is a fit employment for me, and I have succeeded well in it.” But when he pleases to produce those Iambics of Archilochus, *full* of such sententious sayings, I will acknowledge his talent at that employment to be better than *mine*.

My inference was, that if this Iambic came from the Stage, “it must be later than Phalaris, let it belong to what Poet soever, Tragic or Comic.”

“This consequence,” says Mr. B. “I can never allow, because I am very well satisfied that there were both Tragic and Comic Poets before the days of Phalaris.” The age of Tragedy he

1. Prolog. ad Arist.

2. Athen. p. 366.

(a) The invention of Iambics is ascribed to Archilochus by Horace:

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo. *Art. Poet.* 79.



reserves for another section; but for Comedy, he produces Susarion, who is said to have invented it before the tyranny of Pisistratus.

It is the Examiner's good fortune to be never more in the wrong than when he talks most superciliously, and with the greatest assurance. He *can never allow* my inference; and he is *very well satisfied*. But I must tell him, to his farther *satisfaction*, that, though we suppose Plays were acted a little before, or in Phalaris's time, yet it does not presently follow as a consequence that Phalaris could cite that verse out of a Poet, whether Tragic or Comic.

First, because it is an Iambic verse; and it was a good while after the invention of Comedy and Tragedy before that measure was used in them. Aristotle assures us of this, as far as it concerns Tragedy: "The measure," says he, "in Tragedy was changed from Tetrametres to Iambics; for at first they used Tetrametres, because the Trochaic foot is more proper for dancing<sup>1</sup>." And the same reason will hold for Comedy too, because that, as well as Tragedy, was at first "nothing but a Song, performed by a Chorus dancing to a pipe<sup>2</sup>." It stands to reason, therefore, that there also the Tetrametre was used, rather than the Iambic; which, as the same Aristotle observes<sup>3</sup>, was fit for *business* rather than dancing, and for *discourse* rather than singing.

And secondly, because both Comedy and Tragedy, in their first beginnings at Athens, were nothing but *extemporal* diversions, not just and regular poems; they were neither published, nor preserved, nor written; but, like the entertainments of our Merry Andrews on the stages of mountebanks, were bestowed only upon the present assembly, and so forgotten. Aristotle declares it expressly:—"Both Tragedy and Comedy," says he, "were at first made *EX TEMPORE*<sup>4</sup>;"—and another very good writer, Maximus Tyrius, tells us, "That the ancient Plays at Athens were nothing but Choruses of boys and men; the husbandmen in their several parishes, after the labours of seed-time and harvest, singing *EXTEMPORAL*

1. Poet. c. iv. Ὅ μὲν πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο. So also in Rhet. iii. 1.

2. Donatus, "Comædia fere vetus, ut ipsa quoque olim Tragedia, simplex carmen fuit, quod Chorus cum Tibicine concinebat."

3. Poet. c. xxiv. et iv.

4. Poet. c. iv. Γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; ΑΥΤΟΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ Κωμῳδία.

Songs<sup>1</sup>." Donatus, or whoever is the author of that discourse about Comedy, says, "Thespis was the first that *wrote* his Plays, and by that means made them public<sup>2</sup>." But he was younger than the Tyrant's time, as it will appear more manifestly anon; so that Phalaris, as I conceive, could not meet with this verse in those days, when the Plays were not *written*, unless Mr. B. will bring him over the sea *incognito* to the merriments in the Attic villages.

And this perhaps may be the true reason why the most of those that have spoken of the origin of Comedy, make no mention of Susarion or his contemporaries, but ascribe the invention of it to Epicharmus; for, as it seems, nothing of that kind was *written* and transmitted to posterity before the time of that Sicilian. Theocritus therefore is express and positive "That Epicharmus *INVENTED* Comedy."

"Ἀτε φωνὰ Δώριος, χ' ὠνὴρ ὁ τὰν Κωμωδίαν  
Εὐρώων' Ἐπίχαρμος<sup>3</sup>."

"Comedy," says Themistius, "began of old in Sicily; for Epicharmus and Phormus were of that country<sup>4</sup>."—"Epicharmus," says Suidas, "together with Phormus, *INVENTED* comedy at Syracuse<sup>5</sup>." And Solinus, in his description of Sicily: "Here," says he, "was Comedy *FIRST INVENTED*<sup>6</sup>." "Some are of opinion," says Diomedes, "that Epicharmus *first* made Comedy<sup>7</sup>." Aristotle makes some small intimation of Susarion's pretences; but he expresses himself so, that he does as good as declare in favour of Epicharmus. I will give the reader his own words:—"The pretenders," says he, "to the invention of Comedy are the Megarenses; both those here (he means the Megarenses near Attica) and those in Sicily; for Epicharmus was of that place, who is much older than Chionides and Magnes<sup>8</sup>." When he says "The Megarenses that are here," he may hint perhaps at Susarion, who was born at that Megara; but he plainly signifies that his claim was of no great weight, by passing him over without a name. He might allow him to be the author of some *extempore* Farces, that may be called the first rudiments of Comedy; and

1. Dissert. xxi. Ἀσματα ᾄδοντες ΑΥΤΟΣΚΕΔΙΑ.

2. "Thespis autem primus hæc scripta in omnium notitiam protulit."

3. Theoc. Epig. 17.

4. Them. Orat. xix.

5. Suid. Ἐπιχ.

6. Solin. "Hic primum inventa Comædia."

7. Diom. p. 486.

8. Arist. Poët. c. 3.

that is all that with justice can be granted him. And with this opinion all those fall in who assert that Comedy is more recent than Tragedy; for the same persons suppose Thespis to be the inventor of Tragedy, who lived about Olymp. LXI. Horace, after he had given an account of the rise of Tragedy and Satire: "After these," says he, "came the old Comedy:" *Successit vetus his Comædia*<sup>1</sup>. "His," says the ancient Scholiast, "scil. Satyris et Tragœdiæ." And Donatus is very "positive that Tragedy is senior to Comedy, both in the subject of it, and the time of its invention<sup>2</sup>."

Well then,—If Epicharmus was the first writer of Comedy, it will soon appear that the true Phalaris could not borrow an Iambic from the stage; for it is well known that Epicharmus lived with Hiero of Syracuse<sup>3</sup>; and the author of the Arundel Marble places them both at Olymp. LXXVII, 1, when Chares was Archon at Athens, which is LXXVIII years after Phalaris' death. It is true, Epicharmus lived to a very great age: to xc years, as Laërtius says<sup>4</sup>; or to xcvi, as Lucian<sup>5</sup>. Now allow the greater of these for the true term of his life; and suppose too that he died that very year when he is mentioned in the Marble (though it cannot fairly be presumed so), yet he would be but xviii years old in the last year of Phalaris's reign, which perhaps will be thought too young an age to set up for an inventor; for all great wits are not so very early and forward as "a young writer<sup>6</sup>" that I have heard of.

Or again, if Phormus, who is joined with Epicharmus, be supposed the first poet of the stage, the matter will not be at all mended; for even he too is too young to do the Epistles any service. His name is written different ways: Athenæus and Suidas call him Phormus, but Aristotle, Phormis<sup>7</sup>. In Themistius it is written Amorphus<sup>8</sup>, which is an evident depravation. Some learned men would write it Phormus, too, in Aristotle; but if that be true which Suidas relates of him, that he was "an acquaintance of Gelo the Syracusian's and tutor to his children<sup>9</sup>," the true reading must be Phormis; for he is the same Phormis that, as Pausanias tells at large<sup>10</sup>, came to great

1. Arist. Poët. v. 281.

2. De Com.

3. Plut. Schol. Pind. &amp;c.

4. Laërt. Epich.

5. Luc. in Macroh.

6. Pref. p. 3.

7. Φόρμης, Poet. c. v.

8. "Αμορφος.

9. Suid. in Φόρμ.

10. Eliac. i.

honour in the service of Gelo, and of Hiero after him; and that I think is a proof sufficient that he did not invent Comedy as early as the time of Phalaris.

Upon the whole matter, I suppose, from what has been said, these four things will be allowed: That the authorities for Epicharmus are more and greater than those for Susarion;—That, if Epicharmus was the first Comedian, Phalaris could not cite a passage out of Comedy;—That, allowing Susarion to have contributed something towards the invention of Comedy, yet his Plays were extemporal, and never published in writing, and consequently unknown to Phalaris;—and lastly, That, if they were published, it is more likely they were in Tetrametres and other chorical measures, fit for dances and songs, than in Iambics. So far is it from being a just consequence, “If Comedy was but heard of at Athens, Phalaris might quote Iambics out of it,” though it gave such *great satisfaction* to the learned Examiner.

It is true, there are five Iambics extant that are fathered upon Susarion, and perhaps may really be his:

Ἀκούετε, λεῶς· Σουσαρίων λέγει τὰδε,  
 Υἱὸς Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκιος·  
 Κακὸν γυναικες· ἀλλ’ ὅμως, ᾧ δημόται,  
 Οὔκ ἐστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἄνευ κακοῦ.  
 Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν.

The first four of these are produced by Diomedes Scholasticus, in his Commentary on Dionysius Thrax, a MS. now in the Royal Library; the last, with three others, by Stobæus<sup>1</sup>; the first, third, and fourth by Diomedes the Latin Grammarian<sup>2</sup>; and the third and fourth by Suidas. The emendation of the second verse is owing to the excellent Bishop Pearson<sup>3</sup>, for it is very faulty in the MS.; but the first verse, as he has published it,

Ἀκούετε λέξεως, Σουσαρίων τὰδε λέγει,

has two errors in it against the measures of Iambics; so that, to heal that flaw in the verse, for λέξεως, it is written λέξιν in the Latin Diomedes; but the true reading is Ἀκούετε, λεῶς, as it is extant in Stobæus; that is, “Hear, O people.” It is the form that criers used; and means the same thing with our “O yes<sup>4</sup>.”

1. Stob. tit. lxvii.

2. Lib. iii. p. 486.

3. Vind. Ignat. ii. 11.

4. Or *Oyez*. The Attic idiom has it Ἀκούετε, λεῶ. Aristoph.\*

Ἀκούετε, λεῶ. Κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς χοὰς, &c.

And



Plutarch tells us, "That in the parish of the Pallenians of Attica, it was unlawful for the crier to use that common form (*Ἀκούετε, λέως*) because a certain crier, called Leos, had formerly betrayed their ancestors<sup>1</sup>." Stratonicus the musician made a quibble about it; for as he once was in Mylasa, a city that had few inhabitants, but a great many temples, he comes into the market-place, as if he would proclaim something; but instead of *Ἀκούετε, λαοὶ*, as the form used to be, he said *Ἀκούετε, ναοὶ*<sup>2</sup>. In Lucian's "Sale of Philosophers," the form that Mercury the crier uses, is *Ἀκουε, σίγα*. And so much by way of digression, to supply the emendation of the incomparable Pearson.

If I would imitate somebody's artifice, in suppressing and smothering what he thinks makes against him, I might easily conceal a passage of this yet unpublished MS. which carries in it a specious objection against something I have said. Diomedes introduces those verses of Susarion with these words:—"One Susarion," says he, "was the beginner of Comedy in verse, whose Plays were all lost in oblivion; but there are two or three Iambics of a PLAY of his still remembered<sup>3</sup>." Here is an express testimony that Susarion used Iambics in his plays, though I have newly endeavoured to make it probable that, in the first infancy of Comedy, the Iambic was not used there; as we are certain from Aristotle, that it was not in Tragedy. But I have one or two exceptions against Diomedes' evidence: first, he stands alone in it; he is a man of no great esteem; he lived many hundreds of years after the thing that he speaks of; so that it ought to pass for no more than a conjecture of his own. And again, I would have it observed, that these five Iambics are spoken in the person of Susarion, which will go a great way towards a proof that they are no part of a Play; for, when the Poet in his own name would speak to the spectators, he makes use of the Chorus to that purpose; and it is called a *Παράβυσσις*<sup>4</sup>; of which sort there are

And again\*,

*Ἀκούετε λέω. Τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀπίεναι, &c.*

1. Plut. in Thes.

2. Athen. p. 343.

3. *Πρώτον μὲν οὖν Σουσαρίων τις τῆς ἐμμέτρου Κωμῆδίας ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο, οὗ τὰ μὲν ἐράσματα λήθῃ καταγεμνησάν, δύο δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἱαμβοὶ τοῦ δράματος ἐπὶ μνήμῃ φέρονται.*

4. Schol. Aristoph. Pheest. Pollux.

several now extant in Aristophanes. But the measures that the Chorus used at that time are never Iambics, but always Anapaests or Tetrametres; and I believe there is not one instance that the Chorus speaks at all to the Pit in Iambics; to the Actor it sometimes does. And lastly, if these verses of Susarion's had been known to have been borrowed from a Play, it could not have been such a secret to Aristotle; for it is plain, I think, that he had met with no certain tradition of any Play of Susarion's; if he had, he would never attribute the invention of Comedy to the Sicilians, so long after him. This argument will not seem inconsiderable, if we remember what an universal Scholar that Philosopher was, and that he had particularly applied himself to know the history of the Stage; having written a Treatise of the *Διδασκαλῖαι*, "an account of the names, and times, and the authors of all the plays that were ever acted." If the verses therefore are truly Susarion's, it is probable they were made upon some other occasion, and not for the stage.

To return now to our Examiner: let us see a little how he manages his Susarion; for it is a wonder if, besides a general fault in producing a weak argument, he do not add several incidental ones, which a more skilful manager might have avoided; and to justify my suspicion of him, his very first sentence has two or three errors in it:—"The Chronicon Marmoreum," says he, "informs us that Comedy was brought INTO ATHENS by Susarion, or rather, that a STAGE was by him first erected in Athens." And from the word STAGE, he would draw an inference "That Susarion was not the inventor, but an improver only, of Comedy." Now I affirm that the Marble Chronicon says nothing here about ATHENS or a STAGE. I will set down the whole paragraph as it was published from the original by Mr. Selden and Mr. Young:

Ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ...αῖς κωμω...ρ...εθῆ...σανι...των Ἰκαριέων ἡγρόν-  
τος Σουσαρίωνος καὶ δολον...τεθ...ππω τον ισχά...δ...αρσιχο.....  
νοινου...ερ...ος.....

In this worn and broken condition the passage was printed by Mr. Selden; and the Supplements that have been made to it since, are only learned men's conjectures, and may lawfully be laid aside if we have better to put in their places. The first words of it (ἐν αθ...αῖς) Mr. Selden guessed to be ἐν Ἀθήναις, in Athens; wherein he is followed by Palmerius, Pearson, Marsham, and every body since. But, with humble submission to those

great names, I am persuaded it should not be so corrected; for the author of the Marble, when he would say in Athens, always uses Ἀθήνησιν, and never ἐν Ἀθήναις. So in line the 5th, Ἀφ' οὗ δίκη Ἀθήνησι, and 33, Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθήνησι, and 61, ... ἐν Ἀθήνησι, and 70, Ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησι διδάσκων, so in 79, 81, 83, 85, besides what comes almost in every epoch of it, Ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν. It is not credible, therefore, that in this single passage he should say, ἐν Ἀθήναις: besides, that it is not true in fact that Susarion found Comedy at Athens; for it was at Icarium, a country parish in Attica, as Athenæus informs us<sup>1</sup>; which is the reason that Clem. Alex. calls Susarion an Icarian<sup>2</sup>: and the Marble itself, in this very place, names the Icarians Τῶν Ἰκαριέων. But surely the same person could not act *first* both at Icarium and Athens; in country and city at once. It is observable, therefore, that in another epoch, where the Marble says "That Tragedy was first acted by Thespis<sup>3</sup>," who was an *Icarian* too, there is nothing said of *Athens*. Our Examiner, therefore, is quite out when he quotes it as the words of the Marble, "That Susarion brought Comedy into Athens."

His next mistake is when he tells us, as out of the Marble, "That Susarion set up his *Stage* at Athens." The whole foundation of this imaginary Stage is that fragment of a word ...σανι... which the very ingenious and learned Palmerius fancied to be ἐπὶ σανίσι, *acted upon boards*<sup>4</sup>; and his conjecture is approved by the great Pearson<sup>5</sup>. This, in the Edition of the Marmora Oxoniensia, was, I know not why, changed into ἐν σανίσι, *in boards*. And the Examiner, who, without question, understands how Comedies may be put *into boards* (though the groaning board of famous memory might rather belong to some Tragedy), judiciously follows this casual oversight in that elegant Edition<sup>6</sup>.

I desired my worthy Friend Dr. Mill to examine with his own eyes this passage in the Marble, which is now at Oxford, and makes part of the glory of that noble University; and he informs me, that those Letters which Mr. Selden and Mr. Young took to be ΣΑΝΙ, are now wholly invisible, not the least footstep being left of them; and as for ΕΝΑΘ.. the two last letters are so defaced that one cannot be certain they were ΑΘ, but only something

1. P. 40.

2. Σουσαρίων Ἰκαριεύς. Strom. i.

3. Suid. Θεσ.

4. Exercit. p. 702.

5. Vind. Ignat. ii. 11.

6. See the notes there, pp. 203, 204.

like them. I am of opinion, therefore, that the entire writing in the Marble was not ἐν Ἀθήναις, but ἐν ἀπήναις, *in plaustris*; and that ΣΑΝΙ has no relation to Σανίδες, *boards*, but is the last syllable of a verb. So that I would fill up the whole passage thus: ΑΦ ΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΠΗΝΑΙΣ ΚΩΜΩΙΔΙΑΙ ΕΦΟΡΕΘΗΣΑΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΙΚΑΡΙΕΩΝ ΗΥΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΟΥΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ· that is, “Since Comedies were carried in carts by the Icarians, Susarion being the inventor.” That in the beginning the Plays were *carried* about the villages *in carts*, we have a witness beyond exception:

“Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ  
Dicitur, et PLAUSTRIS VEXISSE poemata Thespis¹.”

And so the old Scholiast upon the place: “Thespis primus Tragicæ invenit; ad quas recitandas circa vicos PLAUSTRO quoque vehebatur ante inventionem scenæ.” And I suppose it is sufficiently known that Ἀπήνη is the same with PLAUSTRUM. Hesychius and Suidas, Ἀπήνη, ἄμαξα. Eustathius twice, Ἀμαξαν μὲν καὶ Ἀπήνην εἰπεῖν ταυτὸν ἐστίν. Glossarium Philoxeni, Plaustrum, ἄμαξα. Plostrum, ἄμαξα.

If this conjecture of mine may seem probable, the next, I dare pass my word, will amount even to certainty. The words in the Marble, as Mr. Selden published them, are these: Καὶ δολον. τεθ. πωτονισχα....δ....αρσιχο....δ...νοινου...ερ....ος..... Out of which broken pieces the ingenious Palmerius² endeavoured to make this sentence: καὶ Δόλωνος τεθρίππω, τὸν ἰσχάδων, ἄρσιχον, πίθον οἶνον· that is, “Dolon (together with Susarion) was inventor of Comedy; the prize of which was a basket of figs and a hogshead of wine; which were carried home by the victor in a chariot with four horses.” But he ingenuously confesses, That he never read any thing of this Dolon, a Comic Poet; nor of such prizes as a basket of figs and a hogshead of wine; nor that they were conveyed home in a chariot. However, this emendation of his is approved, and followed, by the learned publisher of Marmora Oxoniensia.

I was led by the very sense of the place to suspect that Mr. Selden or Mr. Young had copied the inscription wrong; and that, instead of ΔΟΛΟΝ..ΤΕΘ..ΠΠΩΤΟΝ, they ought to have read it—ΑΘΑΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ· for the difference in these letters is very small, and such as might escape even a curious eye in so dim an inscription. I communicated by letter this suspicion

1. Horat. in Art. Poet.

2. Palmer. *ibid.*



of mine to the Rev. Dr. Mill; who will bear me witness that I sent this correction to him before he had looked upon the stone; and I asked the favour of him that he would consult the marble itself; and he returned me this answer, That the writing in the Marble is fair and legible enough in this very manner: ΚΑΙ ΛΘΑΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΙΣΧΑΔΩ . . ΑΡΣΙΧΟ . . ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΟΥ. I conceive, therefore, that this whole passage should thus be restored—Καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρῶτον, ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχος, καὶ οἴνου ἀμφορεὺς that is, “And the prize was first proposed, a basket of figs, and a small vessel of wine.” Dolon, we see, and his *coach and four*, are vanished already: and as for the prizes for the victory, which Palmerius owns he knew nothing of, I think I can fairly account for them out of a passage in Plutarch<sup>1</sup>:—“Anciently,” says he, “the Feast of Bacchus was transacted country-like and merrily: first there was carried (Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου) A VESSEL OF WINE and a branch of a vine; then followed one that led a GOAT (τράγον) after him; another carried (ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον) A BASKET OF FIGS: and last of all came the Phallus (ὁ Φάλλος).” Now as both Tragedy and Comedy had their first rise from this feast of Bacchus, the one being invented by those that sung the Dithyramb<sup>2</sup>, and the latter by those that sung the Phallic, so the prizes and rewards for those that performed best were ready upon the spot, and made part of the procession. “The vessel of wine and the basket of figs” were the premium for Comedy; and “the goat” for Tragedy. Both the one and the other are expressed in these verses of Dioscorides’, never yet published; which shall farther be considered in the xi Section, “about the Age of Tragedy:”

Βάκχος ὅτε τριπτόν κατάγοι χορὸν, ᾧ ΤΡΑΓΟΣ ἄθλον,  
 'Χ ὧ 'ττικὸς ἦν ΣΥΚΩΝ ἈΡΡΙΧΟΣ, ὕλος ἔτι.

Now, I would ask the Examiner one question: If he can really think Susarion made regular and finished Comedies with the solemnity of a Stage, when the prize, we see, that he contended for, was the cheap purchase of a cask of wine and a parcel of dried figs? These sorry prizes were laid aside, when Comedy grew up to maturity, and to carry the day from the rival Poets was an honour not much inferior to a victory at Olympia.

I will forgive Mr. B. his double mistake of xxx years, when he says—“Susarion must fall in between the 610th and 589th year before Christ;” for I find some other person has already

1. Plut. Περὶ φιλοπλουτ.

2. Arist. Poet. c. iv.

reprehended him for it. And I am well pleased with his judgment of Bishop Pearson's performance<sup>1</sup>, "That he has proved, BEYOND ALL CONTROVERSY, that Susarion is a distinct Poet from Sannyrion." I see the Gentleman, if he be free and disinterested, can pass a true censure. Casaubon and Selden, as famous men in their generations as Mr. B. is in this, thought both those names belonged to the same person; but Bishop Pearson, by one single chronological argument, has refuted them, says Mr. B., "beyond all controversy." I may say, without breach of modesty, I have refuted Phalaris' Epistles by a dozen chronological proofs; each of them as certain as that one of the Bishop's, besides my arguments from other topics: and yet (to see what it is to be out of favour with Mr. B.) "I have proved nothing at all." Mr. B. no doubt, has good motives for his giving such different characters; but I would ask him why he says "Mr. Selden's opinion would bring Susarion *down* to Aristophanes' time?" It would just do the contrary; and carry Sannyrion up above Pisistratus' time; for the Epoch in the Marble was not doubted by Mr. Selden.

"The Bishop," says Mr. B. "has proved that Sannyrio must live in Aristophanes' time." This is true; but it still leaves his age undetermined, within the wideness of xxxx years; for so long Aristophanes was an Author. If Mr. B. had been cut out for improving any thing, he might easily have brought Sannyrio's time to a narrow compass; for Sannyrio, in his play called Danaë, burlesqued a verse of Euripides' Orestes<sup>2</sup>. But Orestes was acted at Olymp. xcii, 4, when Diocles was Archon at Athens<sup>3</sup>. Danaë therefore must have come soon after it, or else the jest would have been too cold. The Frogs of Aristophanes, where the same verse is ridiculed<sup>4</sup>, was acted the third year after, Ol. xciii, 3; so that we may fairly place the date of Sannyrio's Danaë between Olymp. xcii, 4, and Ol. xciv.

We are now come to the Second part of my argument from this passage in Phalaris' Epistle—*Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὡς φασί τινες, οὐ προσήκει* "Mortal men, as some say, ought not to bear immortal anger." The thought, as I observed, was to be met with in two several places: in a Poet cited

1. Vind. Ignat. ii. 11.

2. Schol. ad Aristoph. Ranas, p. 142. Schol. Orest. v. 279.

3. Id. ver. 371, 770.

4. Argum. Ranar.

by Aristotle, and in Euripides' Philoctetes. Allow then, first, that the Writer of the Epistle borrowed it from the former of these; then, as I have hitherto endeavoured to prove, and as I think with success, he could not be as ancient as the true Phalaris of Sicily. But the Reader, I hope, will take notice that all this was *ex abundanti*; for there are plain and visible footsteps that he has stolen it, not from Aristotle's Poet, but out of Philoctetes, which was not made till six score years after Phalaris' death; so that, let the dispute about Comedy and Susarion fall as it will (though I think that to be no hazard), yet he will still be convicted of a cheat upon this second indictment.

The words of the pretended Phalaris are, *Θνητοὺς ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν οὐ προσήκει*. The words of Euripides are—

Ὡσπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡμῶν ἔφν  
 Οὕτω προσήκει μὴδὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἔχειν  
 Ἀθάνατον—

In the comparing of which, I remarked, that, besides the words *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή*, there are other words also, that are found in both passages: *ὀργὴν ἔχειν* and *προσήκει*. As for *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή*, they are necessary to this sentence, and the thought cannot be expressed without them; for one cannot express this opposition of mortal and immortal, upon which the whole thought turns, in other Greek words than *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος*. It might be said, therefore, in Phalaris' behalf, That, if two or more persons should hit upon this thought (which is far from impossible) there is no avoiding but they must needs fall into the very same expressions of *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή* and yet none of them might steal them from any of the rest; as we see all the three words are found in that other verse quoted by Aristotle—

Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητός ὢν.

To occur then to this plausible pretence, I observed there were other words in both passages alike (*ὀργὴν ἔχειν* and *προσήκει*) and that here there was no room for this specious objection; for *ἔχειν* and *πρόσκει* are not necessary to the thought, as *θνητός* and *ἀθάνατος* are, because there are several other words that signify the same things; so that the sentence, as to this part of it, might be varied several ways; as one may say *ὀργὴν φυλάττει*, as well as *ἔχειν* (and so the Poet in Aristotle has

it) or ὀργὴν τηρεῖν, or ὀργὴν τρέφειν, &c.; and so, instead of προσήκει, one may say οὐ δεῖ, οὐ πρέπει, οὐ πρέπον ἐστίν, οὐ προσήκόν ἐστιν, or οὐ τηρητέον, οὐ φυλακτέον, and many other ways; which, by being intermixed, would produce a great number of changes; so that, upon the whole, since the Writer of the Epistle has the very numerical words of Euripides in a case where it is so much odds that he would not have lit upon them by chance, I looked upon it, as I still do, to be a plain instance of imitation; and consequently, a plain proof of an imposture.

Well, what says our severe Examiner to this? Why, truly, with a pretended jest, but at the bottom in sober earnest, "He lets Phalaris shift for himself, and is resolved not to answer this argument." I will not say how ungenerous a design this is, to leave his Sicilian Prince in the lurch; but, I fear, it is too late now to shake him off with honour: his Phalaris will stick close to him longer than he will wish him. However, instead of an answer to Me, he desires me to answer Him, "whether it was prudent in me to accuse Phalaris of a theft, by a pair of quotations pillaged from his poor Notes on this Epistle?" Poor Notes! he may be *free with them*, because he claims them as *his own*; and yet, as *poor* as he calls them, if common fame may be believed, somebody run in debt for them. But he *desires my answer*; and I will give it him; for the accusation is a very high one. "To pillage his poor Notes" would be as barbarous as to rob the naked; and I dare add, to as little purpose. My defence is, that these two passages which I have quoted are in Aristotle and Stobæus; and, I believe, I may truly say that I had read them in those two authors before Mr. B. knew the names of them. In other places he confesses, and makes it part of my character, that I have applied myself with success to the "collection of Greek fragments." Why might I not then have these two out of the original authors? Are these sentences vanished out of Aristotle and Stobæus since the memorable date of Mr. B.'s Edition of Phalaris? If ever they were used since, or shall be used hereafter, must they needs be *pillaged* from Him? Alas! one may safely predict, without setting up for a Prophet, that these sentences will still be quoted, when his *poor Notes*, and his poor Examination too, will have the happiness to be forgotten. If Mr. B. had made the same inference that I do from these sentences, there had been some colour for



his accusation of theft; but he barely cites them in his Notes; and it is another great instance of the sagacity of our Examiner, that even when he stumbled upon arguments, yet he could not *make use of them*.

I had taken notice from the Scholiast on Euripides, “That Philoctetes was acted Olymp. LXXXVII.” But an unknown Author<sup>1</sup>, that has mixed himself in this controversy, has been pleased to object “That some others say the Phœnissæ was acted then: so Scaliger’s *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ*, and Aristophanes’ Scholiast.” But here are several mistakes committed in this short objection. First, the Author seems not to have known that there were four Plays of Euripides acted in one year; there is no consequence, therefore, in this argument; for Phœnissæ and Philoctetes might both of them be acted at Olymp. LXXXVII. Then, both here and in other places, he argues from the *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ*, as if it was an ancient piece. But Scaliger himself confesses it’s his own work; and in this passage that great man mistook himself, either by haste, or by trusting to his memory; for, instead of *Φοίνισσαι*, he designed to have written *Μήδεια*, out of the Scholiast on Euripides: and such oversights are not unfrequent in that collection of his. Again, the Author is very much out, in quoting the Scholiast on Aristophanes; which I suppose he might copy from the learned Mr. Barnes’ Life of Euripides<sup>2</sup>. But, so far is that Scholiast from affirming that the Phœnissæ was acted Olymp. LXXXVII, that I will prove to him that it was acted after Olymp. xci. 2; for he twice declares<sup>3</sup> that the Phœnissæ was not then acted when Aristophanes brought his Aves upon the Stage; which was at Olymp. xci. 2.<sup>4</sup>, when Chabrias was Archon. And again<sup>5</sup>, he gives an account why Aristophanes, in his Ranæ, rather chose to ridicule the Andromeda of Euripides, which was “then viii years old,” than Hypsipyle or Phœnissæ, or Antiope;” all which had been acted a little while before<sup>6</sup>: but the Ranæ was acted Olymp. xciii. 3, when Callias was Archon<sup>7</sup>. It is plain, therefore, that the Phœnissæ must have been acted between Olymp. xci. 2, and xciii. 3. I dare so far rely upon this unknown Author’s candour, as to believe he will be satisfied with this reply; and I think there

1. View of Dissert. by the Rev. John Milner, B. D. late vicar of Leeds in Yorkshire, p. 19.

2. Sect. xxvi.

3. P. 382, 585, ed. Basil.

4. Ibid. 366.

5. Ibid. 132.

6. Πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων.

7. Ibid. p. 128.

are no more of his animadversions that concern Me or these Dissertations, that require a particular answer.

I have nothing more to say at present upon this article of Comedy ; but, that I may not break it off abruptly without taking leave of the Examiner, I would desire one piece of justice at his hands ; that, the next time he burlesques some *knotty* paragraph of mine, or any of his future antagonists, he would not add to it, of his own, four marks of Parentheses ( ) ( ), like knots upon a string, to make it look the more *knottily*.—It would be a very dear bargain to purchase a much better jest than that, at the expense of truth and integrity.

## AGE OF TRAGEDY.

[PP. 224—309. Ed. London, 1699.]

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IN the LXXIII Epistle, he is in great wrath with one Aristolochus, a Tragic Poet that nobody ever heard of, “for writing Tragedies against him;” κατ’ ἐμοῦ γράφειν τραγωδίας and in the xcvi, he threatens Lysinus, another Poet of the same stamp with the former, “for writing against him both Tragedies and Hexametres:” ἀλλ’ ἔπη καὶ τραγωδίας εἰς ἐμὲ γράφεις. Now, to forgive him that silly expression of writing Tragedies *against him* (for he could not be the argument of Tragedy while he was living) I must take the boldness to tell him, who am out of his reach, that he lays a false crime to their charge; for there was no such thing nor word as Tragedy while he tyrannized at Agrigentum. That we may slight that obscure story about Epigenes the Sicynian, Thespis, we know, was the first inventor of it, according to Horace. Neither was the name of Tragedy more ancient than the thing, as sometimes it happens when an old word is borrowed and applied to a new notion; but both were born together, the name being taken from Τράγος, the goat, that was the prize to the best Poet and Actor; but the first performance of Thespis was about the Lxi Olymp.<sup>1</sup>, which is more than twelve years after Phalaris’ death (a).

1. Marm. Arund. Suidas in Θέσπιδι.

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(a) See above, p. 166. note (a)

I had made this short reflection upon the Epistles, "That Aristolochus and Lysinus, two Tragic Poets mentioned there, were never heard of any where else." This is arraigned by Mr. B. with great form and solemnity; but, before he begins, he is inclined "to guess, from Aristolochus' name, that he was a Giant Tragedian, rather than a Fairy one;" but his consequences are all of a piece, both when he jests and when he is serious; for if he argue from the etymology of his name, *Aristolochus* denotes a person that was good at "lurking and ambuscade<sup>1</sup>;" which surely is not the proper character of a Giant. If he argue from the bigness of his name, he might have remembered that Borborocœtes and Meridarpax, the names of two heroes in Batrachomyomachia, make a more terrible sound than Achilles and Hector. And we have instances in our own time, that a man may be called by a great name, and yet be no Giant in any thing.

Well, now he begins his remarks, and he finds the footsteps of this Aristolochus in a nameless piece usually printed with Censorinus: "For there is Numerus Aristolochius which must come from Aristolochus, a Poet, as Aristophanius there comes from Aristophanes;" upon which he farther enlarges; and it is a difficult problem, whether he shows more learning here in the margin, or more judgment in the text. The passage which he cites is thus:

"Numerus Saturnius:

Magnum numerum triumphat | hostibus devictis."

"Sunt qui hunc Archebolion vocant;" that is, "Some call the Saturnian verse Archebolion." Ludovicus Carrio makes this note upon it:—"That the common editions, before his, had it Aristolochium; but the MSS. Aristodolium. Now, to which reading of the three must we stand?—to Archebolion, or Aristolochium, or Aristodolium? Mr. B., who will never be guilty of improving any place, leaves his reader here at large to take which of them he pleases; only he puts in for his thirds, because Aristolochium has a chance to be the right as well as either of the others; but what if I shall prove that all three are wrong, and the true lection is ARCHILOCHIUM! Then his Aristolochus must vanish into Fairy-land again.

The first that used the Saturnian verse among the Latins was Nævius, an old Poet before Ennius's time; the measures of the

1. Λόχος.



verse will be best known by examples. The two first are out of Nævius<sup>1</sup>:—

“Novem Jovis concordēs | filiæ sorores.  
Ferunt pulchras pateras | aureas lepidas.”

The latter of which has two false measures in it, and ought to be corrected thus out of Plotius<sup>2</sup> and Nonius Marcellus<sup>3</sup>:—

“Ferunt pulchras cretērras | aureas lepistas.”

The following was made by the Metelli, Nævius’s enemies:—

“Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio Poetæ<sup>4</sup>.”

Now it is observed by Terentianus Maurus<sup>5</sup>, a most elegant writer, that the Latins were much mistaken in supposing the Saturnian verse to be an invention of their countrymen; for the original of it was from the Greeks. Fortunatianus says the same; and he adds, that it was to be met with in Euripides, and Callimachus, and ARCHILOCHUS. The instance that he brings is this, and he calls it ARCHILOCHIUM:—

“Quem non rationis egentem | vicit Archimedes.”

And so Servius<sup>6</sup> brings another ARCHILOCHIUM:

“Remeavit ab arce tyrannus | hostibus devictis.”

These two verses indeed are not really Archilochus’s, but made by those grammarians conformably to his measures; but I can give you some that are truly his own<sup>7</sup>:

Ἐρασμονίδῃ Χαρίλαε | χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον.  
Ἀστῶν δ’ οἱ μὲν κατόπισθεν | ἦσαν οἱ δὲ πολλοί.  
Ἐρέω πολὺ φίλταθ’ ἐταίρων | τέρψαι δ’ ἀκούων.  
Φιλέειν στυγνὸν περ εὐόντα | μῆδ’ ἐ διαλέγεσθαι.

And Hephæstion assures us, “That Archilochus was the first that used this sort of verse<sup>8</sup>.” Now, I suppose, I scarce need to observe, that these ARCHILOCHIAN verses are the same with the SATURNIAN; the measures themselves sufficiently show that, for there is no difference at all, but only a Dactyl for a Spondee or Trochee, which was a common variation even in the Latin Satur-

1. Atilius Fortun. p. 2679.

2. Plot. p. 2650.

3. C. de Vasis.

4. Atilius, *ibid*.

5. Terent. p. 2349.

6. Centim. p. 1825.

7. Hephæst. p. 43, 50.

8. Πρῶτος τούτοις Ἀρχίλοχος κέχρηται.

nians; as in these two that follow, out of the *Tabulæ Triumphales*:—

"Fundit, fugat, prosternit		maximas legiones.
Duello magno dirimendo		regibus subigendis <sup>1</sup> ."

I have distinguished the middle pause of every verse by this mark |, that the reader, though perhaps unacquainted with this part of learning, may have a perception of the measure: and, I suppose, he may be pretty well satisfied that the true reading in Mr. B's Author is not *Aristolochium*, but *Archilochium*. As for the two other names, *Aristodolium* and *Archebolion*, the former is a manifest corruption; the latter (as it seems) was in no MS. nor Print, but a bare conjecture of Carrio's, and a very erroneous one; for the *Archebulion* (as he ought to have called it) had quite different measures, as will appear by these instances:—

Ἀγέτω θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω δίχα τῶνδ' αἰεῖδεν<sup>2</sup>.  
 "Tibi nascitur omne pecus, tibi crescit herba<sup>3</sup>."

The reader will excuse this digression, because I have given a clear emendation, where the great Mr. B. attempted it in vain; which would be an honour much more valuable if I had it not so very often.

"But suppose," says Mr. B. "that nobody heard of these Tragedians but in Phalaris. What then? Will the Doctor discard all Poets that are but once mentioned in old Authors? What at this rate will become of *Xenocles* and *Pythangelus*, whom (at least the *first* of them) the Doctor will be hard put to it to find mentioned by any body, but once by *Aristophanes*?" Very *hard put to it* indeed! to find an Author that is mentioned in so common a Book as *Ælian's Various History*<sup>4</sup>; where we have both the name of this *Xenocles*, and his age too, and the titles of four of his Plays, *Œdipus*, *Lycaon*, *Bacchæ*, and *Athamas*, with which he got the prize from his antagonist *Euripides*, *Olymp. xci. 1*. It is true, *Ælian* is in indignation at it: and "It is ridiculous," says he, "that this little *Xenocles* should carry the prize from *Euripides*, especially when those Plays of *Euripides* were some of the best that he ever made. The judges were either senseless and unlearned, or else they were bribed." This is the just verdict and censure of impartial posterity; and *Euripides*, could he have fore-

1. Atilius Fort. *ibid*.

2. *Hephæst.* p. 27.

3. *Atil.* p. 1673.

4. *Ælian.* ii. 8.

seen it, would not have changed this posthumous honour for the applauses that Xenocles won from him. "And by the way, therefore, I would advise Mr. B. (if I may return him his own words), not to be too vain upon his performance," when he hears it cried up by those that are not competent judges. Bavius and Mævius (whom Mr. B. mentions here) had many admirers while they lived, or else they had been below the notice of Virgil and Horace: but posterity gave them their due; for that will flatter no man's quality, nor follow the clamour of a party. But to return to Xenocles:—There is a fifth play of his, *Licymnius*, mentioned by the Scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>; and two fragments of it are produced by Aristophanes himself. Mr. B. says he is but *once* mentioned by that Poet; but besides the passage of *Ranæ*<sup>2</sup>, which Mr. B. meant, there are three others<sup>3</sup> where he is spoken of, under the title of "the son of Carcinus." He is mentioned, too, in a fragment of Plato the Comedian:—

——— Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος  
 Ὁ Καρκίνου παῖς τοῦ θαλαττίου<sup>4</sup>,

He was ridiculed also by Pherecrates<sup>5</sup>, another Comic Poet; and we may hear of him in Suidas, in more places than one. What does the Examiner mean then by his *putting me hard to it*? I will do much harder matters than this to do him any service. But I am persuaded he was encouraged to write thus *at a venture*, because Vossius says nothing of Xenocles in his book *De Poetis Græcis*.

If the Examiner had not had the ambitious vanity to show, as he thought, his great reading and critic, he might fairly have escaped these two blunders about Aristolochus and Xenocles; for what is it he is driving at? or who is it he disputes with? Did I make that my argument against Phalaris, "That his two pretended Tragedians were nowhere else to be heard of?" No, surely; but "because he names two Tragedians in an age of the world when Tragedy itself was not yet heard of."

This, therefore, is the main point which Mr. B. and I must now contend for, "The first date and origin of Tragedy." In my Dissertation I espoused the opinion of those Authors that make Thespis the inventor of it, professing in express words, "That I

1. Schol. Arist. p. 120.

2. P. 133.

3. Schol. Arist. p. 120, 364, 464.

4. Ib. 465.

5. Ib. 364.

slighted the obscure story of Epigenes the Sicyonian." This, I think, is a sufficient proof that I knew there were some weak pretences made to Tragedy before Thespis's time; but I believed them overbalanced by better authorities. And yet what is there in this long-winded harangue of Mr. B's, from p. 165 to 180, but the bringing, with ostentation and grimace, those very obscure pretences which I had declared I had slighted; and every bit of it (except his own faults as usual) scraped together at second-hand from the commonest Authors? In opposition to which tedious declamation, I shall first vindicate Thespis's title to the *invention* of Tragedy; and, in the next place, inquire into his *age*; and in the last, examine Mr. B's performance in the same order as he has presented it.

The famous chronological inscription in the Arundel Marble, which was made Olymp. cxxix, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, above cclx years before Christ, declares that Thespis was the FIRST that gave being to Tragedy<sup>1</sup>:—"Αφ' οὗ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς . . . . ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΕ . . . . The word *πρωτος* is not in the printed edition; but my learned friend Dr. Mill, whom I consulted on this occasion, assures me it is plainly so in the Marble itself, which is now at Oxford. I shall give a farther account of this by and by; but allowing even the common reading, as it is published by Mr. Selden, yet it is evident, and agreed by all, that the Author of this Inscription delivers this as the first æra of Tragedy. Besides him, the Epigrammatist Dioscorides gives the invention of it to Thespis:

Θέσπιδος εὔρεμα τοῦτο· τὰδ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἀν' ὕλαν (α)  
 Παίγνια, καὶ κώμους τοῦσδε τελειότερους  
 Αἰσχύλος ἐψύχωσε, νοήσιμα \* ετα χαράξας  
 Γράμματα, χεῖμαρ' ῥίω δ' οἷα καταρδόμενα  
 Καὶ τὰ κατὰ σκηνὴν μετεκαίνισεν· ὦ στόμα πάντων  
 Δέξιον ἀρχαίων, ἦσθ' αἱ τις ἡμιθέων.

Thus the Epigram is published by the very learned Mr. Stanley, before his noble edition of Æschylus; and I have not now leisure to seek if it was printed anywhere before. In the third verse, which is manifestly corrupted, Mr. Stanley corrected it *ονήσιμα* for *νοήσιμα*, as appears by his translation, UTILE; the other word

1. Lin. 58.

(α) This epigram. and the following. are now inserted in the Anthologia Græca. i. 497, xvi. xvii.



he leaves untouched. The Epigram itself is extant in the MS. Anthologia Epigram. Græc. a copy of which I have by me, by the kindness of my excellent friend the late Dr. Edward Bernard; and there the third verse is thus:

Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε νονήσμια εὐτα χαράξας.

Out of which disjointed words I have extracted, as I humbly conceive, this genuine lection:—

Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε, νεοσμίλευτα χαράξας  
Γράμματα —————

Α, the last letter of *νονήσμια*, was mistaken for Λ. 'Εξύψωσεν, he *raised and exalted* the style of Tragedy by *νεοσμίλευτα γράμματα*, his new-made and *new-carved* words; which is the very thing that Aristophanes ascribes to him<sup>1</sup>:—

Ἄλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά.

and the Writer of his Life<sup>2</sup>, Ζηλοῖ τὸ ἀδρὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΙΑΙΣ καὶ ἐπιθέτοις χρώμενος. But our Epigrammatist, though he gives Æschylus the honour of improving Tragedy, is as positive that (εὔρεμα) *the invention* of it belongs to Thespis; which will farther appear from another Epigram by the same hand, made upon Thespis himself, and never yet published; but it is extant in the same Manuscript Anthology:

Διοσκορίδου εἰς Θέσπιν τραγῳδόν.

Θέσπις ὄδε, Τραγικὴν δὲ ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος αἰοιδὴν,  
Κωμήταις νεαρὰς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,  
Βάκχος ὅτε τρίτον κατάγοι χορὸν, ᾧ τράγος ἄθλον.  
Χῳητικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρρηχος ἄθλος ἔτι.  
Οἱ δέ με πλάσσουνσι νεοί, τὰ δὲ μύριος αἰῶν,  
Πολλὰ πρό σευ, φήσει, χεῖτερα· τᾶλλα δ' ἐμά.

The second distich, which in the MS. is faulty and unintelligible, is thus perhaps to be corrected:—

Βάκχος ὅτε τρίτον κατάγοι χορὸν, ᾧ τράγος ἄθλον,  
Χ' ὦ ῥητικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρρηχος, ὕθλος ἔτι.

"Cum Bacchus ducat triplicem chorum; cui Hircus,  
Et cui Attica ficum cista præmium erat, ut adhuc fabula est."

By the three choruses of Bacchus, he means the *Trina Dionysia*, the Three Festivals of Bacchus:—the *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Αἰμναῖς*, the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*, and the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄγρους*; at

1. Arist. Ran. p. 169.

2. Anon. in vitâ Æsch.

which times, that answer to March, April, and January, both Tragedies and Comedies were acted. Afterwards indeed they added these diversions to the *Παναθήναια*, which fell out in the month of August; but, because this last was an innovation after Thespis' time, the Poet here takes no notice of it. But to dismiss this, the substance of the Epigram imports "That Thespis was the FIRST contriver of Tragedy; which was then a NEW entertainment." After Dioscorides, we have Horace's testimony in Thespis' favour:—

"Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ  
Dicitur, et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis,  
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora (a)."

And I think, this Poet's opinion is not only well explained, but confirmed too by the old Scholiast, who tells us "Thespis was the FIRST INVENTOR of Tragedy<sup>1</sup>." To all these we may add Plutarch, whose expression implies something farther: "That Thespis gave the rise and beginning to the very rudiments of Tragedy<sup>2</sup>;" and Clemens of Alexandria, who makes Thespis "The contriver of Tragedy, as Susarion was of Comedy<sup>3</sup>." And, without doubt, Athenæus was of the same judgment, when he said that "both Comedy and Tragedy were found out at Icarus, a place in Attica<sup>4</sup>;" for our Thespis was born there. And in another place, he says, "The ancient Poets, Thespis, Pratinas, Cratinus, and Phrynichus, were called Ὀρχηστικοί, *dancers*, because they used dancing so much in their choruses<sup>5</sup>." Now if we compare this with what Aristotle says, "That Tragedy in its infancy was (ὀρχηστικώτερα) more taken up with dances than afterwards<sup>6</sup>," it will be plain that Athenæus knew no ancients Tragedian than Thespis; for, if he had, it had been to his purpose to name him.

1. Schol. in edit. Cruquii.

2. Plut. Solon. Ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θεσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγωδίαν κινεῖν.

3. Clem. Strom. i. ἐπενόησε τραγωδίαν.

4. Athen. p. 40.

5. Id. p. 22.

6. Arist. Poet. v.

(a) These lines were afterwards corrected by Bentley, thus:—

"Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camænæ  
Dicitur, et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis  
Qui canerent agerentque, peruncti fœcibus ora."

i. e. Vexisse plaustis [eos] qui canerent agerentque poemata, peruncti fœcibus ora. Poëmata, inquit Luisinus, pro scena nominavit, causam, ut aiunt, pro causato.—Ait. Poet. 275.

But there is a fault in that passage, which by the way I will correct: for Κρατῖνος (Cratinus) who is named there, was a Comedian; and does not suit with the rest. The true reading I take to be Καρκῖνος, Carcinus; who was an ancient Tragic Poet, and is burlesqued once or twice by Aristophanes, for this very *dancing* humour that Athenæus speaks of<sup>1</sup>. He had three sons, that he brought up to dance in his choruses; who, upon that account, are called there, among many other nicknames ὀρχησταί, *dancers*. To go on now about Thespis. Suidas acquaints us that “Phrynichus was Scholar to Thespis, who first introduced Tragedy;” and Donatus passes his word, “That if we search into antiquity, we shall find that Thespis was the first that invented it<sup>2</sup>.” But what need we any particular witnesses, when we have Plato telling us at once “That it was the universal opinion in his time that Tragedy began with Thespis or Phrynichus<sup>3</sup>?” and though he himself was of a different sentiment, yet he proposes it as a paradox<sup>4</sup>: and we may see what little credit his paradox had, when every one of those I have cited came after him, and yet for that matter begged his pardon.

The pretences that are made *against* Thespis, besides some general talk (which shall be considered when I examine Mr. B.’s advances upon this topic) are for one Epigenes, a Sicyonian. This is the only person mentioned by name that can contest the matter with Thespis. And who is there that appears in behalf of this Epigenes but one single witness? and he too does but tell us a hearsay, which himself seems not to believe. “Thespis,” says Suidas<sup>5</sup>, “is reckoned the xvth Tragic Poet after Epigenes, a

1. Arist. p. 364, 464. Suid. in Καρκ.

2. “Retro prisca volventibus reperietur Thespis Tragœdiæ primus inventor.”

3. Plat. in Min. Ὡς οἴονται, ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος.

4. “Ἡ δὲ τραγωδία ἔστι παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε, οὐχ ὡς οἴονται ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος ἀρξαμένη, οὐδ’ ἀπὸ Φρυγίχου· ἀλλ’ εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι, πάντῃ παλαιὸν αὐτὸ εὐρύσκεις ὄντῃσδε τῇς πόλεως εὐρύμα· ἔστι δὲ τῇς ποιήσεως ἡμιωστερπέστατον τε καὶ ψυχαγωγικώτατον ἢ τραγωδία. ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ is here to be taken in its larger extent. There were no *Stage Plays* till the time of Thespis; and in this sense no *Tragedies*. But yet there were stories of a dramatic kind, formed into Dialogue; and Characters drawn, as of Minos, a cruel King. This manner of writing was not the invention of Thespis or Phrynichus, as people generally thought; confounding the Stage with the characteristic and dialogue manner of writing.” J. Upton, Dissert. on Shakspeare, §. 14, p. 119.

But still we have no proof that the word *Tragedy* was known in Thales’s time; but only some sort of Dialogue; which, in Plato’s opinion, was the original of Tragedy.

5. Suid. in Θέσπ.

Sicyonian; but some say Thespis was the second after him; and others, the very first of all." And again, where he explains the Proverb, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, "it was occasioned," he says, "by a Tragedy of Epigenes, a Sicyonian;" but he adds, "that others give a different and better account of it<sup>1</sup>." Now, if this be all that is said for Epigenes' plea; nay, if it be all that is said of him upon any account (for I think nobody mentions him besides Suidas)(a), I suppose this ill-supported pretence to Tragedy will soon be over-ruled, unless perhaps the very weakness of it may invite Mr. B. to espouse the cause; for I observe that his judgment, like other men's valour, has commonly the generosity to favour the weaker side. It is true, there are two very great men, Lilius Gyraldus<sup>2</sup> and Gerard Vossius<sup>3</sup>, besides others, who affirm that this same Epigenes is cited, and some of his Tragedies named by Athenæus. If this be so, it will quite alter the case; and the trial must be called over again. But, with Mr. B.'s leave, I will once more take the boldness "to contradict great names;" for I affirm that the Epigenes in Athenæus was a Comic Poet, and many generations younger than his pretended namesake, the Tragedian. Suidas himself is my voucher: "Epigenes," says he, "a Comic Poet, some of his plays are Ἡραΐνη, and Μνημάτιον, and Βακχεῖα, as Athenæus says in his Deipnosophists<sup>4</sup>." Gyraldus indeed would draw this testimony over to his own side; and for Κωμικός, he corrects it Τραγικός. But Athenæus himself interposes, and forbids this alteration: "Epigenes," says he, "the Comic Poet, says thus in his Bacchæ; Ἄλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆν' ἔτρεφε, με λαβὼν σιτευτόν<sup>5</sup>." The verses are to be distinguished thus:—

Ἄλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆνά μ' ἔτρεφεν λαβὼν  
 Σιτευτόν——

The words themselves show they belong to Comedy, when they tell us of "fatted geese:" and, indeed, the very subject of all his Fragments plainly evinces it. The next tells us of "Figs at a supper<sup>6</sup>:"—

Εἴτ' ἔρχεται χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλίγον  
 Σκληρῶν ἀδρὸς πινάκισκος——

1. In Οὐδὲν πρ. Διόν.
2. Gyrald. de Poëtis.
3. Vossius de Poëtica.
4. Suid. Ἐπιγ.
5. Athen. p. 384. Ἐπιγένης ὁ Κωμωδοποιὸς ἐν Βάκχαις.
6. P. 75. Ἐπιγένης ἐν Βραγχίᾳ.

(a) He is also mentioned by Photius and Apollonius.—Hermann.



Correct it

— Εἴτ' ἔρχεται  
 Χελιδονείων μετ' ὀλίγον σκληρῶν ἀδρὸς  
 Πινάκισκος—

And another, out of the same Play<sup>1</sup>, and three out of *Μνημάτιον*, and two out of *Ἡρώϊνη*, are all about Cups; the last of which will inform us a little about the Poet's age<sup>2</sup>:—

Τὴν Θηρίκλειον δεῦρο καὶ τὰ Ῥοδιακά  
 Κόμισον—

“Fetch hither the Thericlean and the Rhodian cups;” for by his naming the THERICLEAN cup (*a*), we may be sure he was no older than Aristophanes' time: nay, that he was considerably younger, Julius Pollux will assure us<sup>3</sup>; where he calls him one of the writers of the New Comedy: *Τῶν δὲ νέων τις Κωμικῶν Ἐπιγένης ἐν Πορτικῷ. Τρεῖς μόνους σκώληκας ἔτι, τούτους δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.* The measures of the verses are thus:—

———— Τρεῖς μόνους  
*Σκώληκας ἔτι τούτους δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.*

Well, I hope, I have fully shown, without offending their ashes, that Gyraldus and Vossius were mistaken about Epigenes. I would only add, that we ought to correct in Suidas, *Ἡρώϊνη* for *Ἡραΐνη*, and *Βακχεία* for *Βακχεῖα*, and I take the three words in Athenæus, *Βάκχαις*, *Βραγχία* and *Βακχία*, to be so many depravations of one and the same title of a Play.

The reader will please to take notice of Phalaris' expression, “That Aristolochus wrote Tragedies against him<sup>4</sup>,” and to remember too, what I have shown before, that both Comedies and Tragedies for some time were unpremeditated and extemporal, neither published nor written. Allowing then that this Epigenes, or any other Sicyonian started Tragedy before Thespis, still it will not bring Phalaris off, unless his advocate can show that Tragedy was *written* before Thespis' time. But there is no ground nor colour for such an assertion; none of the ancients countenance it; no Tragedy is ever cited older than He. Donatus says expressly he

1. P. 498. Ἐπιγ. ἐν Βακχία.

2. Athen. p. 502.

3. Poll. vii. 10.

4. Ep. 63, ΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ τραγωδίας.

(a) See Bentley's Dissertat. pp. 109, &c.

was the first that *wrote*: and it is incredible that the belief of his first inventing Tragedy should so universally obtain as we have shown it did, if any Tragedies of an older Author had been extant in the world. Nay, I will go a step farther, and freely own my opinion, "That even Thespiis himself published nothing in writing:" and if this be made out, the present argument against the Epistles will still be the stronger, though even without it, it is unanswerable, if Thespiis be younger than the true Phalaris, which I will prove by and by. But I expect now to hear a clamour against "Paradoxes," and opposing great Authors upon slight or no grounds; for the Arundel Marble mentions the Ἀλκηστis of Thespiis, and Julius Pollux his Περθεύς, and Suidas four or five more; and Plutarch, with Clemens Alexand. produce some of his verses. No question but these are strong prejudices against my new assertion, or rather suspicion; but the sagacious reader will better judge of it when he has seen the reasons I go upon.

This I lay down as the foundation of what I shall say on this subject, That the famous Heraclides, of Pontus, set out his own Tragedies in Thespiis's name. "Aristoxenus, the Musician, says" (they are the words of Diogenes Laertius<sup>1</sup>) "that Heraclides made Tragedies, and put the name of Thespiis to them." This Heraclides was a Scholar of Aristotle's, and so was Aristoxenus too, and even a greater man than the other; so that, I conceive, one may build upon this piece of History as a thing undeniable.

Now, before the date of this forgery of Heraclides, we have no mention at all of any of Thespiis's remains. Aristotle, in his Poetry, speaks of the origin, and progress, and perfection of Tragedy; he reads a lecture of Criticism upon the fables of the first writers; yet he has not one syllable about any piece of Thespiis. This will seem no small indication that nothing of his was preserved; but there is a passage in Plato that more manifestly implies it. "Tragedy," says he, "is an ancient thing, and did not commence, as people think, from Thespiis, nor from Phrynichus<sup>2</sup>." Now from hence I infer, if several persons in Plato's time believed Tragedy was invented by Phrynichus, they must never have seen nor heard of any Tragedies of Thespiis; for, if they had, there could have been no controversy which of the two was the inventor, for the one was

1. Laërt. Herac. Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Μουσικὸς καὶ Τραγῳδίας αὐτῷ ποιῆν, καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν.

2. Plato in Minoë.

a whole generation younger than the other. But Thespi's Tragedies being lost, and Phrynichus's being the ancientest that were preserved, it was an inducement to several to believe him the first Author.

It is true, indeed, that, after the time of Heraclides, we have a few fragments of Thespi quoted, and the names of some of his Plays; but I will now show, that those passages are, every one of them, cited from Heraclides's counterfeit Tragedies, and not the works of the true Thespi.

As for the Author of the Arundel Marble, who was but a little younger than Heraclides and Aristoxenus, and might possibly know them both, he is commonly indeed supposed to mention Thespi's Ἀλκηστις; for Mr. Selden, from the broken pieces of the inscription, concluded that to be the true reading; and his conjecture has been embraced by all that have come after him. I myself, too, was formerly of the same opinion; but, being now more concerned to examine narrowly into it, I am fully satisfied that we were all mistaken. The words of the Marble are these, as Mr. Selden copied them:—Αφ ου Θεσπισ ο Ποιητης.....αχι ... ος ἐδίδαξεν αλ ... στιν..... τεθηγε .. ραγος ... But the Reverend Dr. Mill assures me, that at present there is nothing of ΑΛ ... ΣΤΙΝ to be seen; and if any thing can be made of the first letter, it seems to be O rather than A. I suppose it is plain enough already from the Epoch about Susarion<sup>1</sup>, that Mr. Selden was not over-accurate in copying the inscription; and this very place before us is another proof of it; for instead of ΑΧΙ ... ΟΣ, as he published it, I am informed by the same very good hand, that it is yet legibly and plainly ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ; but, besides the uncertainty of this ΑΛ ... στιν, which is now wholly defaced in the Marble, the very Inscription itself evinces, that it ought not to be read ΑΛΚΗΣΤΙΝ; for the Author of it never sets down the name of any Play; not when he gives the date of Æschylus's first victory<sup>2</sup>,—not when he speaks of Sophocles<sup>3</sup>,—not where he mentions Euripides<sup>4</sup>,—nor on any other occasion; and it is utterly improbable that he would do it in one single place, and omit it in so many others that equally deserved it. Add to all this the express testimony of Suidas, “That Phrynichus was the first that made women the subject of Tragedy<sup>5</sup>,” his master Thespi having

1. See above, p. 173.

2. l. 65.

3. l. 72.

4. Ibid. 76.

5. Suid. in Φρύν. Πρῶτος γυναικεῖον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν.

introduced nobody but men. There could be no play, therefore, of Thespi's with the title of Alcestis.

I shall now consider the passage in Clemens Alexandrinus. "Thespi's the Tragic Poet," says that very excellent Author, "writes thus<sup>1</sup>:—

Ἴδε σοι σπένδω ΚΝΑΞΖΒΙ τὸ λευκόν,  
 Ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν.  
 Ἴδε σοι ΧΘΥΠΤΗΝ τυρόν μίξας  
 Ἐρυθρῷ μέλιτι, κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πάν  
 Δικέρως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἀγίων.  
 Ἴδε σοι Βρομίου ἀΐθοπα ΦΛΕΓΜΟΝ Λεῖβω——"

This supposed fragment of Thespi's, as Clemens himself explains it, and as I have farther proved out of Porphyry<sup>c</sup>, relates to those four artificial words, Κναξζβι, Χθύπτῆς, Φλεγμῶ, Δρόψ, which comprehend exactly the whole xxiv letters of the Greek alphabet. Now I say, if these xxiv letters were not all invented in Thespi's time, this cannot be a genuine fragment of his. The consequence, I think, is so very plain, that even Mr. B., with his new System of Logic, cannot give us a better. We must know, then, that it was a long time after the use of Greek writing; nay, of writing books too, before the Greek alphabet was perfected as it now is, and has been for 2000 years. It is true there were then the very same sounds in pronunciation (for the language was not altered), but they did not express them the same way in writing. E served in those days for both E and H, as one English E serves now for two distinct sounds in THEM and THESE; so O stood for both O and Ω; and the sound of Z was expressed by ΔΣ, of Ξ by ΚΣ, of Ψ by ΠΣ; and the three aspirates were written thus, TH, PH, KH, which were afterwards Θ, Φ, Χ. At that time we must imagine the first verse of Homer to be written thus (a):—

MENIN AEIDAE THEA PELEIAΔEO AKHIAEΟΣ.

And the same manner of writing was in Thespi's time, because the alphabet was not completed till after his death; for it is universally agreed that either Simonides, or Epicharmus, or both,

1. Clem. Strom. v. Θέσπις ὁ τραγικὸς ᾧδ' ἐπὶ πως γράφων.
2. See my Dissert. upon Malal. pp. 47, 48, 49.

(a) For more detailed information on the subject of the improvement of the Greek alphabet, see Payne Knight's Prolegomena ad Homerum, Sect. LXXIX. and Porson's Review of it, No. IV. Museum Criticum.



invented some of the letters. Pliny says, "That Z H Ψ Ω are reported to be Simonides's; and that Aristotle says there were XVIII old letters; and believes that Θ and X were added by Epicharmus rather than Palamedes<sup>1</sup>." Marius Victorinus says, "Simonides invented Θ Φ X<sup>2</sup>." "Simonides added four," says Hyginus; "and Epicharmus two<sup>3</sup>;" but Jo. Tzetzes says, "Epicharmus added three, and Simonides two<sup>4</sup>." But these little differences are of no consequence in our present argument; for the whole XXIV are mentioned in this pretended fragment of Thespis. It is sufficient then for our purpose if any of them were invented either by Epicharmus or Simonides; for Epicharmus could not be above XXVII years old, and very probably was much younger at Olymp. LXI, which is the latest period of Thespis; and Simonides, at the same time, was but XVI, as we have it upon his own word<sup>5</sup>. Now, to waive the authority of the rest, even Aristotle alone, who could know the truth of what he said from so many inscriptions written before Epicharmus's time, and still extant in his own, is a witness infallible. This passage, therefore, ascribed to Thespis is certainly a cheat, and in all probability it is taken from one of the spurious Plays that Heraclides fathered upon him.

In the next place, I will show that all the other passages quoted from Thespis, are belonging to the same imposture. Zenobius informs us, "That at first the Choruses used to sing a Dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus; but in time the Poets left that off, and made the Giants and Centaurs the subject of their Plays; upon which the spectators mocked them, and said That was nothing to Bacchus. The poets, therefore, sometimes introduced the Satyrs, that they might not seem quite to forget the God of the Festival<sup>6</sup>." To the same purpose we are told by Suidas, "That at first the subject of all the Plays was Bacchus himself, with his company of Satyrs; upon which account those Plays were called Σατυρικά; but afterwards, as Tragedies came in fashion, the Poets went off to Fables<sup>7</sup> and Histories, which gave occa-

1. Plin. vii. 56. "Simoniden Melicūm ZHΨΩ. Aristoteles xviii prisceas fuisse, et duas ab Epicharmo additas ΘX, quam à Palamede mavult."

2. Mar. Victorinus, p. 2459.

3. Hygin. Fab. 277.

4. Tzetz. Chil. xii. 398.

5. See Bentley's Dissertat. p. 30.

6. Zenob. ver. 40. Ἄνθρωποι καὶ Κενταύρους λέγουσιν ἐπεχείρουν. Perhaps the true reading is Γίγαντας.

7. Suid. in Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόν.

sion to that saying, This is nothing to Bacchus." And he adds, "That Chamæleon says the same thing in his Book about Thespi<sup>1</sup>." This Chamæleon was a very learned man, and a scholar of Aristotle's. And we may gather from the very name of this treatise of his, that Thespi<sup>2</sup> was some way concerned in this alteration of Tragedy; either he was the last man that used all Satyrical Plays, or the first man that left them off. But whether of the two it was we could not determine, unless Plutarch had helped us out in it:—"When Phrynichus and Æschylus," says he, "turned the subject of Tragedy to Fables and doleful stories, the people said, What is this to Bacchus<sup>3</sup>?"—for it is evident, from this passage of Plutarch, compared with the others before, that the true Thespi's Plays were all Satyrical (that is, the plot of them was the story of Bacchus, the Chorus consisted of Satyrs, and the argument was merry), and that Phrynichus and Æschylus were the first introducers of the new and doleful Tragedy. Even after the time of Thespi<sup>4</sup>, the serious Tragedy came on so slowly, that of fifty Plays of Pratinas, who was in the next generation after Thespi<sup>5</sup>, two-and-thirty are said to have been satyrical<sup>5</sup>.

But let us apply now this observation to the Fragments ascribed to Thespi<sup>6</sup>, one of which is thus quoted by Plutarch<sup>4</sup>:—

Ὅρῃς, ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,  
 Οὐ ψεύδους, οὐδὲ κόμπου, οὐ μωρὸν γέλων  
 Ἀσκῶν· τὸ δ' ἤδ' οὐ μόνος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

"What differs this," says Plutarch, "from that saying of Plato, That the Deity was situated remote from all pleasure and pain<sup>5</sup>?" Why truly, it differs not at all, and I think there needs no other proof that it could not belong to a satyrical, ludicrous Play, such as all Thespi's were; for surely this is not the language of Bacchus and his Satyrs; nay, I might say it is too high and philosophical a strain even for Thespi himself. But suppose the Author could have reached so elevated a thought, yet he would never have put it into the mouth of that drunken voluptuous god, or his wanton

1. Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος.

2. Plut. Symp. l. i. c. 1. Φρυνίχου καὶ Αἰσχύλου τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἰς μύθους καὶ πάθη προαγόντων.

3. Suid. in Πρατ.

4. Plut. de Aud. Poet. Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος ταυτί.

5. Πόρρῳ ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ἴδρυται τὸ θεῖον.

attendants. Even Æschylus, the grave reformer of the Stage, would rarely or never bring in his heroes talking sentences and philosophy<sup>1</sup>, believing that to be against the genius and constitution of Tragedy; much less, then, would ThespiΣ have done so, whose Tragedies were nothing but droll. It is incredible, therefore, that this Fragment should be genuine, and we may know at whose door to lay it, from the hint afforded us by Plutarch, though he was not aware of it; for the thought, as he has shown us, was Plato's; and to whom, then, should the Fragment belong but to Heraclides, the counterfeit ThespiΣ, who was at first a scholar of Plato's<sup>2</sup>, and might borrow the notion from his old master?

Another verse is quoted by Julius Pollux<sup>3</sup>, out of ThespiΣ's Pentheus:—

Ἐργῷ νόμιζε νευρίδας ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.

where, for νευρίδας ἔχειν, we may correct it νεβρίδ' ἔχειν. Now the very titles of this Play, Πενθεύς, and of the others mentioned by Suidas, Ἀθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, and Ἱερεῖς and Ἡΐθιοι, do sufficiently show that they cannot be satyrical Plays, and consequently not ThespiΣ's, who made none but of that sort. The learned Casaubon, after he has taught us from the ancients that ThespiΣ was the inventor of Satyrical Plays,—“Yet among the Plays,” says he, “that are ascribed to ThespiΣ, there is not one that appears to have been satyrical. Πενθεύς, indeed, seems to promise the fairest to be so; but we have observed that the old Poets never brought the Satyrs into the story of Pentheus<sup>4</sup>.” I have willingly used the words of Casaubon, though I do not owe the observation to him, because his judgment must needs appear free and unbiassed, since he had no view nor suspicion of the consequence I now make from it; for the result of the whole is this, That there was nothing published by ThespiΣ himself, and that Heraclides's forgeries imposed upon Clemens, and Plutarch, and Pollux, and others; which, by the way, would be some excuse for Mr. B., if his obstinate persisting in his first mistake did not too widely distinguish his case from theirs.

The next thing that I am to debate with Mr. B. is the age of the true ThespiΣ. And the witness that upon all accounts de-

1. Τὸ γνωμολογικὸν ἀλλότριον τῆς Τραγωδίας ἡγούμενος. Vita Æsch.

2. Laërt. Heracl.

3. Poll. vii. 13. Θέσπις ἐν τῷ Πενθεῖ.

4. Casaub. de Sat. p. 157, and 30.

serves to be first heard, is the Author of the Arundel Marble; for he is the ancientest Writer now extant that speaks of his age; he is the most accurate in his whole performance, and particularly he was curious and inquisitive into the history of Poetry and the Stage, as appears from the numerous æras there belonging to the several Poets; and, which is as considerable an advantage as any, we have the original Stone still among us, so that his numbers (where they are still legible) are certainly genuine, and not liable, as written books are, to be altered and interpolated by the negligence or fraud of transcribers. The remaining letters of Thespi's epoch are these:—*Αφ' οὗ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς . . . πρῶτος ὃς καὶ ἐδίδαξεν . . . τέθῃ ὁ . . . ράγος* which imply almost as manifestly as if the whole was entire, “That Thespi's first invented Tragedy; and the Goat was made the prize for it.” The very year indeed when this was done cannot now be known from the Marble, for the numbers are worn out by time and weather; but we can approach as near to it as the present argument requires; for we are sure it must be some year in the interval between the preceding and following epochs, because the whole Inscription proceeds in due order and succession of time. Now the preceding epoch is “Cyrus's victory over Croesus, and the taking of Sardes<sup>1</sup>,” which, as all the best Chronologers, Scaliger, Lydiate, Petavius, &c. agree, was Olymp. LIX, 1; or, at lowest, at Olymp. LVIII, 2. The following is “The beginning of Darius's reign, Ol. LXV, 1<sup>2</sup>.” But if Tragedy was invented by Thespi between the Olympiads LIX, 1, and LXV, 1. how could Phalaris have intelligence of it, who was put to death before, at Olymp. LVII, 3?

This account in the Marble establishes, and is mutually established by the testimony of Suidas, who informs us “That Thespi made (the first) Play at Ol. LXI<sup>3</sup>; which period falls in between two epochs that go before and after Thespi. And Mr. Selden, who first published the inscription and viewed and measured the stone, supplies the numbers there from this passage of Suidas:—and “the space,” he says, “where the letters are defaced agrees with that supplement<sup>4</sup>.” Mr. Selden has been followed by every body since; and Suidas's date is confirmed by another date about Phrynichus, Thespi's scholar: “For Phry-

1. 1. 57.

2. 1. 59.

3. Suid. in *Θέσπης*. *Ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀ. καὶ ξ'. ὀλυμπιάδος.*

4. “Spatio lacunæ annuente.”



nichus taught at Olymp. LXVII<sup>1</sup>, which is XXIV years after Thespis; and is a competent distance of age between the Scholar and the Master. But if Mr. B. will still protest against this supplement of the Marble, let him do here as he did before in the epoch to Susarion, “take fairly the middle of the account,” between the two epochs before and after it. And what will he get by it? The former epoch is Olymp. LIX, 1; the latter, LXV, 1; the middle of these two is Olymp. LXII, 1, which is IV years later than Suidas himself places him.

But let us see Mr. B.’s noble attempt to invalidate this testimony of the Arundel Marble; for, like a young Phaeton, he mounts the chariot, and boldly offers to drive through the loftiest region of criticism; but he is tumbled down headlong in a most miserable manner. The thing he enterprises is this,—he charges the *graver* of the Marble with an omission of a whole line, or perhaps of several; for this he does not determine. The original paper, which the graver was to copy, he supposes to have been thus:—

’Αφ’ οὗ Θέσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς.....

.....

’Αφ’ οὗ Φρύνιχος ὁ ποιητῆς.....αχι.....ος ἐδίδαξεν ’Αλ...  
σπιν.....τέθη ὁ . ράγος.....The space between Θέσπιδος ὁ  
ποιητῆς and ’Αφ’ οὗ Φρύνιχος, which is now omitted by the *negligence of the graver*, contained, as he imagines, the epoch belonging to Thespis; that is, the name and the date of his Play, and of the Athenian Archon. But, when the graver had cut the first line, as far as Ποιητῆς, he unluckily throws his eye on the lower line; and finding the word Ποιητῆς there in the same situation, he thinks himself right, and goes on with the rest that followed it; and so tacks the epoch to Thespis, which really and in the original belonged to Phrynichus. This wonderful achievement our Examiner seems mightily pleased with; he inculcates it once and twice, and applauds his own sagacity in it; but perhaps he will be a warning hereafter to all *young* and unfledged Writers,—to learn to go, before they pretend to fly.

The pretences for this charge upon the Marble-graver are so very weak and precarious, so improper and useless to Mr. B.’s own design, that I confess I should be wholly astonished at his management, if I was not now a little acquainted with this “odd

1. Suid. in Φρύνιχος.

work of his," as himself calls it. His first pretence is, "That Ἀλκηστις, which the Graver has made to be Thespis's Play was the name of a Play of Phrynichus; but is nowhere reckoned among Thespis's but here." But I have already shown that Ἀλκηστις was only a supplement of Mr. Selden's, and a very false conjecture, from the dim letters ΑΛ...ΣΤΙΝ, which now are quite vanished; and that really neither Ἀλκηστις, nor any other title of a Play, are mentioned in the Marble. But suppose it was Ἀλκηστις there;—pray where is the consequence that Mr. B. would infer from it? Did Thespis make no Tragedies but what are mentioned by Suidas? Does not Suidas himself expressly say "That those were the names of "some of his Plays<sup>1</sup>;"—not ALL that he ever made? And what an admirable argument is it:—"Alcestis was a Play of Phrynichus, therefore none of Thespis had the same title!"—as if the same story and the same persons were not introduced over and over again by different hands! Among the few Tragedies that are yet extant, we have an Ἠλέκτρα of Sophocles, and another Ἠλέκτρα too of Euripides. Nay, besides this very Ἀλκηστις of Phrynichus, and another called Φοίνισσαι, there was an Ἀλκηστις and Φοίνισσαι of Euripides too; both which are still in being: why then might not Phrynichus write one Tragedy after Thespis, as well as Euripides write two after him?

The next pretence for accusing the Marble-graver of an omission of some lines is, "Because it is a case that is known often to have happened in the copying of Manuscripts." Here is another consequence, the very twin to that which went before—"Because omissions often happen in copying MSS., therefore this is an omission in the epoch of Thespis." If this argument had any force in it, it would equally hold against all the other epochs of this Marble, and against all Marbles and MSS. whatsoever; for what will be able to stand the shock if this can be thrown down, by saying, "That omissions often happen?" Mr. B., if he would make good his indictment against the Graver, ought to prove from the place itself, from the want of connection, or some other defect there, that there is just reason to suspect some lines have been left out;—but to accuse him upon this general pretence, because "other Copiers have been negligent," has exactly as much sense and equity in it as if

1. Suid. in Θέσπ. τῶν ὑγραμάτων αὐτοῦ, Ἰθθα Περίον, &c.—not τὰ ὑγράματα.

Mr. B. should be charged with meddling with what he understands not and exposing his ignorance, because it is a case that is known “often to have happened in the crude Books of *young writers*.” And besides this, there is another infirmity that this argument labours under; for though a Copier may sometimes miss a line or two by taking off his eye, yet, if he have but the common diligence at least to compare his copy with the original, he discovers his own omissions, and presently rectifies them; and by this means it comes to pass that such deficiencies in the texts of MSS. are generally supplied and perfected by the same hand, in the margin. Though we should suppose, therefore, that the Stone-cutter might carelessly miss something, yet, can we suppose too that the Author of the Inscription would never read what was engraved there? Would a person of learning and quality, as he appears to have been, who had taken such accurate pains to deduce a whole series of Chronology from before Deucalion’s Deluge to his own time, and for the benefit of posterity to engrave it upon Marble, and set it up in a conspicuous place as a public Monument, be at last so stupidly negligent as not to examine the Stone-cutter’s work,—where the missing of a single letter in the numbers of any æra would make the computation false, and spoil the Author’s whole design? What mad work would it make then, if, as Mr. B. affirms, whole lines were omitted by the Stone-cutter, and passed uncorrected? Is it possible that the worthy Author of the Monument (I might say perhaps *the Authors*; for it seems to have been done at a public charge) should act so inconsistently? Mr. B. if he pleases, may think so, or affirm it without thinking; but when he catches me affirming it, I will give him leave to tell me again in his well-bred way,—“That my head has no brains in it.”

For the epoch itself assures me that there was no omission here by the Stone-cutter. The words are Ἀφ’ οὗ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητῆς.....πρῶτος ὃς καὶ ἐδίδαξεν...τέθη ὁ .ράγος. Now if all the words after ποιητῆς belong to Phrynichus, as Mr. B. says, and not to Thespis, as the Stone-cutter says,—pray, what is the meaning of ΠΡΩΤΟΣ, FIRST? Thespis, I know, FIRST invented Tragedy; and that was worthy of being recorded here, as the invention of Comedy was before. But what did Phrynichus FIRST find out that deserved to be named here? Why.

he "FIRST brought in women into the subject of his Plays<sup>1</sup>;" which is a business of less moment than that of Æschylus, who *first* added a Second Actor; or of Sophocles, who added a Third: yet neither of these two improvements are registered in the Marble: and why then should that of Phrynichus be mentioned when theirs are omitted? But I will not charge it as a fault upon Mr. B. that he neglected to gather this hint from the word ΠΡΩΤΟΣ; for the common Editions of the Marble have it not. But, I am afraid, he will not easily excuse himself for not observing the next words, ..τέθη ὁ...ράγος; which have been always hitherto thought to signify "That the GOAT was made the prize of Tragedy." Now certainly the proper place of mentioning this *prize* was at the epoch of Thespis, the Inventor of Tragedy; for so the prizes of Comedy, "the cask of wine, and the basket of figs," are mentioned in the epoch of Susarion, the Inventor of Comedy. And what blindness was it in Mr. B. not to observe this, when he so boldly tells the Stone-cutter, and the man that set him to work, that they had dropt a whole line; and that these words belong to Phrynichus? Pray what could ΤΡΑΓΟΣ the GOAT have to do in the epoch of Phrynichus? Does Mr. B. believe that sorry prize was continued after Tragedy came into reputation? Would Phrynichus, or any body for him, have been at the charge of a Stage, and all the ornaments of a Chorus and Actors, for the hopes of winning a Goat, that would hardly pay for one vizard? In the following epochs of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, &c. there is no mention of the Goat: and, if this epoch had belonged to Phrynichus, no Goat had been here neither.

But Mr. B. rather suspects "That the Graver did make an omission, because the next *æra* in the Marble falls as low as Olymp. LXVII; before which time it is not to be doubted but the Alcestis of Phrynichus (that Phrynichus who was Thespis's scholar) was added." Now, with his leave, I shall make bold to ask him one question, in words of his own, "Whether it was proper and prudent in him to accuse the Stone-cutter of *negligence*," by an argument that discovers a shameful *negligence* in himself? for "the next *æra* is not so low as Ol. LXVII." As Mr. Selden has published it, it is but Ol. LXV, 4. But without doubt Mr. Selden mistook the letters of the in-

1. Suid. in Φρύν.



scription (as the learned Dr. Prideaux has observed before me), and for III read III; i. e. 3, instead of 6: so that the true æra that comes after Thespis is Olymp. LXV, 1; but the æra that Mr. B. speaks of, Olymp. LXVII, is the next but one after Thespis. Is not Mr. B. now an accurate Writer, and a fit person to correct a Stone-cutter? or shall we blame his Assistant "that consulted Books for him?" But the Assistant may be rather supposed to have written this passage right, and the mistake be Mr. B.'s; "for that is a case known often to have happened in the copying of Manuscripts."

But the Gentleman makes amends, with telling us a piece of most certain news; "for it is not to be doubted," he says, "but the Alcestis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII." Now I would crave leave to inquire of him how he came to hear of this news? But perhaps he will tell me, "I may as well ask how he came to hear his name was Phrynichus? Fame, that told him the one, must tell him the other too." But, if he do not trust too much to Fame (which I advise him not to do, for she often changes sides), I would then tell him a piece of news, quite contrary to his, "That it is not to be doubted but Alcestis was NOT acted before Olymp. LXVII, because that Olympiad was the very first time that Phrynichus wrote for the Stage; and he was alive and made Plays till xxxv years after. I will tell him too some other particulars about this Phrynichus; but, before I do that, he will give me leave to expostulate a little about his conduct in this quarrel with the Stone-cutter; the whole ground of which, as the case plainly appears, was this:—Mr. B. would have Thespis placed earlier in the Marble than Ol. LXXI, because Phalaris was dead before that Olympiad; and consequently could not hear of Tragedy, unless Thespis was earlier. Upon this, he indicts the Stone-cutter for an idle fellow; who, after he had graved 'Αφ' οὗ Θέσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς, skipped a whole line, and tacked the words which concerned Phrynichus to the name of Thespis. Now, allowing that the poor Stone-cutter should confess this and plead guilty, pray what advantage would Mr. B. and his Sicilian Prince get by it? for let it be as he would have it, 'Αφ' οὗ ὁ Θέσπιδος ὁ ποιητῆς . . . and that the line that should have come after was really omitted,—yet, however, since THESPIDOS is named there, there is something said about him in the very original which the Graver should have copied; and though the æra of it be lost by the Graver's *negligence*, yet we are sure, from the me-

thod of the whole Inscription, that this lost æra must needs be later than that which comes before it. But the æra that comes before it, "Cyrus's victory over Cræsus," is Olymp. LIX, 1, or at soonest, LVIII, 3; and the death of Phalaris, as Mr. B. himself allows through all his Examination, was at Ol. LVII, 3. What is it then that he aims at, in his charge against the Stone-cutter?—could he carry his point against him ever so clearly, yet his Phalaris is still in the very same condition, for he died, we see, VIII years, or v at least, before Thespiis is spoken of in the *original* Inscription. And is not this a substantial piece of *dulness* (it is one of his own civil words!) to make all this bustle about omissions in the Marble, when, if all he asks be allowed him, he is but just as he was before? I am afraid his readers will be tempted to think that, whether the Stone-cutter was so or no, his accuser has here shown himself a very ordinary workman.

Having thus vindicated the Graver of the Inscription from the insults of our Examiner, I shall now put in a word in behalf of the Author of it. That excellent Writer here tells us, that the *first* performance of Thespiis was after Olymp. LIX, 1; for this is the plain import of his words, and those learned men "who have taken pains to illustrate this Chronicle," have all understood them so. But Mr. B. will not take up with this authority; for he affirms—"Some of Thespiis's Plays were acted about Olymp. LIII; and if this here, about Olymp. LX, was his, it was rather one of his last than the first; but his real opinion is, that it was neither the first nor last, but Phrynichus's Play, erroneously applied to Thespiis." Now, in answer to this, I dare undertake from the same topic that Mr. B. uses, i. e. "a comparison of Thespiis's age with Phrynichus's" to prove the very contrary;—that this Play, about Olymp. LX, could not be Phrynichus's; and that in all probability it was the first of Thespiis.

Suidas, to whom the whole learned world confess themselves much obliged for his accounts of the age and works of so many Authors, tells us "Phrynichus was Thespiis's scholar<sup>1</sup>;" and Mr. B. himself expressly affirms the same<sup>2</sup>. Plato names them both together as pretenders to the invention of Tragedy; where he says "That Tragedy did not begin, as men believe, from Thespiis, nor from Phrynichus<sup>3</sup>." And if any one will infer from this passage of Plato that the two Poets were nearer of an age than

1. Suid. in Φρύν. Μαθητῆς Θέσπιδος. 2. P. 168. 3. Plato in Minoë.

Master and Scholar usually are, he will make my argument against Phalaris so much the stronger; for by this means Thespis will be nearer to Phrynichus's age and remoter from Phalaris's. But I am willing to suppose with Mr. B. that Phrynichus was Scholar to Thespis; so that, if we can but fix the Scholar's age, we may gather from thence the age of the Master. Now Phrynichus made a Tragedy at Athens, which he intituled (*Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*) "The Taking of Miletus." "Callisthenes says (they are the words of Strabo) that Phrynichus the Tragic Poet, was fined by the Athenians a thousand drachms, for making a Tragedy, called The Taking of Miletus by Darius<sup>1</sup>." And Herodotus, an older Author than he:—"When Phrynichus," says he, "exhibited his Play, The Taking of Miletus, the whole Theatre fell into tears, and fined the Poet a thousand drachms; and made an order that nobody ever after should make a Play of that subject<sup>2</sup>." The same thing is reported by Plutarch<sup>3</sup>, Ælian<sup>4</sup>, Libanius<sup>5</sup>, Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>6</sup>, the Scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>7</sup>, and Joh. Tzetzes<sup>8</sup>. But the Taking of Miletus, the whole story of which is related by Herodotus, was either at Olymp. LXX or LXXI, as all Chronologers are agreed; and the Tragedy of Phrynichus being made upon that subject, we are sure that he must be alive after Ol. LXX. But there is another Tragedy of his, called *Φοίνισσαι*, which will show him to have been still alive above xx years after that Olympiad. It is cited by the Scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>9</sup>, and Athenæus<sup>10</sup> gives us an Iambic out of it:—

*Ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' ἀεῖδοντες μέλη.*

But the writer of the argument of Æschylus's *Persæ* has the most particular account of it:—"Glaucus," says he, "in his Book about the Subjects of Æschylus's Plays," says<sup>11</sup> "his *Persæ* were borrowed from the *Phœnissæ* of Phrynichus; the first verse of which *Phœnissæ* is this:—

*“Τάδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων*

and a eunuch is introduced, bringing the news of Xerxes's defeat,

1. Strabo xiv. p. 635. *Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ Δαρείου.*

2. Herod. vi. c. 21.

3. Plut. Præc. Reip. gerendæ.

4. Æl. xii. 17.

5. Liban. tom. i. p. 506.

6. Amm. xxvii. 1.

7. Schol. Arist. p. 364.

8. Tzetz. Chil. viii. 156.

9. Schol. Arist. p. 518.

10. Athen. p. 635. *Φρύν. ἐν Φοινίσσαις.*

11. *Ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιηθεῖν.*

and setting chairs for the ministers of state to sit down on<sup>1</sup>." Now it is evident from this Fragment, that Phrynichus was yet alive after Xerxes's expedition, i. e. Olymp. LXX, 1. Nay, three years after this Olympiad, he made a Tragedy at Athens, and carried the victory, Themistocles being at the charge of all the furniture of the Scene and Chorus<sup>2</sup>; who, in memory of it, set up this inscription: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ· ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ· ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ, i. e. "Themistocles, of the parish of Phreari, was at the charge; Phrynichus made the Tragedy; and Adimantus was Archon." And I am apt to believe that Phœnissæ was this very Play which he made for Themistocles; for what could be a more proper subject and compliment to Themistocles than Xerxes's defeat, which he had so great a hand in? Now we are sure, from the name of the Archon, that this was done at Olymp. LXXV, 4; and how long the Poet survived this victory, there is nobody now to tell us.

To compare this now with Mr. B's doctrine about the age of Thespis and Phrynichus: "It is not to be doubted," says he, "but the Alcestis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII." There spoke an oracle,—"it is not to be doubted;" because we find him still making Tragedies xxxvi years after. Mr. B. declares *his opinion* twice, "That a Play acted about Olymp. LX. was not made by Thespis, but by Phrynichus." Who will not rise up now to this Gentleman's *opinion*? That Play must needs be Phrynichus's, because he was working for the Stage still, nay, and carried the prize there, LXIII years after that Olympiad. This, I think, is a little longer than Mr. Dryden's vein has yet lasted; which, Mr. B. says, "is about xxxvi years." But I can help him to another instance that will come up with it exactly to a single year; for Sophocles began Tragedy at the age of xxviii, and held out at it till the age of xci<sup>3</sup>; the interval LXIII. If this example will bring off Mr. B. for saying the Play is Phrynichus's against the plain authority of the Marble, it is at his service; but with this reserve, that he shall not abuse me for *lending* it; for I have had too much of that already.

But, if I may venture to guess any thing that Mr. B. will think or say, I conceive that, upon better consideration, he will be willing to allow Suidas's words, "That Phrynichus got the prize at Ol.

1. Τὴν τοῦ Ξέρξου ἡτταν.

2. Plut. in Themist. Χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς.

3. Marm. Arund.



LXVII<sup>1</sup>, to be meant of his *first* victory; for so we find in the Marble that the *first* victories of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are the only ones recorded<sup>2</sup>. And if Phrynichus began at Olymp. LXVII, then the distance between his first and his last (that we know of) will be xxxvi years; which is the very space that Mr. B. assigns to Aristophanes and Mr. Dryden. And it hits too with what the same Suidas has delivered about Thespis, “That he exhibited a Play at Olymp. Lxi<sup>3</sup>,” for, if we interpret this passage, like the other about Phrynichus, that it was Thespis’s *first* Play—then the Master will be older than the Scholar by about xxv years; which is a competent time; and, I believe, near upon the same that the very learned person whom Mr. B. so much honours “by letting the world know he had all his knowledge in these matters from him” (which they that know that person’s eminent learning will think to be no compliment to him) is older than Mr. B. And I humbly conceive that all these hints and coincidences, when added to the express authority of the Marble, which sets Thespis after Olymp. Lix, will bring it up to the highest probability that Thespis first introduced Tragedy about Olymp. Lxi; which is xiv years after the true Phalaris was dead.

I observe Mr. B.’s emphatical expression, “The Alcestis of Phrynichus, that Phrynichus who was Thespis’s Scholar;” which seems to imply that he thought there were two Phrynichuses, both Tragic Poets; and indeed the famous Lilius Gyraldus<sup>4</sup>, almost as learned a man as Mr. B., was of the same opinion. It is necessary, therefore, to examine this point, or else our argument from the date of Phrynichus’s Phœnissæ will be very lame and precarious; for it may be pretended the Author of Phœnissæ was not “that Phrynichus that was Thespis’s Scholar.” Now, with Mr. B.’s gracious permission (for I dare be free with Gyraldus) I will endeavour to show that there was but one Tragedian of that name. It is true there were two Phrynichuses that wrote for the Stage; the one a Tragic, the other a Comic Poet; that is a thing beyond question; but the point that I contend for is, that there were not two Phrynichuses, Writers of Tragedy.

The pretence for asserting two Tragic Poets of that name, is a passage of Suidas; who, after he had named Φρύνιχος. &c. “Phry-

1. Suid. in Φρύν. Ἐνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς ξζ'. ὀλυμπιάδος.

2. Marm. Arund. Πρῶτον ἐνίκησε.

3. Suid. in Θέσπ.

4. Gyrald. De Poëtis.

nichus, the son of Polyphradmon, or Minyras, or Chorocles, the Scholar of Thespis;" and "that his Tragedies are nine," Πλευρωνία, Αιγύπτιοι<sup>1</sup>, &c., subjoins, under a new head, Φρύνιχος, &c.—"Phrynichus, the son of Melanthes, an Athenian Tragedian: some of his Plays are Ἀνδρομέδα, Ἡριγόνη, and Πυρρίχαι." This latter place is taken, word for word, out of Aristophanes's Scholiast<sup>2</sup>; who adds, that the same man made the Tragedy called "The Taking of Miletus." Now it may seem from these two passages, that there were two Phrynichuses, Tragic Poets; for the one is called the son of Melanthes, the other not; and the three Plays ascribed to the latter are quite different from all the nine that were made by the former. But, to take off this pretence, I crave leave to observe that the naming his father Melanthes is an argument of small force; for we see the other has three fathers assigned to him; so uncertain was the tradition about the name of his father: some authors therefore might relate that his father was called Melanthes, and yet mean the very same Phrynichus, that, according to others, was the son of Polyphradmon. And then the second plea, that the Plays attributed to the one are wholly different from those of the other, is even weaker than the former; for the whole dozen mentioned in Suidas might belong to the same Phrynichus. He says, indeed, "Phrynichus, Polyphradmon's son, wrote nine Plays;" because the Author he here copies from knew of no more; but there might be more, notwithstanding his not hearing of them; as we see there really were two, "The Taking of Miletus," and "Phœnissæ," that are not mentioned here by Suidas.

Having shown now what very slight ground the tradition about two Tragedian Phrynichuses is built on, I will give some arguments on my side, which induce me to think there was but one. And my first is, Because all the Authors named above, Herodotus, Callisthenes, Strabo, Plutarch, Ælian, Libanius, Amm. Marcellinus, Joh. Tzetzes, who speak of the Play called "The Taking of Miletus," style the Author of it barely Φρύνιχος ὁ Τραγικός, "Phrynichus the Tragedian," without adding ὁ Νεώτερος, "the Younger," as all of them, or some at least, would and ought to have done, if this person had not been the famous Phrynichus that was Thespis's Scholar. And so, when he is quoted on other occasions by Athenæus, Hephæstion, Isaac Tzetzes, &c. he is called in like manner

1. Suid. in Φρύν. leg. Πλευρωνία, ex Tzetze ad Lycophronem.

2. Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. p. 364.

“Phrynichus the Tragic Poet,” without the least intimation that there was another of the same name and profession.

Besides this, the very Scholiast on Aristophanes, and Suidas, who are the sole Authors produced, to show there were two Tragedians, do in other places plainly declare there was but one. “There were four Phrynichuses in all,” says the Scholiast<sup>1</sup>:

1. “Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, the Tragic Poet.
2. “Phrynichus, the son of Chorocles, an Actor of Tragedies<sup>2</sup>.
3. “Phrynichus, the son of Eunomides, the Comic Poet.
4. “Phrynichus, the Athenian General; who was concerned with Astyochus, and engaged in a plot against the government.”

What can be more evident than that, according to this catalogue, there was but one of this name, a Tragedian? But it is no wonder if, in Lexicons and Scholia compiled out of several authors, there be several things inconsistent with one another. So in another place, both the Scholiast<sup>3</sup> and Suidas<sup>4</sup> make this fourth Phrynichus, the General, to be the same with the third, the Comic Poet: on the contrary, Ælian<sup>5</sup> makes him the same with the first: and he adds a particular circumstance, “That in his Tragedy *Πυρρήχαι*, he so pleased the Theatre with the warlike songs and dances of his Chorus, that they chose him as a fit person to make a General.” Among the Moderns, some fall in with Ælian’s story; and some with the other; but, with all deference to their judgments, I am persuaded both of them are false; for Phrynichus the General was stabbed at Athens, Olymp. xcii, 2, as Thucydides<sup>6</sup> relates; but a more exact account of the circumstances of his death is to be met with in Lysias<sup>7</sup> and Lycurgus<sup>8</sup>, the Orators. This being a matter of fact beyond all doubt and controversy, I affirm that the date of his death can neither agree with the Tragic nor the Comic Poet’s history; being too late for the one, and too early for the other. It is too late for the Tragedian, because he began to make Plays, as

1. Schol. Arist. p. 397, 130. And so Suidas in *Φρύν.* and *Λύκις*.

2. See also p. 113, 358. *τραγικὸς ὑποκριτής*.

3. Schol. p. 157.

4. Suid. in *Φρύν.* & *Παλαίσμασι*.

5. Æl. Var. Hist. iii. 8.

6. Thucyd. viii. p. 617.

7. Lysias contra Agoratum, p. 136.

8. Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 163, 164.

we have seen above, at Olymp. LXVII; from which time, till Olymp. XCII, 2, there are CII years; and even from the date of his Phœnissæ, that was acted at Olymp. LXXV, 4, which is the last time we hear of him, there are LXVI years to the death of Phrynichus the General; and then it is too early for the Comedian, for we find him alive five years after contending, with his Play<sup>1</sup> called “The Muses” (quoted by Athenæus, Pollux, Suidas, &c.) against Aristophanes’s Frogs, at Olymp. XCIII, 3; when Callias was Archon.

Again, I will show there was but one Phrynichus a Tragedian. Aristophanes, in his Vespæ, says that the old men at Athens used to sing “the old Songs of Phrynichus<sup>2</sup>:” —

— καὶ μινυρίζοντες μέλη  
Ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα.

It is a conceited word of the Poet’s making; and *σιδωνο*, which is one member of the composition of it, relates to the Phœnissæ (i. e. the Sidonians), a Play of Phrynichus, as the Scholiast well observes. Here we see the Author of Phœnissæ (whom they suppose to be the latter Phrynichus) is meant by Aristophanes; but if I prove too that Aristophanes in this very place meant the Phrynichus, Thespis’s Scholar, it will be evident that these two Phrynichuses (whom they falsely imagine) are really one and the same. Now that Aristophanes meant the Scholar of Thespis, will appear from the very words μέλη ἀρχαῖα, “Ancient Songs and Tunes.” *Ancient*, because that Phrynichus was the second, or, as some in Plato thought, the first Author of Tragedy: and “Songs and Tunes,” because he was celebrated and famous by that very character. “Phrynichus,” says the Scholiast on this place<sup>3</sup>, “had a mighty name for making of Songs;” but in another place he says the same thing of Phrynichus, the Son of Polyphradmon; who, according to Suidas, was Thespis’s Scholar. “He was admired,” says he, “for the making of Songs<sup>4</sup>;” “They cry him up for composing of Tunes; and he was before Æschylus<sup>5</sup>.” And can it be doubted then any longer but that the same person is meant? It is a problem of Aristotle’s Διὰ τὶ οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον μᾶλλον ᾔσαν

1. Argum. Ran. Arist.

2. Arist. Vesp. p. 138.

3. P. 138. Δι’ ὀνόματος ἦν καθόλου ἐπὶ μελοποιῖα.

4. P. 397. Ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ μελοποιΐαις.

5. P. 166. Ἐπαινοῦσιν εἰς μέλη. ἦν δὲ πρὸ Ἀίσχylου.



μελοποιοί; "Why did Phrynichus make more Songs than any Tragedian does now-a-days?" And he answers it, "Ἡ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ πλάσια εἶναι τότε τὰ μέλη ἐν ταῖς τῶν μέτρων τραγωδίαις. Correct it τὰ μέλη τῶν μέτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις; "Was it," says he, "because at that time the Songs (sung by the Chorus) in Tragedies were many more than the Verses spoken by the Actors?" Does not Aristotle's very question imply that there was but one Phrynichus a Tragedian?

I will add one argument more for it, and that, if I do not much mistake, will put an end to the controversy; for I will prove that the very passage in Aristophanes, where the Scholiast, and Suidas from him, tell us of this supposed second Phrynichus the son of Melanthas, concerns the one and true Phrynichus the Scholar of Thespis. "The ancient Poets," says Athenæus, "Thespis, Pratinas, Carcinus, and Phrynichus, were called ὀρχηστικοί, Dancers: because they not only used much Dancing in the Choruses of their Plays, but they were common Dancing-masters, teaching any body that had a mind to learn<sup>2</sup>." And to the same purpose Aristotle tells us, "that the first Poetry of the Stage was ὀρχηστικώτερα, more set upon Dances than that of the following ages<sup>3</sup>." This being premised (though I had occasion to speak of it before), I shall now set down the words of the Poet<sup>4</sup>:—

Ὁ γὰρ γέρων, ὡς ἔπιδε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου,  
 "Ἡκουσέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρὴς τῷ πραγmati,  
 Ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύσεται.  
 Τὰρχαί' ἐκεῖν' οἷς Θέσπιδις ἡγωνίζετο,  
 Καὶ τοὺς τραγωδοὺς φησὶν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους  
 Τὸν νοῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

Which are spoken by a Servant concerning an old fellow, his Master, that was in a frolic of Dancing. Who the Thespis was that is here spoken of, the Scholiast and Suidas pretend to tell us; for they say "It was one Thespis, a Harper; not the Tragic Poet<sup>5</sup>." To speak freely, the place has not been understood this thousand years and more, being neither written nor pointed right; for what can be the meaning of Κρόνους τὸν νοῦν? The word Κρόνος alone signifies the whole; and τὸν νοῦν is superfluous and needless. And so in another place<sup>6</sup>:

Οὐχὶ διδάξεις τοῦτον, κρόνος ὢν.

1. Arist. Prob. xix.

2. Athen. i. p. 22. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί.

3. Arist. Poët. iv.

4. Arist. Vesp. p. 364.

5. Schol. ibid. Ὁ καθαρχὸς, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ τραγικός. So Suidas in Θέσπιδι.

6. Arist. Nub. p. 107.

I humbly conceive the whole passage should be thus read and distinguished:

Ὅρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται  
 Τάρχαι' ἐκεῖν', οἷς Θέσπιδις ἡγωνίζετο·  
 Καὶ τοὺς τραγωδοὺς φησιν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους  
 Τοὺς νῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὑστέρον.

"All night long," says he, "he dances those old Dances that Thespis used in his Choruses; and he says he will dance here upon the Stage by and by, and show the Tragedians of these times to be a parcel of fools, he will out-dance them so much." And who can doubt now, that considers what I have newly quoted from Athenæus, but that Thespis (ὁ ἀρχαῖος) the *old* Tragic Poet (who lived cxiiv years before the date of this Play) ὁ ὀρχηστικός, the common Dancing-master at Athens, is meant here by Aristophanes? So that the Scholiast and Suidas may take their Harper again for their own diversion; for it was a common practice among those Grammarians, when they happened to be at a loss, to invent a story for the purpose. But, to go on with Aristophanes; the old fellow begins to dance, and as he dances, he says

Κληῖθρα χαλάσθω τάδε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ  
 Σχήματος ἀρχή  
 (Οἱ. Μᾶλλον δέ γ' ἔως μανίας ἀρχή)  
 Πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπαὶ ῥώμης.

So the intercolution is to be placed here; which is faulty in all the editions. "Make room there," says he, "for I am beginning a Dance that is enough to strain a man's side with the violent motion." After a line or two, he adds

Πτήσσει Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ,  
 (Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)  
 Σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

Thus the words are to be pointed;—which have hitherto been falsely distinguished. But there is an error here of a worse sort, which has possessed the copies of this Play ever since Adrian's time, and perhaps before. Πτήσσω signifies "to crouch, and sneak away for fear," as poultry do at the sight of the kite; or a cock when he is beaten at fighting. The Scholiast<sup>1</sup> and Ælian<sup>2</sup> tell us that—Πτήσσει Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ—"Phrynichus sneaks like a cock," became a Proverb upon those "that came off badly in any affair;" because Phrynichus the Tragedian came off sneak-

1. Schol. ibid. 2. Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 17. Ἐπὶ τῶν κακῶν τι πασχόντων.

ingly, when he was fined 1000 drachms for his Play, *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις*. Now, with due reverence to Antiquity, I crave leave to suspect that this is a Proverb coined on purpose, because the Commentators were puzzled here. For, in the first place, “to sneak away like a cock,” seems to be a very improper similitude; for a cock is one of the most bold and martial of birds. I know there is an expression like this of some nameless Poet<sup>1</sup>,

“Ἐπτηξ’ ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλον ὡς κλίνας πτέρον·

“He sneaked like a cock, that hangs down his wings when he is beaten.”

But this case is widely different: for the comparison here is very elegant and natural, because the circumstance of *being beaten* is added to it; but to say it in general of a cock, as if the whole species were naturally timid, is unwarrantable and absurd. As in another instance:—“He stares like a man frightened out of his wits,” is an expression proper enough; but we cannot say in general “He stares like a man.” I shall hardly believe, therefore, that Aristophanes, the most ingenious man of an age that was fertile of great Wits, would let such an expression pass him, “He sneaks like a cock.” But, in the next place, the absurdity of it is doubled and tripled by the sentence that it is joined with: “Phrynichus,” says he, “kicking his legs up to the very heavens in dances, crouches, and sneaks like a cock.” This is no better than downright nonsense: though, to say something in excuse for the Interpreters, they did not join *ἐκλακτίζων* with *Φρύνιχος*, as I do, but with the word that follows in the next verse. But if the reader pleases to consult the passage in the Poet, he will be convinced that the construction can be no other than what I have made it. *Ἐκλακτισμός*, says Hesychius, *σχῆμα χορικόν, ὀρχήσεως σύντονον* (correct it *σχῆμα χορικῆς ὀρχήσεως σύντονον*<sup>2</sup>), “was a sort of dance, lofty and vehement, used by the Choruses.” And Julius Pollux, *Τὰ ἐκλακτίσματα, γυναικῶν ἢν ὀρχήματα· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ὤμον ἐκλακτίσαι*. “The *ἐκλακτίσματα*,” says he, “were dances of women; for they were to kick their heels higher than their shoulders<sup>3</sup>.” But, I conceive, here is a palpable fault in this passage of Pollux: for certainly this kind of dance would be very unseemly and immodest in women. And the particle *γὰρ*, for,

1. Plut. in Alcib.

2. So Pollux, iv. 14. *Τὸ σχίστας ἔλκειν, σχῆμα ὀρχήσεως χορικῆς.*

3. Pollux, *ibid*.

does farther show the reading to be faulty; for how can the throwing-up the heels as high as the head in dancing, be assigned as a *reason* why the dance must belong to Women? It would rather prove it belonged to Men, because it required great strength and agility. But the error will be removed, if instead of γυναικῶν, we correct it γυμνικῶν. The dance, says he, was proper to the γυμνικοί, Exercises; for the legs were to be thrown up very high, and consequently it required *teaching* and *practice*. Well, it is evident now how every way absurd and improper the present passage of Aristophanes is.—If I may have leave to offer the emendation of so inveterate an error, I would read the place thus:—

ΠΑΗΣΣΕΙ Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ  
(Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)  
Σκέλος οὐράνιον γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

i. e. “Phrynichus STRIKES like a cock, throwing his heels very lofty.” This is spoken by the old fellow while he is cutting his capers; and in one of his frisks he offers to strike the servant that stood by with his foot as it was aloft. Upon which the servant says, Τάχα βαλλήσεις,—“You will hit me by and by, with your capering and kicking.” Πλήσσω is the proper term for a cock when he strikes as he is fighting; as Πλήκτρον is his spur that he strikes with. The meaning of the passage is this: That in his dances he leaped up, and vaulted, like Phrynichus, who was celebrated for those performances; as it farther appears from what follows a little after:

Καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον,  
Ἐκλακτισάτω τις ὅπως  
Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος  
Ὡζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.

Which ought to be thus corrected and distinguished:

Καὶ, τὸ Φρυνίχειον,  
Ἐκλακτισάτω τις ὅπως  
Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος  
Ὡζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.

i. e. “And in Phrynichus’s way, frisk and caper, so as the spectators, seeing your legs aloft, may cry out with admiration.” Now to draw our inference from these several passages, it appears, I suppose sufficiently, that the Phrynichus here spoken of by Aristophanes was, as well as the Thespis, famous for his dancing; and



consequently, by the authority of Athenæus quoted above, he must be ὁ ἀρχαῖος Φρύνιχος, "the ancient Phrynichus," ὁ ὀρχηστικός, "the master of dancing<sup>1</sup>." Upon the whole matter then, there was but one Tragedian Phrynichus, the Scholar of Thespis; and if so, we have fully proved already, from the dates of his Plays, that his master Thespis ought not to be placed earlier than about Olymp. LXI.

But I have one short argument more, independent of all those before, which will evidently prove that Thespis was younger than Phalaris; for to take the earliest account of Thespis which Mr. Boyle contends for, he was contemporary with Pisistratus. But Pisistratus's eldest son Hippias was alive at Olymp. LXXI, 2<sup>2</sup>; and after that was at the battle of Marathon, Olymp. LXXII. 2, where he was slain, according to Cicero<sup>3</sup>, Justin<sup>4</sup>, and Tertullian<sup>5</sup>; but, if Suidas say true (out of Ælian's book *De Providentia*, as one may guess by the style and matter), he survived that fight<sup>6</sup>, and died at Lemnos of a lingering distemper: and this latter account seems to be confirmed by Thucydides and Herodotus: for the one says "He was with the Medes at Marathon<sup>7</sup>," without saying he was killed there; and the other not obscurely intimates that he was not killed; for he says, "His tooth, that dropped out of his head upon the Attic ground, was the only part of his body that had a share in that soil<sup>8</sup>." There are only two generations then from Thespis's time to the battle of Marathon; but there are four from Phalaris's; for Theron, the fourth from that Telemachus that deposed Phalaris<sup>9</sup>, got the government of Agrigentum, Olymp. LXXIII, 1, but three years only after that battle; and he was then at least XL years old, as appears from the ages of his son and daughter. I will give a Table of both the lines of succession:

1. We have part of an Epigram made by Phrynichus himself (*a*), in commendation of his dancing:

Σχήματα δ' ὀρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσος' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
Κύματα ποιεῖται χείματι νύξ' ὁλόη.

2. Marm. Arund.

4. Just. ii. 9.

6. Suid. in Ἰππίας.

8. Herod. vi. 106.

3. Cic. ad. Att. ix. 10.

5. Tert. adv. Gentes.

7. Thuc. vi. p. 452.

9. See above, p. 195, 196, 197.

(a) Plut. Sympos. Quæst. viii. 9.

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|----------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
|          |                           | 1. Telemachus.           | Phalaris. |
|          |                           | 2. Emmenides.            |           |
| Thespis. | 1. Pisistratus.           | 3. Ænesidamus.           |           |
|          | 2. Hippias, Ol. LXXII, 2. | 4. Theron, Ol. LXXII, 2. |           |

It is true Hippias was an old man at that time; though it appears, by the post and business Herodotus assigns him, that he was not so very old as some make him. But, however, let him be as old, if they please, as Theron's father, yet still the case is very apparent that Thespis is one whole generation younger than Phalaris.

It may now be a fit season to visit the learned Examiner, and to see with what vigour and address he repels all these arguments that have settled the time of Thespis about Olymp. LXI. His authorities are Diogenes Laërtius and Plutarch, who shall now be examined. The point which Mr. B. endeavours to prove, is this: That Thespis acted Plays in Solon's time, and consequently before the death of Phalaris. Now the words of Laërtius, which are all he says that any ways relate to this affair, are exactly these:—"Solon," says he, "hindered Thespis from acting of Tragedies; believing those false representations to be of no use<sup>1</sup>." Hence the Examiner infers that Thespis acted his Plays in the days of Solon; so that his argument lies thus:—"He was hindered from acting Tragedies; *ergo*, he acted Tragedies:" i. e. he acted them, because he did not act them. Is not this now a syllogism worthy of the acute Mr. B. and his new System of Logic?—And it is not a much better argument if you turn its face the quite contrary way; for if Solon, when Thespis, as we may suppose, made application to him for his leave to act Tragedies, would not suffer him to do it, is it not reasonable to infer that Thespis acted none till after Solon's death?—which is the very account that I have established by so many arguments.

But are not the words of Plutarch more clear and express in the Examiner's behalf? It is true; for this Author relates particularly "That Solon saw one of Thespis's Plays; and then, disliking the way of it, he forbade him to act any more<sup>2</sup>." But what then? how does it appear that this was done before Phalaris's death? If I should allow this story in Plutarch to be true, yet Mr. B. will find it a difficult thing to extort from it what he aims at. "Why, yes," he says, "Solon was Archon, Olymp. XLVI, 3;

1. Laërt. Solone. Θέσπιον ἐκώλυσε τραγωδίας ἀγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀνωφελεὴ τὴν ψευδολογίαν.

2. Plut. Solone.

which is XLIV years before Phalaris was killed. Here Mr. B. supposes that this business with Thespis happened in the year of Solon's Archonship; which is directly to oppose his own Author Plutarch, who relates at large how Solon, after he was Archon, travelled abroad x years; and after his return (how long after we cannot tell) this thing passed between him and Thespis. "But Eusebius," says Mr. B. "places the rise of Tragedy Olymp. XLVII; a little after Solon's Archonship." Will Mr. B. here stand to this against the plain words of Plutarch? Mr. B. either does or may know, that Eusebius's Histories are so shuffled and interpolated, and so disjointed from his Tables, that no wise Chronologer dares depend on them in a point of any niceness without concurrent authority. "But," says he, "take the lowest account that can be, that Solon saw Thespis's Plays at the end of his life; Solon died at the end of the LIIID, or the beginning of the LIVth Olympiad<sup>1</sup>; i. e. XIV years before Phalaris died." Now here is a double misrepresentation of the Author he pretends to quote; for there is nothing in Plutarch about Olymp. LIII. or LIV; he only tells us that one Phantias said Solon died when Hegestratus was Archon, who succeeded Comias; in whose year Pisistratus usurped the government. But we know the date of Pisistratus's usurpation is Olymp. LIV, 4, Comias being then Archon<sup>2</sup>; so that Solon, according to Phantias's doctrine, died at Olymp. LV, 1; which is IV years later than Mr. B. makes him say. But to pardon him this fault, which in him shall pass for a small one, yet the next will bear harder upon him; for he brings in this date of Solon's death out of Phantias, as if it was a point uncontroverted, and allowed by Plutarch himself; whereas Plutarch barely mentions it, without the least token of approbation; and places before it a quite different account from Heraclides (an Author as old as Phantias, and much more considerable), "That Solon lived ΣΥΝΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, A LONG TIME after Pisistratus's usurpation." Nay, there is some ground for conjecture that Plutarch disbelieved Phantias; for he espouses that common story about Solon's conversation with Cræsus<sup>3</sup>, who came not to the crown till OL. LV, 3, which is two years after Solon's death, according to Phantias; and yet Solon did not see Cræsus at his first accession to the throne, but after he had conquered XIV nations in Asia, as Herodotus tells

1. Plut. Solonc.

2. Marm. Arund. K. ... ΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.

3. Plut. Solonc.

it; so that, for any thing that Mr. B. has proved, Solon might possibly have this controversy with Thespis after the death of the Sicilian Prince. But what if it was before his death? must the fame of this new diversion, called Tragedy, which was then a dishonourable thing, and quashed by the Magistrate, needs fly as far as Sicily, to the Prince's court?—as if a new show could not be produced at Bartholomew Fair but the Foreign Princes must all hear of it!

But I must frankly observe on Mr. B.'s side (what he forgot to do for himself) that, as Plutarch tells the story of Thespis, it must have happened a little before Pisistratus's Tyranny; for he presently subjoins, That when Pisistratus had wounded himself, and, pretending that he was set upon by enemies, desired to have a guard,—“You do not act,” say Solon to him, “the part of Ulysses well; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies; but you, to deceive your own countrymen!” Laërtius tells it a little plainer: That when Pisistratus had wounded himself, Solon said, “Ay, this comes of Thespis's acting and personating in his Tragedies<sup>1</sup>.” Take both these passages together, and it must be allowed that, as far as Plutarch's credit goes, it appears that Thespis did act some of his Plays before Olymp. LIV, 4. But we have seen above, that the Arundel Marble and Suidas set the date of his first essay about Olymp. LXI; and the age of Phrynichus his Scholar strongly favours their side; for, by their reckoning, he began his Plays about xxv years after his Master, but by Plutarch's, above L. And whose authority now shall we follow? Though there is odds enough against Plutarch, from the antiquity of the Author of the Marble, who was above 300 years older than he, and from his particular diligence and exactness about the History of the Stage, yet I will make bold to add another reason or two why I cannot here follow him; for he himself tells me in another place “That the first that brought *Μύθους καὶ Πάθη*, the stories and the calamities of Heroes upon the Stage, were Phrynichus and Æschylus<sup>2</sup>,” so that before them all Tragedy was satyrical; and the subject of it was nothing else but Bacchus and his Satyrs. But if this affair about Thespis, and Solon, and Pisistratus, be true, then Thespis must have represented Ulysses and other Heroes in his Plays; for it is intimated that Thespis's acting gave the hint to Pisistratus to wound

1. Laërt. Solone, Ἐκεῖθεν ταῦτα φῆναι.

2. Plut. Symp. Quæst. 1. i.



himself, as Ulysses did. So that this latter passage of Plutarch is a refutation of his former. The case seems to me to be this:—Somebody had invented and published this about Solon, as a thing very agreeable to the character of a wise Law-giver; and Plutarch, who would never baulk a good story, though it did not exactly hit with Chronology, thought it a fault to omit it in his History of Solon's Life. We have another instance of this in the very same Treatise; for he tells at large the conversation that Solon had with Cræsus<sup>1</sup> though he prefaces it with this, "That some would show, by chronological arguments, that it must needs be a fiction." Nay, he is so far transported in behalf of his story, that he accuses the whole system of Chronology as a labyrinth of endless uncertainty<sup>2</sup>! and yet he himself upon other occasions can make use of Chronological arguments, when he thinks they conduce to his design. As in the Life of Themistocles, he falls foul upon Stesimbrotus (an Author, as he himself owns<sup>3</sup>, contemporary with Pericles and Cimon; who, as Athenæus says<sup>4</sup>, had seen Pericles, and might possibly see Themistocles too) for affirming that Themistocles conversed with Anaxagoras and Melissus, the Philosophers; "wherein he did not consider Chronology," says Plutarch; "for Anaxagoras was an acquaintance of Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles; and Melissus was General against Pericles in the Samian war<sup>5</sup>." Here, we see, this great man could believe that an argument drawn from Time is of considerable force; and yet, with humble submission, Chronology seems to be revenged on him in this place for the slight he put upon it in the other; for Pericles was not so remote from Themistocles's time, but that one and the same person might be acquainted with them both,—and even they themselves be acquainted with one another; the one being made General within xvi years after the other's banishment<sup>6</sup>. And first for Anaxagoras: he might very well be personally known to Themistocles; for he was born at Olymp. lxx, 1, as Apollodorus and Demetrius Phalereus, two excellent Writers, testify<sup>7</sup>; and began to teach philosophy at Athens at xx years of

1. Plut. in Solone.

2. Id. Χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, &amp;c.

3. Plut. in Cimone.

4. Athen. p. 589.

5. Plut. in Themist. Οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος.

6. Diod. p. 41 &amp; 47.

7. Laërt. in Anaxag.

age, Olymp. LXXV, 1, when Callias was Archon; the very year of Xerxes's expedition, when Themistocles acquired such glory; and IX years before he was banished. The same Authors inform us that Anaxagoras continued xxx years teaching at Athens; so that he had IX entire years to cultivate a friendship with Themistocles. And in the second place, what hinders but that Melissus too might be Themistocles's friend, and yet be the Samian General in the war against Pericles, which was at Olymp. LXXXIV, 4<sup>1</sup>? for, suppose him to have been of the same age with Anaxagoras, he might then, as we have seen already, have been acquainted with Themistocles; nay, suppose him, if you please, x years older, and yet he would be but LXX years old when he was General to the Samians. And what is there extraordinary in that? Anaxagoras himself survived that war XIII years<sup>2</sup>; and we have had in our own time more Generals than one that were LXXX years of age.

But Mr. B. will prove "that I myself allow Plutarch's account of Thespis: and am obliged to defend it as much as he is, because I owned, in another place, that he was contemporary with Solon<sup>3</sup>." The Reader shall judge between us when I have told him the case. Johannes Malalas and another Writer relate that, soon after the siege of Troy, in Orestes's time, one Themis or Theomis (i. e. as I corrected it, *Thespis*) first invented Tragedies; in opposition to which, I affirmed that "the true Thespis lived in Solon's time,"—long enough after the taking of Troy. Now certainly there was no need of exactness here, where the distance of the two ages spoken of was so many whole centuries. I had no need to determine Thespis's age to a particular year, but to say he lived in the time of Solon (as without question he did); and may be supposed about xx years old before Solon died, if he made Tragedies at Olymp. LXI. Mr. B. is pleased to call that dissertation my *soft* Epistle to Dr. Mill, which is ironically said for *hard*; and indeed, to confess the truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at, as appears by his most miserable stuff about Anapæstic Verses.

And so much for the age of Thespis. I shall now consider the opinion of those that make Tragedy to be older than He.

1. Thucyd. Died. Suid. v. Μέλιτος, who confounds Melissus with Melitus the Orator.

2. Lært. ib.

3. Dissert. ad Mal. p. 46. "Soloni æqualis fuit."

And what has the learned Examiner produced to maintain this assertion?—nothing but two common and obvious passages of Plato and Laërtius, which every second-hand Writer quotes that speaks but of the Age of Tragedy; one of which passages tells us “That Tragedy did not commence with Thespis nor Phrynichus, but was very old at Athens<sup>1</sup>,” the other, “That of old, in Tragedy, the Chorus alone performed the whole Drama; afterwards Thespis introduced one Actor<sup>2</sup>.” This is all he brings, except a hint out of Aristotle; who, affirming that Æschylus invented the second Actor, *implies*, he says, that Thespis found out the first. Now for two of his authorities, Laërtius and Aristotle; these words of theirs do not prove that Tragedy is older than Thespis; for Thespis might be the first introducer of one Actor, and yet be the inventor too of that sort of Tragedy that was performed by the Chorus alone. At first, his Plays might be but rude and imperfect; some Songs only and Dances by the Chorus and the Hemichoria; i. e. the two halves of the Chorus answering to each other; afterwards, by long use and experience, perhaps of xx, or xxx, or xl years, he might improve upon his own invention, and introduce one actor, to discourse while the Chorus took breath. What inconsistency is there in this? Æschylus, we see, is generally reported as the inventor of the second Actor; and yet several believed that afterwards he invented too the third Actor<sup>3</sup>; for, in the making of LXXV Plays he had time enough to improve farther upon his first model. Where then is Mr. B.’s consequence, that he would draw from Laërtius and Aristotle? But he has Plato yet in reserve; who affirms “That Tragedy was in use at Athens long before Thespis’s time.” I have already observed, in answer to this, That Plato himself relates it as a paradox; and nobody that came after him would second him in it. He might be excused indeed by this distinction, that he meant *Ἀutosχεδιάσματα*, the extemporal Songs in praise of Bacchus, which were really older than Thespis, and gave the first rise to Tragedy, were it not that he affirms there that Minos, the King of Crete, was introduced in those old Tragedies before Thespis’s time<sup>4</sup>; which by no means may be allowed; for the old Tragedy was all (Σα-

1. Plato in Min. *πάνν παλαιόν.*

2. Laërt. in Plat.

3. Vita Æsch. *Τὸν τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸς ἐξέεῦρε.*

4. Plat. in Minoë.

τυρικὴ καὶ ὀρχηστικὴ) dancing and singing, and had no serious and doleful argument, as Minos must be, but all jollity and mirth.

Mr. B. here takes his usual freedom of giving my character: "He believes," he says, "Laërtius's works are better known to me than Plato's." What Authors, *he believes* I am best acquainted with, is to me wholly indifferent; but, since he seems curious about my acquaintance with Books, I will tell him privately in his ear, that the last acquaintance I made of this sort was with the worst Author I ever yet met with. But, surely, one would think now that the Examiner himself was very well versed in Plato, since he is so pert upon me, and *believes* that I am not. Now the Reader shall see presently, and by this very passage of Plato, whether Mr. B. *knows* that Author, or rather "casts his eye upon him," as he did upon Seneca and the Greek Tragedians. The Interlocutors in this Dialogue are Socrates and one Minos an Athenian, his acquaintance; and the subject of half their discourse is to vindicate Minos, the ancient king of Crete, from the character of cruelty and injustice, which the Tragic Poets by their Plays had fastened upon him. Now our Examiner, with his wonderful diligence and sense, believes the person that talks there with Socrates, to be Minos the old King of Crete, who lived about DCCC years before him<sup>1</sup>: "Minos," says he, "asks Socrates how men come to have such an opinion of his severity;" i. e. of Minos's own that speaks; as plainly appears there from Mr. B.'s context. Is not this Gentleman now very well qualified to pass censures upon Writers, that can make Plato's Discourses to be like Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead? nay, that can put the Dead and the Alive together in Dialogue, and be almost like Mezentius (the Phalaris of his age, and therefore worthy of Mr. B.'s respect) who

"Mortua quinetiam jungēbat corpora vivis."

If had read that short Treatise of Plato's without being *fast asleep*, he might see some of those numerous places, which will tell him that Minos, the Interlocutor there, was not Minos of Crete. "Dost thou know," says Socrates to him, "which of the Cretan kings were good men,—as Minos and Rhadamanthys, the Sons of Jove and Europa?" "Rhadamanthys," replies the other,



“was a good man, they say; but Minos was cruel, severe, and unjust.” “Have a care,” says Socrates again to him, “this borders upon blasphemy and impiety; but I will set you right in your opinion of Minos, lest you, who are a Man, the son of a Man, should offend against a Hero, the son of Jove.” If these places be not sufficient to make the Examiner sensible of his blunder, I will give him several others “when he and I next talk together.” And I will tell him this farther, beforehand, that in my opinion, Plato himself published this Dialogue without naming the Interlocutor; it was only (Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ δεῖρα) “Socrates and Somebody.” Afterwards Minos was made the name of that unknown person, from Μίνως, the title of the Dialogue; but I hardly think that he that first did it ever imagined such an ingenious Author as Mr. B. could have been caught in so sorry a trap.

To convince us that Tragedy was older than Thespis, Mr. B. assures us “That Plutarch, in the Life of Theseus, EXPRESSLY tells us that the acting of Tragedies was one part of the Funeral Solemnities, which the Athenians performed at the tomb of Theseus.” But he has been told already by another, that there is “no such thing in Plutarch’s Life of Theseus; or, if there was, yet ‘Tragedy would not on that account be older than Thespis; for Theseus had no tomb at Athens before the days of Thespis’<sup>1</sup>.” Mr. B. has pleaded guilty to this<sup>2</sup>; and confessed that he took it at second-hand from Jul. Scaliger, who says, “Tragœdiam esse rem antiquam constat ex historia, ad Thesei namque sepulchrum certasse Tragicos legimus<sup>3</sup>.” I will tell him too of another that took it at the same hand; the learned Ger. Vossius: “Aiunt quidam,” says he, “Thesei ad sepulchrum certasse Tragicos; atque eam fuisse Tragœdiarum vetustissimam<sup>4</sup>.” Well, I will not impute this to Mr. B. as a fault, since Scaliger and Vossius have erred before him;—I will only observe the difference between those great men and the greater Mr. B. They cite no authority for what they say, because they said it only at second-hand. Mr. B. who took it at trust from them, believing that they had it out of Plutarch’s Life of Theseus, cites Him for it *at a venture* in his Margin; and, in the Text, says he *expressly* tells us so. What poor and cowardly spirits were

1. View of Dissert. p. 72.

2. P. ult. 3rd Edit.

3. Scal. de Poet. i, 5.

4. Voss. Poet. ii, 12.

They, in comparison of Mr. B.!—they wanted the manly and generous courage to quote Authors they had never read, with an air of assurance. It is a great blot upon their memories; but, however, we will let it pass, and examine a little into the story of Theseus's Tomb, because such great men have been mistaken in it; for, were it true that Tragedies had been acted at Theseus's tomb (which is not so), yet those Tragedies would be so far from being the first, that they came LX years after Thespis had exhibited his. Theseus died in banishment; being murdered and privately buried in the Isle of Scyros; and, about DCCC years afterwards, the oracle enjoined the Athenians to take up his bones, and carry them to Athens; which was accordingly done by Cimon, Olymp. LXXVII, 4. Μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ, says Plutarch, Φαίδωνος Ἀρχοντος. "After the Medes' invasion, when Phædon was Archon, the oracle bid the Athenians fetch home the bones of Theseus; and it was done by Cimon<sup>1</sup>." If the reading be not corrupted, this oracle was given Olymp. LXXVI, 1, for then Phædon was Archon; and at this rate it will be seven years before the oracle was obeyed. But I rather believe that, for Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος, we ought to correct it, Μηδικὰ Ἀφελίωνος, "when Aphepsion was Archon." A was lost in Ἀφελίωνος, because Μηδικὰ ends with that letter, and αι and ε are commonly put one for the other; being accidentally pronounced both alike. Now Ἀφελίων was Archon, Olymp. LXXVII, 4<sup>2</sup>, which was the very year that Cimon fetched Theseus's bones, as Plutarch relates it; who adds too, that Ἀφελίων was the Archon<sup>3</sup>. Diodorus, in the annal of that year, says Phæon was Archon; for so the old reading is, Ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φαίωρος. The late Editions substitute Φαίδωνος: but the true lection is Ἀφελίωνος, as appears from Laërtius and Plutarch; and this depravation in Diodorus confirms my suspicion about the first passage in Plutarch; for as here Ἀφελίωνος was changed into Φαίωρος, so there it might be into Φαίδωνος. The Arundelian Marble calls him Apsephion, placing Ἀρχοντος Ἀψηφίονος at this very year. Meursius<sup>4</sup>, from these faulty places in Plutarch and Laërtius, makes Phædon to have been thrice Archon, about Olymp. LXXIII, 3, at Olymp. LXXVI, 1, and LXXVII, 4; whereas really he was but once Archon, at Olymp. LXXVI, 1. But there is another

1. Plut. in Theseo.

2. Laërt. in Socrat.

3. Plut. Cim.

4. Meurs. Archont. ii. 6, 7.

mistake committed by Jos. Scaliger, that has had very odd consequences. Scaliger, in his *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ*, which he collected from all the notes of time that he could meet with in any Authors, makes *Ἀφεψίων* to be Archon at Ol. LXXIV, 4. This, I am persuaded, he did not do out of design, but pure forgetfulness<sup>1</sup>; for he intended to have set it at Olymp. LXXVII, 4: but, in the interval between reading his Author and committing this note to writing, his memory deceived him, and he put it at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. This suspicion of mine will be made out from Scaliger's own words there: *Ὀλυμπ. οδ. δ'. Ἀφεψίων. Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη κατὰ τινας*, compared with Laërtius, from whence they are taken: *Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Ἀφεψίωνος ἐν τῷ δ'. ἔτει τῆς οζ'.* *Ὀλυμπιάδος*<sup>2</sup>. After this comes Meursius; who mistakes that *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ* for an ancient piece first published out of MS. by Scaliger; and, seeing Aphepsion named there as Archon, Ol. LXXIV, 4, he interpolates Laërtius, to make him agree with it<sup>3</sup>; by which means he makes two falsehoods in Laërtius's text, which was right before he meddled with it; for he sets Aphepsion at Olymp. LXXIV, 4, instead of LXXVII, 4; and at Ol. LXXVII, 4, he puts Phædon, instead of Aphepsion: and besides this, he dates Cimon's taking of Scyros, and the fetching of Theseus's bones, at Ol. LXXIV, 4<sup>4</sup>, because Plutarch says Aphepsion was Archon at the time of that action<sup>5</sup>; which is a mistake of a dozen years; for this was done Ol. LXXVII, 3 and 4, as is plain from Diodorus<sup>6</sup>, and intimated even by Plutarch himself. Nay, to see how error is propagated, even Petavius too was caught here; for, at Ol. LXXVII, 4, he takes notice of Laërtius's inconsistency, as he thought it: "He makes Socrates to be born," says he, "at this Olympiad; but he names Aphepsion for the Archon; who was not in this year, but Olymp. LXXIV, 4<sup>7</sup>." And again, at Olymp. LXXIV, 4, Petavius makes Aphepsion to be Archon<sup>8</sup>, and cites Laërtius for it in the Life of Socrates; and he adds, "That in this year Cimon fetched Theseus's bones from Scyros to Athens." Here, we see, are the very same mistakes that Meursius fell into; and the sole occasion of them all was the heedlessness of Jos. Scaliger.

1. See Diss. p. 158 and 215.

3. Meurs. Arch. ii, 7.

5. Plut. Cimon.

7. Petav. Doctr. Temp. ii, p. 570.

2. Laërt. in Socr.

4. Ibid.

6. Diod. p. 45.

8. Ibid. p. 567.

But Petavius has yet another mischance; for he adds<sup>1</sup>, That “upon the bringing of Theseus’s bones, the prizes for Tragedians were instituted;” which is part of the error of Jul. Scalliger and Ger. Vossius, that we have noted above; the original of which seems to have been this mistaken passage of Plutarch; who, after he has related how the bones of Theseus were brought in pomp to Athens by Cimon,—“Ἐθεντο δὲ, says he, καὶ εἰς μνήμην ΑΥΤΟΥ καὶ τῇν τῶν τραγωιδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστήν γενομένην<sup>2</sup>. Now it seems that some believe ΑΥΤΟΥ to be spoken of Theseus; and from thence they coined the story of Tragedies being acted at his tomb. But it plainly relates to Cimon; who, with the rest of the Generals, sat Judge of the Plays of Sophocles and Æschylus at that Olymp. LXXVII, 4; and gave the victory to the former<sup>3</sup>. Upon the whole then, first, It appears against Mr. B. that Tragedies were not acted among the solemnities at Theseus’s tomb; and, secondly, That Theseus’s tomb was not built till Ol. LXXVII, 4, in Æschylus’s and Sophocles’s time, long after Theseus; so that, were it true that Tragedies had been one of those funeral solemnities, yet it would be no argument for that antiquity that Mr. B. assigns to Tragedy. But these are mistakes of his, only for want of reading: the next that I am going to mention, let others judge from what it proceeds. The case is this:—A certain writer has accused Mr. B. of a false citation of Plutarch’s Life of Theseus; “for there is no such thing as he quotes in that Life. In the life of Cimon, indeed, there is something that an ignorant person might construe to such a sense<sup>4</sup>.” To this Mr. B. replies, That he owns he was misled by Jul. Scalliger; who affirms the thing, but quotes nobody for it: “and perhaps,” says Mr. B. farther, “I was too hasty in not fully considering the whole passage of Plutarch in the Life of Cimon, relating to this matter.” Now this excuse implies an affirmation that he had his eye on that passage in the Life of Cimon, when he wrote that about Tragedies at Theseus’s tomb. But the contrary of this is manifest from his own Book; for he quotes not the Life of Cimon, but the Life of Theseus, where there is not one syllable of Tragedies; so that he quoted Plutarch *at a venture*,—without looking into him at all. Where is the truth then

1. “Inde Tragediorum institutus est Agon.”

2. Plut. Cim.

3. Plut. *ibid.* See Marm. Arund. epoch. 57.

4. View of Dissert. p. 72.



of his “not FULLY considering?” If Mr. B’s very excuses stand in need of excuse, how inexcusable must the rest be!

It was the Examiner’s purpose to show some footsteps of Tragedy before the time of Thespis; but he has not observed a passage of Herodotus (because his second-hand writers did not furnish him with it) which, of all others, had been fittest for his turn. “The Sicyonians,” says that Historian, “in every respect honoured the memory of Adrastus; and particularly they celebrated the story of his Life with Tragical Choruses; not making Bacchus the subject of them, but Adrastus. But Clisthenes assigned the Choruses to Bacchus; and the rest of the festival to Melanippus<sup>1</sup>.” This Clisthenes, here spoken of, was grandfather to Clisthenes the Athenian, who was the main agent in driving out the sons of Pisistratus, at Olymp. LXVII; and, since Tragical Choruses were used in Sicyon before that Clisthenes’s time, it appears they must be long in use before the time of Thespis, who was one generation younger than Clisthenes himself:—and, agreeably to this, Themistius tells us “That the Sicyonians were the inventors of Tragedy, and the Athenians the finishers<sup>2</sup>.” And when Aristotle says “That some of the Peloponnesians pretend to the invention of it<sup>3</sup>,” I understand him of these Sicyonians. Now, if Mr. B. had but met with this place of Herodotus, with what triumphing and insulting would he have produced it!—what plenty of scurrility and grimace would he have poured out on this occasion! But I have so little apprehensions either of the force of this argument, or of Mr. B’s address in managing it, that I here give him notice of it, for the improvement of his next Edition: the truth is, there is no more to be inferred from these passages, than that, before the time of Thespis, the first grounds and rudiments of Tragedy were laid:—there were Choruses and extemporal Songs (αὐτοσχεδιαστικά) but nothing *written* or published as a Dramatic Poem;—so that Phalaris is still to be indicted for a Sophist, for saying his two Fairy Poets *wrote* Tragedies against him<sup>4</sup>. Nay, the very word *Tragedy* was not heard of then at Sicyon, though Herodotus names (Τραγικούς

1. Herod. v, c. 67. Τὰ πάθρα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγύραιον.

2. Them. Orat. xix. Τραγηδίας εὐρεταὶ μὲν Σικυνῶνιοι, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταί.

3. Arist. Poët. 3.

4. Epist. 63, 97.

χοροὺς) the Tragical Choruses; which by and by shall be considered.

Mr. B. is so very obliging, “that, if I will suffer myself to be taught by him, he will set me right” in my notion of Tragedy. I am willing to be *taught* by any body, much more by the great Mr. B., though, as to this particular of Tragedy, I dare not honour myself as Mr. B. honours his teacher, by telling him “That the foundation of all the little knowledge I have in this matter was laid by Him;” for there is nothing true in the long lecture that he reads to me here about Tragedy, but what I might have learned out of Aristotle, Julius Scaliger, Gerard Vossius, Marmora Oxoniensia, and other common Books: and as for the singularities in it, which I could not have learned in other places (if I, who am here to be *taught*, may use such freedom with my Master) they are such lessons as I hope I am now too old to learn. I will not sift into them too minutely; for I will observe the respect and distance that is due to him from his Scholar; but there is one particular that I must not omit, when he tells me, as out of Aristotle, that the subject of primitive Tragedy was Satirical Reproofs of vicious men and manners of the times; so that he explains very dexterously, as he thinks, the expression of Phalaris, “That the Poets wrote Tragedies AGAINST him;” for the meaning, he says, is this: “That they wrote Lampoons, and abusive Satirical Copies of Verses upon him.” But it were well if this would be a warning to him, when he next pretends to *teach* others, to consider first how lately he himself came from School. The words of Aristotle that he refers to are, “That Tragedy at first was Σατυρικὴ<sup>1</sup>;” which Mr. B. in his deep judgment and reading interprets *Satire* and *Lampoon*, confounding the Satyrical Plays of the Greeks with the Satire of the Romans; though it is now above a hundred years since Casaubon<sup>2</sup> wrote a whole book, on purpose to shew they had no similitude or affinity with one another. The Greek Σατυρικὴ was only a jocose sort of Tragedy, consisting of a Chorus of Satyrs (from which it had its name) that talked lasciviously, befitting their character; but they never gave “Reproofs to the vicious men of the times;” their whole discourse being directed to the action and story of the Play, which was Bacchus, or some ancient Hero, turned a little to ridicule. There is an entire Play of this kind yet extant, the Cyclops of Euripides; but it no more

1. Arist. Poët. 4.

2. Is. Casaub. de Satyrica et Satira. Par. 1595.

concerns the *vicious men* at Athens in the Poet's time, than his Orestes or his Hecuba does. As for the abusive Poem or Satire of the Romans, it was an invention of their own. *Satira tota nostra est*, says Quinctilian<sup>1</sup>, "Satire is entirely ours;" and if the Greeks had any thing like it, it was not the Satyrical Plays of the Tragic Poets, but the old Comedy, and the Sili made by Xenophanes, Timon, and others. "Satire," says Diomedes, "among the ROMANS, is now an abusive Poem, made to reprove the vices of men." Here we see it was a Poem of the Romans, not of the Greeks; and it was *now*, that is, after Lucilius's time, that it became abusive; for the Satire of Ennius and Pacuvius was quite of another nature. And now which of my Masters must I be taught by? by Quinctilian and Diomedes? or by the young Orbilius, that has lashed Scaliger and Salmasius at that insolent rate? But Mr. B. offers to prove that the old Tragedy had a mixture of Lampoon, from Thespis's Cart that he carried his Plays in; "From which Cart," says he, "Scurrility and Buffoonery were so usually uttered, that Ἐξαμάξειν, and Ἐξ ἀμάξης λέγειν, became proverbial expressions for Satire and Jeering." What an odious word is here, Ἐξαμάξειν! Sure, all the Buffoonery of that Cart he talks of, could not be so nauseous as this one Barbarism. I desire to know in what Original Author (for his second-hand Gentlemen he must excuse me) this wonderful word may be found? the original of which seems a mistake of ἐξ ἀμαξῶν, for a participle Ἐξαμάζων. But to leave this to keep company with Ἀντιγορίδαι and Σελευκίδαι<sup>3</sup>, I will crave leave to tell him, that there were other Carts, and not Thespis's, that this Proverb (Τὰ ἐξ ἀμαξῶν) was taken from; for they generally used Carts in their pomps and processions, not only in the Festivals of Bacchus, but of other Gods too; and particularly in the Eleusinian Feast, the women were carried in the procession in Carts, out of which they abused and jeered one another. Aristophanes in Plutus:—

Μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην  
Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης —

Upon which passage the old Scholiast<sup>4</sup> and Suidas<sup>5</sup> have this note:—"That in those Carts the women (ἐλαιοδόρουν ἀλλήλαις)

1. Quinct. x. 1.

2. Diomed. p. 482.

3. See Diss., p. 129.

4. Schol. Arist. p. 46.

5. Suid. in Τὰ ἐξ ἀμαξῶν.

made abusive jests one upon another ;” and especially at a bridge over the river Cephissus, where the procession used to stop a little ; from whence, to *abuse* and *jeer* was called γεφυρίζειν<sup>1</sup>. These Eleusinian Carts are mentioned by Virgil, in the first of his Georgics :—

“Tardaque Eleusinæ matris volventia plaustra<sup>2</sup>.”

Which most of the interpreters have been mistaken in ; for the Poet means not that Ceres invented them, but that they were used at her Feasts. But besides the Eleusinian, there was the same custom in many other festival pomps ; whence it was that Πομπεύειν and Πομπεία came at last to signify *scoffing* and *railing*. So Demosthenes takes the word ; and his Scholiast says<sup>3</sup>, “That in those *pomps* they used to put on vizards, and riding in the Carts, abuse the people ; from whence,” says he, “comes the Proverb, ἐξ ἀμάξης με ὕβρισε,” which Demosthenes uses in the same Oration<sup>4</sup> ; so that the very passage of this Orator, which Mr. B. cites in his margin, is not meant of the Carts of Tragedians. It is true, Harpocraton<sup>5</sup> and Suidas<sup>6</sup> understand it of the *pomp* in the Feasts of Bacchus ; but even there too they were not the Tragic but the Comic Poets who were so abusive ; for they also had their Carts to carry their Plays in. “The Comic Poets,” says the Scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>7</sup>, “rubbing their faces with lees of wine, that they might not be known, were carried about in Carts, and sung their Poems in the Highways ; from whence came the Proverb (Ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖ). To rail as imprudently as out of a Cart.” Mr. B. concludes this paragraph with a kind hint, “That the Doctor may perhaps, before he dies, have a convincing proof that a man may be the subject of such Tragedies, (i. e. such Lampoons and abuses from Carts) while he is living.” I heartily thank him for telling the world what worthy Adversaries I am like to have, and what honourable weapons they will use ; and, to requite his kindness, I assure him that I shall no more value, nor be concerned at those *lampooning* Tragedies, than if they were really spoken *out of Carts*, which perhaps may still be the fittest Stage for such kind of Tragedians.

1. Hesych. Γεφ.

2. Georg. i. 163.

3. Demosth. de Corona, p. 134, edit. Par.

4. P. 159.

5. Harp. in Πομπεία. Διονυσιακαῖς ἑορταῖς.

6. Suid. in Ἐξ ἀμάξης. Ἐν Αἰναιόις.

7. Schol. Arist. p. 76.



There are two passages of Horace and Plutarch that concern the rise and origin of Tragedy :—

“Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ  
Dicitur, et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis<sup>1</sup>.”

And

Ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν Τραγωδίαν κινεῖν<sup>2</sup>.

Now the first of these, as Mr. B. glosses upon it, means it was “an unknown kind of Tragic Poetry which Thespis found out;” and implies “there was another kind in use before him.” The latter, he says, may import that Thespis did not invent, “but only gave life and motion to Tragedy, by making it Dramatic.” Now Mr. B. either seriously believes these interpretations, or not. If he *does*, the best advice his friends can give him is, to trouble his head no more with Criticism, for it will never do him credit. If he *does not* believe them, where is that modesty “becoming a young Writer,” or that sincerity becoming a gentleman, or that prudence becoming a man? It is a dangerous thing to trifle with the world, and to put those things upon others which he believes not himself. No man ever despised his Readers that did not suffer for it at the last. However, whether Mr. B. believes these interpretations or not, I am resolved not to refute them; for though I have often had already, and shall have still, a very ignoble employment in answering some of his little cavils, yet I have spirit enough to think that there may be *some* drudgery so very mean as to be really below me.

We are come now to the last point about Tragedy; and that is the *origin* of the *name*. I had observed “That the name of Tragedy was no older than the thing, as sometimes it happens, when an old word is borrowed and applied to a new notion.” So that the very word τραγωδία, which the false Phalaris uses in his Epistles, was not so much as heard of in the days of the true one. Mr. B. commences his answer to this with an acuteness familiar to him. “What does he mean?” says he: “*Names*, I thought, were invented to signify *Things*; and that the *things* themselves must be before the *names* by which they are called.” Now I leave it to the sagacious Reader to discover, what I cannot do, the pertinency and the drift of this passage of Mr. B’s. However, let it belong to any thing or nothing, it is a proposition false in itself, “That things themselves must be before the names by which they

1. Hor. in Arte Poët.

2. Plut. in Solone.

are called;" for we have many new tunes in Music made every day which never existed before, yet several of them are called by *names* that were formerly in use; and perhaps the tune of *Chery Chace*, though it be of famous antiquity, is a little younger than the name of the Chace itself; and I humbly conceive that Mr. Hobbes's Book, which he called the *Leviathan*, is not quite so ancient as its name is in Hebrew. So very fortunate is Mr. B. when he endeavours at subtlety and niceness! It is true, where *Things* are eternal, or as old as the world, which we call the works of Nature, they *must* be older than the *Names* that are given to them; but in things of art or notion, that have their existence from man's intellect or manual operation, *the things themselves* may be many years younger *than the names by which they are called*; and so the thing Tragedy may possibly be younger than the name that it is called by.

The reason, therefore, why I affirmed "That the name of Tragedy was no other than the thing," was,—because good Authors assured me that the word Tragedy<sup>1</sup> was first coined from the Goat, that was the prize of it; which prize was first constituted in Thespis's time. So the Arundel Marble, in the epoch of Thespis: *Καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη ὁ Τράγος*—"and the Goat was appointed for the prize." So Dioscorides, in his Epigram upon Thespis:—

————— *Ωἱ τράγος ἄθλον.*

And Horace, speaking of the same person,

"Carminē qui Tragico vīlem certavit ob Hircum."

And because I was fully persuaded by them that this was the true etymology of the word, and that the guesses of some Grammarians (*Τραγωδία quasi τρυγωδία*, or *Τραγωδία quasi τραχεῖα ῥῶή*), and other such like, were absurd and ridiculous, I thought, as I do still, that the very name of Tragedy was no older than Thespis; and consequently could not have been found in the Epistles of the true Phalaris.

But I have not forgotten, what I myself lately quoted out of Herodotus, that the Sicyonians before Thespis's time honoured the memory of Adrastus (*τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι*) "with Tragical Choruses<sup>2</sup>." If this be so, here appears an ample testimony that the word *Tragedy* was older than Thespis. But for a man that meddles with this kind of learning, the first stock to set up and

1. *Τραγωδία. Τράγος.*

2. Herod. v. c. 67.

prosper with is sound *judgment*, which gives the very name and being to Criticism; and without which he will never be able to steer his course successfully among many seeming contradictions. As in this passage of Herodotus, which is contrary to what others assure us, what course is to be taken?—must we stand dubious and neuter between both, and cry out upon “the uncertainty of Heathen Chronology?”—or must we not rather say, That Herodotus, who lived many years after Thespis, when Tragedy was frequent and improved to its highest pitch, made use of a Prolepsis when he called them *Τραγικὸς χορὸς*,—meaning such Choruses as gave the first rise to that which in his time was called Tragedy? So we have seen before, that Porphyry, and Jamblichus, and Conon, speak of Tauronium at a time when that name was not yet heard of; but they meant the city of Naxos, that was afterwards called so. Such an anticipation is common and familiar in all sorts of writers. And if Herodotus, in another place, where he says “That the Epidaurians (long before Susarion lived in Attica) honoured the Goddesses Damia and Auxesia (*χοροῖσι γυναικῆϊοισι κερτόμοισι*) with Choruses of women, that used to abuse and burlesque the women of the country<sup>1</sup>,” had called them *χοροῖσι κωμικοῖσι* (Comical Choruses) he had said nothing unworthy of a great Historian, because those Choruses of women were much of the same sort that were afterwards called Comical, though perhaps at that time the word Comical was not yet minted.

But let us see what Mr. B. advances to show that the name of Tragedy is older than Thespis. “It cannot reasonably be questioned,” says he, “but that those Bacchic Hymns they sung in Chorus round their altars (from whence the regular Tragedy came) were called by this name Tragedy, from *Τράγος*, the Goat (the sacrifice), at the offering of which these Odes were sung.” But he presently subjoins, “That as to this we are in the dark, and have only probabilities to guide us.” And if we are in the dark, I dare affirm that the Examiner will leave us so still; for it is not his talent to give light to any thing, but rather to make it darker than it was before. “It cannot reasonably,” says he, “be questioned.” Why not, I pray? Because it would be a question that he could not answer. I know no other *unreasonableness* in questioning it: for he has not one authority for what he supposes here. That the name of Tragedy was as old as the institution of sacrificing

1. Herod. v. c. 83.

a Goat to Bacchus ; but, on the contrary, we have express testimonies that it was no ancients than when the Goat was made the prize to be contended for by the Poets. As, besides the passages cited before, Eusebius says in his Chronicle, “Certantibus in Agone Tragos, i. e. Hircus, in præmio dabatur ; unde aiunt Tragædos nuncupatos.” So Diomedes the Grammarian, “Tragædia a τράγω et ῥδή dicta ; quoniam olim actoribus Tragicis, τράγος, id est, Hircus, præmiū cantus, proponebatur.” Etymol. Mag. κέκληται τραγωδία, ὅτι τράγος τῇ ῥδῇ ἄθλον ἐτίθετο. Philargyrius on Virgil’s Georgics,—“Dabatur Hircus, præmii nomine ; unde hoc genus poëmatis Tragædiam volunt dictam<sup>1</sup>.” All the other derivations of the word Tragedy are to be slighted and exploded. But if this be the true one, as it certainly is, the word cannot possibly be ancients than Thespis’s days ; who was the first that contended for this prize. Besides this, we have very good authority that “those Bacchic Hymns, from whence the regular Tragedy came,” were originally called by another name ;—not Tragedy, but Dithyramb. So Aristotle expressly teaches : “Tragedy,” says he, “had its first rise from those that sung the Dithyramb<sup>2</sup>.” Διθύραμβος, says Suidas, ὕμνος εἰς Διόνυσον i. e. “Dithyramb means the Bacchic Hymn.” The first author of the Dithyramb, as some relate<sup>3</sup>, was Lasus Hermionensis, in the first Darius’s time ; or, as others<sup>4</sup>, Arion Methymnæus, in the time of Periander. But, as it appears from Pindar, and his Scholiast<sup>5</sup>, the antiquity of it was so great, that the inventor could not be known ; and Archilochus, who was much older than both Lasus and Arion, has the very word Dithyramb in these wonderful and truly Dithyrambic verses<sup>6</sup> :—

Ὡς Διωνύσοι ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
Οἶδα Διθύραμβον, οἶνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

So the verses are to be corrected and distinguished, being a pair of Trochaics ; and Mr. B. may please to observe, that Archilochus too, as well as Suidas, defines a Dithyramb to be a Bacchic Hymn ; which Mr. B. erroneously makes to be peculiar to Tragedy. I

1. Georg. ii. 183.

2. Arist. Poet. iv. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν Διθύραμβον.

3. Suid. Λάσος. Arist. Schol. p. 362, 421.

4. Suid. Ἀρίων. Arist. Schol. 421. Dion. Chrysost. p. 455.

5. Pind. Olymp. xiii.

6. Athen. p. 628.



will tell him also anon, that the Chorus belonging to the Dithyramb was not called a Tragic, but Cyclian Chorus.

Mr. B. has failed in his first attempt about the date of the word Tragedy; but he has still another stratagem to bring about his design; for he will prove that Τραγωδία “comprehended originally both Tragedy and Comedy;” and since Comedy was as ancient as Susarion, who was near forty years older than Thespis, it follows that the word Τραγωδία, which Comedy was then called by, must be older than Thespis. This being the point he promised to prove, he presently shifts hands, and changes the question; for he has quoted five passages, one out of Athenæus, three out of the Scholiast on Aristophanes, and one out of Hesychius, to show that Τρῳγωδία signifies Comedy; which is a thing so known and common, and confessed by all, that he might as well take pains to prove Κωμωδία signifies Comedy. But what is all this to Τραγωδία? Must τραγωδία signify Comedy, because τρῳγωδία does? An admirable argument, and one of Mr. B’s beloved sort! He may prove too, whensoever he pleases, *lacerna* means a Lamp, because *lucerna* does; and a great many other feats may be performed by this argument. But, in his other citations, with which his margin is plentifully stuffed out, there is one to show that Τρῳγωδία signifies Tragedy; and two, that Τραγωδία signifies Comedy. Now, the first of these is beside the question again; for though τρῳγωδία should stand both for τραγωδία and κωμωδία, yet it does not at all follow that τραγωδία may stand for κωμωδία. If Mr. B. had studied his New Logic more, and his Phalaris less, he had made better work in the way of reasoning. It is as if some school-boy should thus argue with his Master: *Pomum* may signify *malum*, an Apple; and *pomum*, too, may signify *cerasum*, a Cherry; therefore *malum*, an Apple, may signify *cerasum*, a Cherry. But, besides the failure in the consequence, the proposition itself is false; for τρῳγωδία does not signify Tragedy: nay, to see the strange felicity of Mr. B’s criticism, even his other assertion is false too; for τρῳγωδία never signifies Comedy. Let us examine his instances:

“Τρῳγωδία,” says Mr. B. “signifies Tragedy, properly so called, in this passage of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>:—

— Ἀντὸς δ’ ἐνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ  
Τρῳγωδίαν—

1. Arist. Acharn. p. 278.

“For this is spoken of Euripides.” But what then? “Why, Euripides being a Tragic Poet, τραγωδία, when applied to him, must needs signify ‘Tragedy.’” I am unwilling to discourage a Gentleman; and yet I cannot but take notice of his unlucky hand, whenever he meddles with Authors. Here he interprets τραγωδία, Tragedy; and yet the very jest and wit of this passage consists in this, that the Poet calls Euripides’s Plays *Comedies*; and so the Scholiast interprets it: τραγωδίαν δὲ εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κωμωδίαν. Euripides was accused by Aristophanes, and several of the Ancients, for debasing the majesty and grandeur of Tragedy, by introducing low and despicable characters instead of heroic ones; and by making his persons discourse in a mean and popular style, but one degree above common talk in Comedy; contrary to the practice of Æschylus and Sophocles, who aspired after the sublime character; and by metaphors, and epithets, and compound words, made all their lines strong and lofty; and particularly in Aristophanes’s *Ranæ*<sup>1</sup>, where Æschylus and Euripides are compared together, the latter is pleasantly burlesqued and rallied on this very account. What could Aristophanes then say smarter in this passage about him, than, in derision of his style and characters, to call his Tragedies *Comedies*?

Well, let us see if, in his next point, Mr. B. is more fortunate,—“that τραγωδία may signify Comedy. There is a fragment,” he says, “of Aristophanes’s ΓΑΡΥΤΑΔΗΣ preserved, where τραγωδὸς signifies a Comedian<sup>2</sup>:”

Καὶ τίνες ἄν εἶεν; πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
Ἄπο τῶν τραγωδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν  
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας.

Now Sannyrion being a Comic Poet, as it is very well known, it is a clear case, as Mr. B. thinks, that ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν means “one of the Comedians.” No doubt, the Poet meant to say that Sannyrion was sent Ambassador from the Comic Poets, Metetus from the Tragic, and Cinesias from the Dithyrambic. This was Aristophanes’s thought; and therefore I affirm that his words could not be ἀπὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν, as now they are read: so far from that, that if τραγωδῶν could signify Comedians, yet he would not have used the word in this place, where τραγικῶν χορῶν immediately follows; for what a wretched ambiguity would be here,

1. Arist. *Ran.* p. 167, &c.

2. Athen. p. 551.

and wholly unworthy of so elegant a Poet ! since τραγωδῶν and τραγικῶν χορῶν are words of the same import ; and if the former may signify Comedy, the latter may do so too. So that if the persons Sannyrion and Meletus had not been well known, the passage might appear a mere tautology ; Tragedians and Tragedians, or Comedians and Comedians ; or, if the signification was varied, the one word meaning Comedians, and the other Tragedians, yet it had been uncertain whether of the two was the Comedian and whether the Tragedian ; because both the words, according to Mr. B. may be interpreted in either signification. These, I conceive, are such just exceptions against the vulgar reading of this passage, that a person who esteems Aristophanes as he deserves, may safely say he never wrote it so. If Criticism had ever once smiled upon Mr. B., or if there was not a kind of fatality in his errors, he could scarce have missed this most certain correction :

— Πρῶτα μὲν. Σαννυρίων

Ἀπὸ τῶν τρυνγωδῶν—

by which all the ambiguity or tautology vanishes : for τρυνγωδός never signified any thing but a Comedian. And how easy and natural was the depravation of τρυνγωδῶν into τραγωδῶν ! Τρυνγωδῶς being the much rarer word, and, as I believe, not to be met with in Prose or serious Writings ; for it was a kind of jeering name, and not so honourable as Κωμωδός. However, the corruption of this passage is very ancient ; for the Author of the Epitome of Athenæus, who lived before Eustathius's time, i. e. above 10 years ago, read it τραγωδῶν for here he calls Sannyrion a Tragedian<sup>1</sup>. But in Ælian's days, the true reading (τρυνγωδῶν) was still extant in Athenæus ; for that Author transcribes this very passage into his Various History ; and from it he calls Sannyrion a Comedian<sup>2</sup>, and Meletus a Tragedian.

But that Mr. B. may not wonder at the change of τρυνγωδῶν into τραγωδῶν, I will tell him of one or two other corruptions in the very same passage :

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν

Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κωμῆσις.

for the learned Casaubon, instead of Μέλητος, reads it Μέλιτος :

1. Epit. Athen. MS. Σαννυρίωνα τὸν τραγωδῶν.

2. Æl. Var. Hist. x, 6. Σαννυρίων ὁ Κωμωδίας ποιητής.

“because,” says he, “neither this verse here, nor any other wherein he is mentioned, will allow the second syllable of his name to be long<sup>1</sup>.” But, with humble submission, Whether his name be written Μέλitos, or Μέλητος, I affirm that those very verses both allow and require that the second syllable of it should be long;—as first in this of Aristophanes, if the first syllable of Κυκλικῶν be short, the second of Μέλitos must be long. Casaubon, it is true, as his observation shows, believed the first of Κυκλικῶν to be of necessity long; but, as it is plain that it *may* be short, so that it actually is so in several passages (I might say all) of the same Poet, will be seen by and by. The other verse that Casaubon produces, is out of the Ranæ:

Σκολιῶν Μελίτου, καὶ Καρικῶν ἀλημάτων.

But even here too the second syllable of Μελίτου is long; for ΚΑΙ ought to be struck out, as will be plain from the whole passage<sup>2</sup>:—

Οὔτος δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει πορνιδίων,  
Σκολίων Μελίτου, Καρικῶν ἀλημάτων,  
Θρήνων, Χορείων· τάχα δὲ δηλωθήσεται.

Who does not see now that, if ΚΑΙ be inserted in the second verse, a great part of the elegance is lost? for the whole sentence runs on without any particle of conjunction. But to put the matter quite out of doubt, this very verse is cited in Suidas<sup>3</sup>, and ΚΑΙ does not appear there; but it easily crept into the text, because the next word begins with the same letters ΚΑ. Upon the whole, therefore, the fault that Casaubon found in the passage of Athenæus is really none: but there is one which he did not find, and that is κυκλικῶν instead of κυκλίων· for the verse should be corrected thus:—

Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

So Ælian<sup>4</sup> cites it from this very place, Κινησίας Κυκλίων χορῶν ποιητής; and Aristophanes<sup>5</sup> speaks so in other places:—

Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἄσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένεας.

And again, speaking of the same Cinesias:—

Ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον;

and so all manner of Writers call them Κύκλιοι χοροί, and never

1. Casaub. ad Athen. p. 357.

2. Arist. Ran. p. 180.

3. Suid. in Μέλitos.

4. Æl. x, 6.

5. Arist. Nub. p. 79.



Κυκλικοί; Suidas, Scholiasts on Pindar and Aristophanes, Hesychius, Plato, Plutarch, and others. This Cyclian Chorus was the same with the Dithyramb, as some of these Authors expressly say; and there were three Choruses belonging to Bacchus; the Κωμικός, the Τραγικός, and the Κύκλιος, the last of which had its prize and its judges at the Dionysia<sup>1</sup>, as the other two had. The famous Simonides won LVI of these victories, as Tzetzes informs us from an Epitaph upon that Poet's Tomb<sup>2</sup>:—

Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἥραο νίκας  
Καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκεις δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.  
Κεῖω δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλήσι δ' ἐπαινὸν  
Εὐξυνέτου ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις.

So this Epigram is to be corrected; for it is faulty in Tzetzes. Indeed, it is not expressed here what sort of victories they were; so that possibly there might be some of them obtained by his Tragedies, if that be true which Suidas tells us, that Simonides made Tragedies. But I rather believe that he won them all by his Dithyramb with the Cyclian Choruses; and I am confirmed in it by his own Epigram, not published before<sup>3</sup>:—

Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἥραο τὰνρους  
Καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα.  
Τοσσάκι δ' ἱμερόεντα (διδαξάμενος) χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,  
Εὐδόξου νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.

I have supplied the third verse with διδαξάμενος, which is wanting in the MS. But it is observable that, instead of νίκας, as it is in Tzetzes, the MS. Epigram has τὰνρους, which I take to be the Author's own word; but being not understood, it was changed into νίκας; for Ταῦρος, a Bull, was the Prize of the Dithyramb, as a Goat was of Tragedy; which was the reason why Pindar gives to the Dithyramb the epithet of βοηλάτης<sup>4</sup>:—

Ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφθαν  
Σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες  
Διθυράμβῳ——.

“He calls the Dithyramb βοηλάτης,” says the Scholiast, “because the Bull was the prize to the winner; that animal being sacred to Bacchus.” And as the Dithyrambic Poets contended for a Bull,

1. Æsch. contra Ctesiph. p. 87. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διονυσίων, εἰς μὴ δικάως τοὺς Κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζήμιούτε.

2. Tzetz. Chil. i, 24.

3. Anthol. Epigr. MS.

4. Pind. Olymp. xiii.

so the Harpers (Κιθαρωδοί) contended for a Calf. Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>:—

Ἄλλ' ἕτερον ἦσθην, ἡνίκ' ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ποτὲ  
Δεξιθεὸς εἰσηλθ' ἄσόμενος Βοιώτιον.

“Some,” says the Scholiast, “interpret it ἐπὶ μόσχῳ, for a Calf;” because he that got the victory with his Harp, “had a Calf for his premium.” He seems indeed to give preference to the other exposition, that makes Μόσχος the name of a Harper, and the modern Translators follow him in it; but the former is the true meaning of the passage, as both the language and the sense sufficiently show. I will crave leave to add two things more relating to this matter:—First, That this triple Chorus, the Comic, Tragic, and Cyclian, may perhaps be meant in that Epigram of Dioscorides, which I have produced above:—

Βάκχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορόν——.

Neither shall I contend the point if any one will embrace this exposition; but, for my own part, I prefer the other, which makes it relate to Trina Liberalia, the three Festivals of Bacchus. And, Secondly, That these prizes, the Bull and the Calf, appointed for the Dithyramb and playing on the Harp (if they really were continued till Simonides's death, and Aristophanes's time; and if those passages of theirs related to the present custom, and not the first institution only) may induce some to believe that the old prizes for Tragedy and Comedy might be continued too, though they be not taken notice of. However, be this as it will, the arguments used above are not weakened at all by it; for it is plain from the epochs of Æschylus, &c. in the Arundel Marble (where those prizes are not mentioned) that the epochs of Susarion and Thespis (where they are mentioned) were proposed to us by that Author as the first rise of Comedy and Tragedy.

Mr. B. has one passage more, which is his last anchor, to prove his notable point, “That the word Tragedy may signify Comedy.” It is in the Greek Prolegomena to Aristophanes, gathered out of somenameless Authors; the words are, “Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην (Κωμῳδίαν) εἶπειν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷοιρὲ τρυνγωδίαν τινα οὖσαν, ὅτι τρυνγία χρίόμενοι ἐκωμῳδοῦν” i. e. “Comedy may be called Tragedy, *quasi* Trygœdia; because the Actors besmeared their faces with lees of wine<sup>2</sup>.” Here, we see, the testimony is positive and full that

1. Acharn. p. 61.

2. Proleg. Arist. p. ix.

Comedy may be called Tragedy; which is the thing that Mr. B. undertook to prove; and what is there now remaining but to congratulate and applaud him? But I think one could hardly pitch upon a better instance, to show that he that meddles with these matters must have *brains*, as Mr. B.'s phrase is, as well as eyes, *in his head*. A man that has that furniture in his upper story, will discover by the very next words in that nameless old Author, that the passage is corrupted; for it immediately follows, Καὶ τῆς μὲν Τραγωδίας τὸ εἰς ἔλεον κινῆσαι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς, τῆς δὲ Κωμωδίας τὸ εἰς γέλωτα. So that the whole sentence, as the common reading, and Mr. B. has it, is thus:—"Comedy may be also called Tragedy, and it is the design of Tragedy to excite compassion in the auditory; but of Comedy, to excite laughter." Is not this now a most admirable period? and all one as if he had said "Comedy may be called Tragedy, for they are quite different things!" Without all doubt, if he had really meant Comedy may be called Tragedy, in those following words he would have said τῆς τραγωδίας τῆς κυρίως λεγομένης. "it is the design of Tragedy, properly so called;" and not have left them, as they now are, a piece of flat nonsense. But the fault, one may say, is now conspicuous enough; but what shall be done for an emendation of it? even that too is very easy and certain; for with the smallest alteration, the whole passage may be read thus: "Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην εἰπεῖν καὶ τρυγωδίαν, οἷον εἰ τρυγωδίαν τινὰ οὖσαν, ὅτι τρυγία χριόμενοι ἐκωμῶδουν. And so we have it, in almost the very same words, in another Writer among the same Prolegomena; Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ (Κωμωδίαν) καὶ τρυγωδίαν φασίν, ὅτι τρυγί διαχρίοντες τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκρίνοντο<sup>1</sup>. The import of both is, "That for κωμωδία, one may use the word τρυγωδία:" which is true and right; for the words are synonymous, as appears from several places in Aristophanes, and the old Lexicographers.

I have now despatched all the Examiner's instances which he has brought to show that τρυγωδία may signify Tragedy, or τραγωδία signify Comedy; and it would seem a very strange thing in any other Writer but Mr. B. that he should bring half a dozen examples, that are either false or nothing to his purpose, and be ignorant of that single one that is plainly and positively for him. I crave his leave to produce it here, and to change my adversary for a while, if Mr. B. will not be affronted that I assign him a

1. Proleg. Arist. p. vii.

second so much inferior to him,—the great Isaac Casaubon. This Author, in his most excellent Book, “De Satyrica Poësi,” as Mr. B. has done, teaches us<sup>1</sup>, “That at first both Comedy and Tragedy were called *τρυνγωδία*, or *τραγωδία*, as appears from Athenæus; where,” he says<sup>2</sup>, both “Comedy and Tragedy were found out in the time of Vintage (*τρύγης*); ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ *τρυνγωδία* τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη καὶ *κωμωδία*. “Which,” says Casaubon, “I thus correct:—ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ *τραγωδία* καὶ ἡ *κωμωδία* that is, From which word (*τρύγη*) Vintage, both Comedy and Tragedy were at first called *τρυνγωδία*.” This is Casaubon’s first proof; and we see it solely depends upon his own emendation of Athenæus; which, with humble submission, I take to be a very wrong one; for it is not in the text, as he has cited it, ἐκλήθη ΚΑΙ *κωμωδία* (which would truly show some defect in it) but ἐκλήθη Ἡ *κωμωδία*, both in his own and the other Editions. He was deceived, therefore, by trusting to his *Adversaria*, without consulting the original; for there is no other pretence of altering the text, but from the particle ΚΑΙ. He goes on, and tells us<sup>3</sup>, “That both *τρυνγωδία* and *τραγωδία* were at first a common name for both Tragedy and Comedy; but afterwards it was divided, *διεσπάσθη*, as Aristotle says, and the ancient Critics witness.” Now the passage in Aristotle which he refers to, has nothing at all either about Tragedy or Comedy; but it speaks of Poetry in general: *Διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἦθη ἡ ποίησις*. “That is was divided and branched into sorts according to the several humours of the Writers; some singing the stories of Heroes, others making Drolls and Lampoons, and a third sort Hymns and Encomiums, all as their several fancies led them<sup>4</sup>.” But Mr. Casaubon subjoins this quotation following:—*Τραγωδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ὄνομα κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγωδία, ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ἴδιον* i. e. “Tragedy was of old a common name, both for itself and Comedy; but afterwards that common name became peculiar to Tragedy, and the other was called Comedy:”—which passage is taken out of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, though a little interpolated and depraved by Casaubon himself; for that Author, after he has given several etymologies of the word *τραγωδία*, at last says<sup>5</sup>, Ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς *τρυνγὸς τρυνγωδία* ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν *κωμωδίαν*· ἐπεὶ οὐπω διεκέκριτο τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας· ἀλλ’ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν ἡν

1. Casaub. Satyr. p. 21.

2. Athen. p. 40.

3. Casaub. p. 22.

4. Arist. Poët. cap. iv.

5. Etymol. Mag. v. *Τραγωδ.*



τὸ ἄθλον, ἢ τρῦξ· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγωδία· ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ὠνόμασται, &c. where we must not refer the words ὄνομα κοινὸν to Τραγωδία, as Casaubon does, but to Τρυνγωδία, which immediately comes before; for the meaning of it is this: “That Τραγωδία might have its name by a little variation from τρυνγωδία· which word τρυνγωδία signified of old, not Tragedy only, but Comedy too; for at that time these two sorts of Poetry were not distinguished, but had one and the same prize (τρύγα) a vessel of wine: afterwards Tragedy retained that old name (*υ* only being changed into *α*) and the other was called Comedy.” It is an error therefore in Casaubon, when he tells us as from this Writer, that Τραγωδία once signified Comedy; for the thing that this Writer affirms is this: “That Τρυνγωδία once signified both Tragedy and Comedy:” which is a proposition very much different from that other of Casaubon’s.

But, however, if this passage of the Etymologicon will not serve Casaubon’s purpose, it may be useful to Mr. B.’s. It is true, it will not come up to his main point, which he undertook to make out, “That under the word Tragedy, both Tragedy and Comedy were at first comprehended” (which alone, and nothing less than it, will signify any thing to the age of Tragedy); yet it plainly affirms what he, by two mistaken instances, in vain attempted to prove, “That τρυνγωδία once signified Tragedy.” It concerns me therefore to give answer to this passage, because I have already flatly denied that τρυνγωδία ever signified Tragedy; and, I think, I need not be at so much trouble for a reply, when the Author himself affords me one in this very place; for the grounds of his assertion he declares to be these two,—That τραγωδία is derived from τρύγωδία· and that τρῦξ (Wine) was the common prize both to Comedy and Tragedy. Now both these are plain mistakes; for the true derivation of τραγωδία is from τράγος a Goat, as I have fully shown above; and that the prize was not the same, but the Goat was for Tragedy, and the Wine for Comedy, the Arundel Marble (to name no more) expressly affirms, in the epochs of Susarion and Thespis. If the grounds then that he walks upon fail him, his authority too must fall with him; for he is alone, without any other to support him; all the rest confining the signification of τρυνγωδία to Comedy alone. Τρυνγωδεῖν, κωμωδεῖν, says Hesychius;—Τρυνγωδία, ἡ κωμωδία, says Aristophanes’ Scholiast. In the present Editions of Suidas, we read Τρυνγοκωμωδία,

without any exposition ; but the true reading, as the very order of the alphabet shows, is τρυγωδία, κωμωδία ; and so H. Stephanus affirms that he found it in his MS. All these three are older than the Author of the Etymologicon ; and if ever any before their time had used τρυγωδία for Tragedy, either all or some of them would have told us of it.

If I may have leave to talk without proof, as well as some others, I should rather suspect that κωμωδία was the old and common name both for Tragedy and Comedy till they came to be distinguished by their peculiar appellations ; for the etymology of the word κωμωδία (ἐν κώμαις ῥδή, a Song in Villages) agrees equally to them both : both Tragedy and Comedy being first invented and used in the Villages, as all Writers unanimously say. And it is remarkable that Dioscorides, in his Epigrams, calls the Plays of Thespis κώμους.

Θέσπιδος εὔρεμα τοῦτο, τὰδ' ἀγροῖωτιν ἂν ὕλαν  
Παίγνια, καὶ ΚΩΜΟΥΣ τούσδε τελειοτέρους.

And again he says, Thespis's Plays were an entertainment to the κωμῆται.

Θέσπις ὕδε τραγικὴν ὅς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος ἀοιδὴν,  
ΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΣ νεαράς καινοτομῶν χάριτας.

So that even Thespis's Plays might at first, and for a little while, be called Comedies, which was a word already in use from the time of Susarion ; but when men understood the difference between the two sorts, and a distinct prize was appointed to Thespis, it was natural to give each sort a particular name, taken from the several prizes ; and the one was called τραγωδία, from the Goat <sup>1</sup> ; the other τρυγωδία, from the Cask of Wine <sup>2</sup>. The very likeness that is between the two words is no small confirmation that this account of them may be true ; but I only propose it as a guess, to set against the conjecture of the Author of the Etymologicon ; and perhaps it might be accounted as probable as his, if it had not the disadvantage of coming so many centuries after it.

Mr. B. having at last made an end of his mistakes in this article about Tragedy, I am very glad too to make an end of my animadversions upon them ; for I am sensible how long I have detained the Reader upon this subject, though I hope both the pleasure and the importance of it, and the vast number of faults that called upon me for correction, will excuse the prolixity, which I will not

1. Τράγος.

2. Τρύξ.

increase farther by a repetition of what has been said ; for even a short account of each, where the variety of things touched on is so great, would amount to a long story. I will only crave leave to say, That of the Three points which the learned Mr. B. undertook to make out, every one has been carried against him ; and that the incidental mistakes which he has run into have not failed to increase in number, proportionably as this article of his exceeded in length.

## ATTIC DIALECT.—ZALEUCUS'S LAWS.

[PP. 353—363, Ed. London, 1699.]

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IN the same Preface (a) it presently follows, 'Ὡς οὐ τιμᾶται Θεὸς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου φαύλου, οὐδὲ θεραπεύεται δαπάναις οὐδὲ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑΙΣ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος' where, instead of ἀλίσκομένων, which in this place makes no tolerable sense, the true reading seems to be ἀλισγουμενων; and then the meaning will be, "That God is not honoured by a wicked man, nor pleased with the costly and pompous sacrifices of polluted persons, as if he was a vile mortal." Now this paragraph alone is sufficient to detect the imposture of these pretended Laws; for, as I have shown before, the true Zaleucus lived before Draco, who made Laws for the Athenians at or before Olymp. xxxix; but the word ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ was not coined, nor the thing expressed by it invented, till Thespis won the Goat, the prize of his Play, about Olymp. lx, above lxxx years after Draco. How then came the word Τραγωδία into the Laws of Zaleucus, which were written above cxx years before Thespis? I do not wonder now that Zaleucus was so generally believed to have all his laws from Minerva; for nothing less than a Deity could have foreknown the word Τραγωδία, a whole century and more before it came into being. But besides that the very word was not at all heard of in Zaleucus's time, we must observe too that it is used by him metaphorically "for sumptuousness and pomp," which is a sense that could not be put upon it till a long time after Thespis; for in the infancy of Tragedy there was nothing pompous nor sumptuous upon the Stage; no Scenes, nor Pictures, nor Machines, nor rich Habits for the Actors; which, after they were introduced there, gave the sole occasion to the metaphor. For the first Scene was

(a) The pretended Preface of Zaleucus which Stobæus has described.



made by Agatharchus for one of Æschylus's Plays, as Vitruvius tells us,—“Primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylo docente Tragœdiam, scenam fecit, et de ea commentarium reliquit<sup>1</sup>.” This Agatharchus was a Painter, who learned the Art by himself, without any Master, as Olympiodorus says in his MS. Commentary on Plato's Phædo, Γεγόνασί τινες καὶ αὐτοδίδακτοι Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος γεωργός . . . Φήμιος, Ἀγάθαρχος ὁ γραφεύς. For it is most probable he means the same Agatharchus that made Æschylus's Scene for him; and that all the other ornaments were first brought in by Æschylus, we have the unanimous testimony of all Antiquity. Now the first Play that Æschylus made was at Olymp. LXX, and the last at Olymp. LXXX; and in what part of this XL years' interval he invented those ornaments for pomp and show, we cannot now tell<sup>2</sup>. But suppose, if you please, that he invented them at the very first Play, and that the metaphor that makes Τραγωδία signify pomp, came into use upon the sight of them; neither of which are at all probable: yet even still it will be above CLX years after the time of the true Zaleucus.

The last argument that I shall offer against the laws of Zaleucus is this—that the Preface of them, which Stobæus has produced, is written in the *common* dialect, as the old Grammarians have called it; whereas it ought to be in Doric: for that was the language of the Locri Epizephyrii, as it appears from the Treatise of Timæus the Locrian, extant in Plato; and from the Epigrams

1. Vitruv. Pref. Lib. vii.

2. But we may make a near guess at it from the accounts we have of Agatharchus the Painter, who first made a Scene, according to Vitruvius, whom I cited above. Ἀγάθαρχος, says Harpocration, τούτου μνημονεύει Δημοσθένης ἣν δὲ ζωγράφος ἐπιφανής, Εὐδήμου υἱός, τὸ δὲ γένος Σάμιος. The very same words are to be found in Suidas. Now the passage where Demosthenes speaks of him is in his Oration against Midias, p. 360; but there is a larger account of him in Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades, and the largest of all in Andocides's Oration against Alcibiades. The substance of all their story is, that Alcibiades forcibly detained Agatharchus in his house, and would not let him stir out till he had painted it. Now Alcibiades died Olymp. xciv, 1 (a), when he was about XL years old (b); and we can hardly suppose him less than XX when he had this frolic upon Agatharchus; especially if what Demosthenes's Scholiast says be true, that the reason of it was because Agatharchus was taken in bed with Alcibiades's Miss. Agatharchus then was by this account alive still about Olymp. LXXXIX, 1, which is XXXVI years after Olymp. LXXX, when Æschylus's last Play was acted. It is plain then he was but a young man, even at Olymp. LXXX; and if we consider he was (αὐτοδίδακτος) his own master in Painting, and took it up of himself, we can scarce suppose he could invent the painting of Scenes till very near that Olympiad.

(a) Diodor.

(b) Corn. Nepos.

of Nossis. I do not know that it has yet been observed that this Nossis was a Locrian; and therefore I shall make bold to give an Epigram or two of hers, which will show at once both her country and her dialect.

ὦ ξεῖν', εἰ τύ γ' ἔπεις ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μιτυλάναν,  
 Τὰν Σαπφούε χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος,  
 Εἰπεῖν, ὥς Μούσαισι φίλα, τήνᾳ τε Λόκρισσα  
 Τίκτεν ἴσαις, ὅτι θ' οἱ τοῦνομα Νόσσις ἴθι.

So this Epigram is to be read, which is faulty in Holstenius and Berkelius's Notes upon Stephanus; and the meaning of it is, that Nossis addresses herself to a Traveller, and desires him, if ever he go to Mitylene, where Sappho was born, to say, That a Locrian Woman wrote Poems like hers, and that her name was Nossis. Ἰσαις is the accusative Doric and Æolic for ἴσας, i. e. χάριτας: and that this is the true sense of it will be further evident from another Epigram of hers, not published before, where she celebrates the Locrians, her countrymen:—

Ἔντεα Βρέντιοι ἄνδρες ἀφ' αἰνομόρων βάλλον ὤμων,  
 Θεινόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσὶν ὑπ' ὠκυμάχων  
 ὦν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῦντα, θοῶν ὑπ' ἀνάκτορα κεῖνται  
 Οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν παχέας, οὓς ἔλιπον.

The import of which is, That the Locrians had obtained a victory over the Brutians, their neighbours, and had hung up in the temples of the Gods those shields they had taken, which now did not desire to return to those cowards that wore them before. And by this we may have some discovery of Nossis's age, which hitherto has been thought uncertain; for the Βρέντιοι or Βρέπτιοι, whom she speaks of there, were not formed into a body, nor called by that name, till Olymp. cvi, 1, in Dionysius the Younger's time<sup>1</sup>. She cannot therefore be more ancient than Olymp. cvi; but that she was a little younger, is plain from her Epigram<sup>2</sup> upon the tomb of Rhintho the Tarentine, or, as she calls him, the Syracusian, her contemporary, who lived in the time of the first Ptolemy, about Olymp. cxiv<sup>3</sup>. Her mother's name was Theuphilis the daughter of Cleocha; as another Epigram of hers taught me, yet unpublished:—

Ἦρα τιμήσσα, Λακεῖνιον ἃ τὸ θυῶδες  
 Πολλάκις οὐρανόθεν νισσομένα καθορῆς,  
 Δέξαι βύσσινον εἶμα, τό τοι μετὰ παιδὸς ἀγανῆς  
 Νοσσίδος ὕφανεν Θεύφιλις ἃ Κλεόχας.

1. Diod. p. 416. Strabo, p. 255. Justin. xxiii, 1.

2 Anthol. iii, 6.

3. Suid. Πίνθ.

In the MS. it is *Θευφίλης*; and we may observe, that even this too confirms it, that she was a Locrian, because she speaks of *Λακείνιον*; for the famous temple of Juno Lacinia was not far from Locri, in the neighbourhood of Crotona. She had a daughter called Melinna, as another MS. Epigram seems to show, though it is possible she may mean there another's daughter, and not her own; however it deserves to be put here for its singular elegance:—

Αὐτομέλιννα τέτυκται ἴδ' ὡς ἀγανὸν τὸ πρόσωπον  
 Ἄμὲ ποτοπτάζειν μελιχίως δοκέει·  
 Ὡς ἐτύμως θυγάτηρ τᾷ ματέρι πάντα ποτῶκει·  
 Ἡ καλὸν, ὅκκα πέλοι τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα.

*Αὐτομέλιννα*, that is, Melinna herself, not her picture, it is so exactly like her; so *αὐτοζωή*, *αὐτοαλήθεια*. In the MS. it is, ἄ μέ, but the true reading is ἄμέ, Doric for ἐμέ; for *πωτῶκει*, the MS. has it *προσῶκει*; but I have changed *πρὸς* into the Doric preposition *ποτί*. From the preterperfect tense of verbs the Dorians form a present; as from *δέδοικα* they make *δεδοίkw*, from *δέδυκα*, *δεδύkw*; so that from *προσ-έοικε*, “to be like,” as a picture is like the original, our Female Poet forms *ποτ-εοίkw*, and then contracts it *ποτῶkw*. So much was necessary to be said to make this Epigram intelligible. I return now to the Locrian dialect, which a Locrian Song, *Λοκρικὸν ᾠσμα*, in Athenæus<sup>1</sup>, sufficiently proves to be the Doric:

Μὴ προδῶς ἄμ' ἱκετεύω· πρὶν καὶ μολέν κείνον, ἀνίστω·  
 Μὴ κακὸν μέγα ποιήσης καὶ με τὴν δειλάκραν.  
 Ἀμέρα καὶ ἤδη τὸ φῶς διὰ τὰς θυρίδος οὐκ ἔσορῃς;

So this passage ought to be read, and the version should be thus:—

“Ne prodas me, obsecro: prius quam ille veniat, surge,” &c. Sunt verba mulieris ad mœchum suum, ut surgere velit, priusquam vir domum redeat et ipsum deprendat. And it is now apparent what good reason Athenæus had to call the Locrian Songs *μοιχικοί*: and we cannot doubt but he means the Locrians of Italy, if we consider what account he gives of the women of that place<sup>2</sup>. And now, to bring this argument to a conclusion, since it evidently appears that the Locrian language was Doric, without all question the Laws of that city were written in that dialect,

1. Athen. p. 697.

2. Athen. p. 516.

as certainly as Solon's Laws, at Athens, were written in Attic. These of Zaleucus therefore are commentitious because they are not in Doric, unless Mr. B. will be as zealous for "his King Zaleucus," as he is for "his Prince Phalaris," and contend that the King's Laws were *transdialected* as well as the Prince's Epistles.

1. This metaphor of Τραγωδία for solemnity and pomp, invites me to step out of my way a little, and to consider the Laws ascribed to Charondas; for we have there too the very same metaphor. Diodorus speaks prolixly of these Laws<sup>1</sup>, and the proœmia of them are reckoned in Stobæus; where, among others, we have this, "That a man who is a slave to riches ought to be despised as one of a mean spirit, καὶ καταπληττόμενος ὑπὸ κτημάτων πολυτελῶν καὶ βίου ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ, since he is smitten so much with wealth, and a sumptuous and pompous life<sup>2</sup>." This, as I observed already, is the very same figure of speech with that in Zaleucus, and is borrowed from the costly and gaudy ornaments of the Stage. Now the Laws of the Thurians were made at Olymp. LXXXIV; which was the time when that colony was planted; but I hardly think that this metaphor of Τραγωδία for magnificence and pomp was so early in use as at Olymp. LXXXIV. At that time Æschylus was newly dead, Sophocles was in his prime at LIV years of age, and Euripides had just entered upon the province of Tragedy. Now the last of these Poets was so far from giving occasion to this metaphor, by the rich ornaments of his Scenes and Actors, that he was noted for the quite contrary way, as introducing his heroes in mere rags. So Æschylus accuses him in Aristophanes's *Ranæ*<sup>3</sup>:

ᾧ πτωχοποιεῖ καὶ ῥακιοσυρράπτᾳδῃ.

And the Comedian himself, in another of his Plays, most pleasantly rallies him upon the same account<sup>4</sup>; and reckons up five of his shabby Heroes that gave names to as many of his Tragedies—Ceneus, Phœnix, Philoctetes, Bellerophontes, Telephus. It is true, it appears from this very ridiculing of Euripides, that the other Tragedians were not guilty of the same fault of bringing beggars upon the stage; but, however, even the persons that they introduced were not clad so very gorgeously as to make Tragedy become a metaphor for *sumptuousness*; for money was at that time

1. Diod. p. 79—84.

2. Stob. Serm. 42.

3. Arist. Ran. p. 164.

4. Id. Acharn. p. 279, 280.



a scarce commodity in Greece, especially at Athens<sup>1</sup>, and the people were frugal; so that they had not much to lay out upon ornaments for the Stage, nor much inclination had they had it. Nay, we are sure, that for a hundred years after the beginning of the Thurian government, the expense and furniture of Tragedy was very moderate; for Demosthenes, in his action against Midias<sup>2</sup>, which was made Olymp. cvii, 4, has informed us that the charge of a Tragic Chorus was MUCH LESS than that of the Chorus of Musicians, which usually performed too at the same Festivals of Bacchus. Τραγωδοῖς, says he, κεχορήγηκέ ποτε οὗτος· ἐγὼ δὲ Αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πολλῶ πλεῖόν ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου. i. e. “Midias was once the Furnisher of a Tragic Chorus; but I, of a Chorus of Musicians; and there is nobody but knows that the expense of this is MUCH GREATER than the charge of that<sup>3</sup>.” And yet the cost even of a Music Chorus was no very great matter, as we gather from this, that Demosthenes alone bore it all, and voluntarily too. It is true, he magnifies it as much as he can; and questions whether he should call it *generosity* or *madness* in himself, to undertake an expense above his estate and condition<sup>4</sup>; but we ought to receive this as a cast of his rhetoric; for, to be sure, he would never undo himself by taking an office which nobody forced upon him. But another Orator, Lysias, a little ancients than he, has given us a punctual account of the several expenses of the Stage. “When Theopompus,” says he, “was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 2), I was furnisher to a Tragic Chorus; and I laid out xxx Minæ. Afterwards I got the victory with the Chorus of Men, and it cost me xx Minæ. When Glaucippus was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 3), I laid out viii Minæ upon the Pyrrichists. Again I won the victory with the Chorus of Men; and with that and the charge of the Tripus, I expended i Minæ. And when Diocles was Archon (Olymp. xcii, 4), I laid out upon the Cyclian Chorus iii Minæ (a). Afterwards, when Alexias was Archon (Olymp. xciii, 4), I furnished a Chorus of Boys, and it cost me above xv Minæ. And when Euclides was Archon (Olymp. xciv, 2), I was

1. Cic. Tusc. v. 32.

2. Dionys. Halic. de Demosth.

3. Demosth. c. Midiam, p. 362.

4. Ibid. p. 336.

(a) Dr. Bentley probably wrote ccc Minæ, as it is in Lysias, quoted by Meunier. The printer changed this into iii Minæ.—*Mus. Crit.* v. 81.

at the charge of XVI Minæ upon the Comedians, and of VII upon the young Pyrrichists<sup>1</sup>. Now an Attic Mina being equivalent to three pounds of English money, it is plain from this passage of Lysias, that the whole charge of a Tragic Chorus did but then amount to xc pounds sterling. By the way, I shall correct a fault in the Orator Isæus<sup>2</sup>: Οὗτος γὰρ τῇ μὲν φυλῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας, τετάρτος ἐγένετο, τραγωδοῖς δὲ καὶ πυρρίεταῖς ὕστατος.—Correct it τέταρτος ἐγένετο τραγωδοῖς καὶ πυρρίχισταῖς ὕστατος<sup>3</sup>. “This man,” says he, “being to furnish our Choruses at the Festivals of Bacchus, did it so meanly, that in the Tragic Chorus he came but the fourth; and in the Pyrrichists he was last of all.” And now I refer it to the Reader, whether, considering this true account of the small charge of a Tragic Chorus, even in Lysias and Demosthenes’s time, he can think it probable that at the LXXXIVth Olympiad the Tragic ornaments were so famous for their richness as to give rise to the metaphor of *Τραγωδία* for sumptuousness, especially in Italy, where perhaps at that time no Tragedy had ever been acted. I must own, it seems to me a very unlikely thing that this metaphor should so quickly obtain, even in common conversation, much less be admitted into a body of Laws, where the language ought to be plain and proper, and where any metaphor at all makes but a very bad figure, especially a new one, as this must needs be then, which perhaps could not be understood, at first hearing, by one half of the citizens. It is true, when Tragedy was propagated from Athens into the courts of Princes, the splendour of the Tragic Chorus was exceedingly magnificent, as at Alexandria and Rome, &c.; which gave occasion to that complaint of Horace’s, that the show of Plays was so very gaudy, that few minded the words of them<sup>4</sup>:—

“Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, et artes  
Divitiæque peregrinæ: quibus oblitus Actor  
Cum stetit in scena, concurrat dextera lævæ.  
Dixit adhuc aliquid? Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?  
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.”

And in another place, he says<sup>5</sup>, the Tragic Actor was

“Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro.”

1. Lysias, in Ἀπολ. Δωροδοκίας.

2. P. 54.

3. One may correct it also πυρρίχαις, which comes to the same thing (1).

4. Hor. Epist. ii, 1.

5. Id. in Arte Poët.

It is no wonder, therefore, that in those ages *Τραγῳδία* might be used metaphorically, to signify riches and splendour; and so Philo, and Lucian, and some others, use it; but I do not find any example of it within a whole century of the date of Charondas's Laws.

II. 1. But this objection will be much more considerable if Charondas really lived before the original of the Thurian government, and even before Æschylus himself, the first inventor of Tragic ornaments; for it will then be of equal force against Charondas's Laws as against those of Zaleucus. Theodoret tells us<sup>1</sup> "that Charondas is said to have been the first Lawmaker of Italy and Sicily:" and if this be true, he must be senior to Zaleucus himself, and before the very name of Tragedy, much more before the use of this metaphor taken from it; or, if we allow of their reckoning<sup>2</sup>, that make Charondas the Scholar of Zaleucus, it is more than enough to our present purpose; for they supposed his Master Zaleucus to have been contemporary with Lycurgus the Spartan; by which account they must place Charondas ccc years before Thespis. Nay, even according to Eusebius, Zaleucus's Laws bear date above cc years before the founding of Thurii, and above c years before the original of Tragedy. But we have a better authority than these; I mean Heraclides, in his Book of Governments; who informs us<sup>3</sup>, "That the Rhegians of Italy were governed by an aristocracy; for a thousand men, chosen out according to their estates, managed every thing; and their Laws were those of Charondas the Catanian; but Anaxilas the Messanian made himself Tyrant there." Which account is confirmed in the main by Aristotle, when he says "The oligarchy of Rhegium was changed into a tyranny by Anaxilas<sup>4</sup>." Here, I conceive, Heraclides has very plainly asserted that Charondas's Laws were made before the time of Anaxilas; but we are assured this Anaxilas died at Olymp. LXXVI, 1, after he had reigned at Rhegium and Messana XVIII years at the least, which commence from Olymp. LXXI, 3. Now the first victory that Æschylus won at the Stage, was at Ol. LXXIII, 3<sup>5</sup>; and we may fairly suppose, because he never got the prize till then, that he had not invented Scenes and Machines, and the other ornaments before. If Charondas's Laws, therefore, were made but the very year that Anaxilas usurped the

1. Theodoret. c. Græc. Serm. 9.

2. In Arist. Pol. ii. 12.

3. Heraclid. de Polit. Νόμοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς Χαρώνδου τοῦ Κατανίου.

4. Arist. Pol. v, 12.

5. Marm. Arund.

government, yet they are older by VIII years than the original of Tragical Scenes. But, without question, Charondas's form of government had been a good while in Rhegium before Anaxilas subverted it; for the city had been built then CC years; and the very account in Heraclides clearly implies that the aristocracy was of some continuance.

END OF THE EXTRACTS FROM BENTLEY'S PHALARIS.





SCHLEGEL.



## THIRD LECTURE.

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Structure and contrivance of the Stage among the Greeks. Their theatrical Art. Use of Masks. Mistaken comparison of the ancient Tragedy with the modern Opera. The Lyric element of Tragedy. Essential nature of the Greek Tragedy. Ideality of representation. Idea of Destiny. Grounds of the pleasure derived from Tragic representations. Significance of the Chorus. Mythology, the materials of Greek Tragedy. Comparison with Plastic Art.

WHEN the term *Theatre* is used, we naturally think of that which bears this name among us, and yet nothing can be more distinct from our Theatre in its entire structure than that of the Greeks was. And if any one in reading the Greek Plays, has our modern scenes in his thoughts, and transfers to them his conceptions of the action, this alone will be sufficient to set them altogether in a false light.

The principal passage, of mathematical accuracy, on the subject, is to be found in Vitruvius, who also gives a clear account of the important distinctions between the Greek and Roman Theatre. But these, indeed, and other accounts in ancient Authors have been interpreted all awry, by Architects unacquainted with the ancient Dramatists<sup>2</sup>; and Philologists, in their turn, who knew nothing of Architecture, have fallen into great errors. For the ancient Dramatists, therefore, that kind of illustration which treats of scenic arrangements, is a want still wholly unsupplied. In many Tragedies I believe I have a tolerably clear conception of the matter; others present difficulties of no easy solution. The greatest difficulty of all, however, is to imagine how the Plays of Aristophanes were performed: that witty Poet seems to have brought his strange inventions before the eyes of the spectators in a manner alike daring and surprising. Even Barthelemy's description of the Greek Stage is not a little confused, and the annexed ground-plan considerably incorrect; where he wishes to

1. The work of Schlegel is on Dramatic Literature in general. Here these Lectures have alone been inserted, which refer to the Dramas of Greece and Rome.

2. A remarkable instance is the so-called ancient Theatre of Palladio at Vicenza. Herculaneum, it is true, was not then discovered, and it is difficult to understand the ruins of the ancient Theatres without having seen a complete one.



give an account of the performance of the plays, as in the case of the *Antigone* and the *Ajax*, he goes completely astray. For this reason the following account will appear so much the less superfluous<sup>1</sup>.

The Theatres of the Greeks were quite open above; their plays were acted always in bright day-light and beneath the free heaven. Among the Romans indeed in later times, the spectators may have been screened from the sun by an awning, but luxury was hardly carried to such a pitch among the Greeks. To us these ways seem very uncomfortable: but the Greeks were a people not at all soft in their habits; the beautiful climate also ought not to be forgotten. If a storm came on, or a pelting shower of rain, the play was interrupted; in other respects they were much more willing to put up with a casual inconvenience, than by shutting themselves up in a close, musty house to do away with all the cheerfulness of a National Religious Festival, such as in fact their theatrical performances were<sup>2</sup>. To shut up the stage itself, and to incarcerate Gods and Heroes in dim, troublesomely lighted chambers would have seemed to them still more contradictory. An action, which bore such glorious testimony to their affinity with Heaven, must also proceed beneath the free Heaven, beneath the eyes, as it were, of the Gods, for whom indeed, as Seneca says, the sight of a brave man striving with calamities is a worthy spectacle. As to the supposed great inconvenience hence resulting, as many modern critics maintain, to the Poets, in their being obliged always to lay the scene of their pieces out of doors in front of the houses, and therefore to admit many improbabilities, there is no great deal in it, with respect to Tragedy and the older Comedy at least. For the Greeks lived, as we see other southern nations live at this day, much more in the open air than we do, and therefore much business was conducted in public places which among ourselves usually takes place within doors. Then the

1. I owe it in part to the elucidations of a learned Architect, M. Genelli of Berlin, Author of the ingenious *Letters on Vitruvius*. We have compared different Greek Tragedies with our interpretation of the description in Vitruvius, and have attempted to form a conception of the performance of the plays accordingly. I also since found it confirmed by the sight of the theatre at Herculaneum, and the two theatres, extremely small it is true, at Pompeii.

2. They took pains to select a beautiful situation. The theatre at Taormenium, (now Taormino) in Sicily, of which the ruins are still visible, was so situated, that over the back-ground of the scenes there was a view of *Ætna*.

theatre represented not merely the street but an open space in front of the house and belonging to it, on which area stood also the altar where sacrifice was made to the tutelary Gods. Here therefore at least, the women, notwithstanding the secluded life which they led among the Greeks, and even the unmarried women might make their appearance. Moreover it was no impossibility with the Greeks to lay open to the spectator the interior of the houses on the stage: this was effected, as we shall presently see, by the encyclema.

But, to come to the main part of the business, this publicity according to the republican feelings of the Greeks was essential to a grave and important transaction. It was this that was meant by the presence of the Chorus; which circumstance of their being present during much that was discussed as a secret, has also been criticised and found fault with on the score of proprieties inapplicable to the case.

The Theatres of the Ancients were projected on a scale of colossal dimensions, as compared with the smallness of our own theatres: partly, to enable them to contain the assembled nation, together with the strangers who streamed in to the festivals; partly, to correspond with the majesty of the spectacles there to be exhibited, which were not to be looked upon but at a reverential distance. The seats of the spectators were formed by steps rising backwards round the semicircle of the orchestra, so that almost all could see with equal convenience. By artificial heightening to eye and ear of that which was exhibited, by means, namely, of masks, and of the contrivances thereto applied for giving force to the voice, and of the elevation of the figures by the Cothurnus, the diminution of effect occasioned by the distance was compensated. Vitruvius also mentions certain receptacles for sound distributed about the building, on the nature of which receptacles the Commentators are very much at variance. In general, it may be assumed that the Theatres of the Ancients were constructed on excellent acoustic principles.

The lowest step of the Amphitheatre was still considerably elevated above the Orchestra, and at an equal elevation over against it lay the Stage. The sunken semicircle of the Orchestra was void of spectators, and was intended for a different purpose. Among the Romans indeed it was otherwise, but with their theatrical arrangements we have nothing to do at present.

The Stage consisted of a strip which stretched from one side of the theatre to the other, and had but little depth in comparison with this breadth. This was called the *Logeum*, in Latin, *Pulpitum*, and its centre was the usual place for the speaking persons. Behind this middle part the scene went inwards in a quadrangular form but with less depth than breadth. The space thus enclosed was called the *Proscenium*. The remainder of the *Logeum*, to the right and left of the scene, had, in front, the rail leading down to the Orchestra, and behind, a wall adorned merely in an architectural and not scenic fashion, and sometimes indeed quite plain, which rose to the same elevation with the uppermost tiers for the spectators.

The Decoration was so arranged that the nearest object of principal importance occupied the back-ground, while the openings into the distance lay on either side: exactly the contrary to what it is with us. This also had its own certain rule: on the left was represented the city to which belonged the palace, or temple, or whatever else occupied the centre; on the right, the open field, landscape, mountains, sea-coast, &c. The side decorations were composed of triangles turning on an axis fastened beneath, and were thus enabled to effect changes of the scenes<sup>1</sup>. In the hinder decorations we may conjecture that much was accomplished in a bodily shape, which we only paint. If they represented a palace or temple then on the *Proscenium*, there was also an altar which served for various uses in the performance.

The Decoration was in most cases architectural, but was often likewise real landscape-painting; as in the *Prometheus* where it represented *Caucasus*, or in the *Philoctetes*, where the scene was the desert island of *Lesbos*, and the rock with its cavern. From a passage of *Plato* it is clear that the Greeks carried the illusions of theatrical perspective to a much greater extent than, in consequence of some bad landscapes discovered in *Herculaneum*, has been allowed to them.

In the hinder partition-wall of the scene there was a great principal entrance and two side-entrances. We are told that from these alone the spectators might see whether an Actor was to play

1. From an annotation of *Servius* on *Virgil* we learn, that the change of scene was effected partly by revolution, partly by withdrawing. The former applies to the side decorations, the latter to the middle decorations of the back-ground. The partition wall in the middle opened, disappeared on both sides, and displayed a new picture within. But the scene was not always changed in all its parts at once.



a principal or subordinate part, as in the former case he came through the middle, in the latter, through one of the side-entrances. But this must be understood with the distinction that it must have been ordered according to the arrangement of the Dramas. Since the hinder Decoration was frequently a palace in which the royal persons who bore a principal part in the action resided, these naturally came through the great door, as the servants on the contrary dwelt in side-buildings. But there were yet two other entrances: one, at one end of the Logeum, whence the inhabitants of the City came in; the other below, by the Orchestra, and this was the side for those who were supposed to come from a distance: they ascended a flight of steps which the Logeum had towards the Orchestra, and which served to denote a variety of things according to circumstances. The entrance therefore of the Actor, with reference to the side decorations explained of itself whence he must be supposed to be coming: and it might naturally happen that the principal persons might have to make use of the two last mentioned entrances. The situation of these entrances must serve to clear up many passages in the ancient Dramas, where the persons standing in the middle of the Logeum see some one coming, long before he approaches them.

Somewhere under the seats of the spectators was attached a flight of steps, called Charon's stair: by which, unobserved by the spectators, the Ghosts of the Dead ascended into the Orchestra and thence to the Stage by the other stair. The front brink of the Logeum sometimes had to represent the shore of the sea. The Greeks in general knew how to use that which did not belong to the scenic decoration as though it were such, and suffered the real to play its part with the fictitious in the illusion. Thus I have no doubt, that in the Eumenides, the spectators are twice addressed as an assembled present multitude: once by the Pythia, where she calls upon the Greeks to come forward to consult the oracle; the second time, when Pallas by the Herald commands silence during the trial which is about to be holden. So the frequent addresses to the Heaven were doubtless directed to the real Heaven, and when Electra at her first entrance exclaims, "O holy Light, and thou Air co-expanded with Earth!" she perhaps turned herself towards the then mounting Sun. The whole of this procedure is very commendable: modern Critics indeed may find fault with this mixture of the real with the



imitated as prejudicial to the illusion; but they misunderstand the nature of illusion in so far as it can be the aim of an artificial representation. If it be intended that a picture should produce illusion, in the proper sense, i. e. deceive the eye as though it were real, in that case the edges of the picture must not be seen but it must be looked at through some aperture; the frame declares it at once to be a picture. Now, in scenic decoration, it is impossible to avoid the use of a mode of contrivance producing a like effect with the frame, namely, an architectural bordering. It is therefore much better not to wish to disguise this, but, relinquishing that species of illusion to which in other cases such a disguise is advantageous, to exceed, in a conventional way, the limits of the decoration. In general, it was a principle with the Greeks either to require from all stage-imitation a perfect representation, or where this could not be, to content themselves with merely symbolical allusions.

The Machinery, by means of which Gods were to soar suspended in air, or Men to be raised aloft from the earth, was attached above behind the walls on both sides of the Scene, and thus withdrawn from the eye of the spectator. Even *Æschylus* made great use of it: since in the *Prometheus* he not only introduced *Oceanus* riding on a griffin through the Air, but also the whole chorus of the *Oceanides*, consisting of fifteen persons at least, in a winged chariot. There were also contrivances for sinking, for thunder and lightning, for the seeming crash or conflagration of a house, and more of the same kind.

Over the hinder partition wall of the scene, an upper story might be raised for the sake of elevation, when a tower with a wide prospect, or any thing else of the kind was to be represented. Behind the great middle entrance, the *Encyclema* might be thrust in, which being in the form of a semicircle inwardly, and covered at top, represented to the spectators the objects within it as in the interior of the house. This was used for great strokes of theatrical effect, as we see in many Plays. In that case the folding-doors of the entrance of course stood open, or the curtain which covered it was drawn up.

A curtain to the scene, which however, as is plain from a description in *Ovid*, was not dropped but lifted up from below, is mentioned both by Greek and Roman Authors: the Latin term, *Aulacum* is even borrowed from the Greek. Nevertheless,

I suspect that the Curtain was not at first usual on the Attic Stage. In the Dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles, the stage, at their opening, is evidently empty, as it again became at the close, and seems to have required no preparations which needed to be withdrawn from the eyes of the spectators. In many Pieces of Euripides, on the contrary, perhaps too in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, the scene is peopled at once, and presents a stationary group which could not well have been first formed under the eyes of the spectators. Of course, the Curtain covered only the Proscenium, which was comparatively small, and not the Logeum; on account of the great breadth of which, this would have been almost impracticable and at the same time superfluous.

The Chorus had its entrances below by the Orchestra, where also it usually remained, and in which it paced up and down during the performance of its solemn dance in the Choral Odes. In the front of the Orchestra over against the middle of the Scene stood an altar-like elevation with steps, and rising as high as the stage, called *Thymele*. On this the Chorus assembled when it was not singing, but participating in the action. The Choragus then placed himself on the floor of the *Thymele*, to see what was proceeding on the stage, and to speak with the persons there present. For the Choral Ode, indeed, was common, but where the Chorus entered into the dialogue, only one carried on the discourse as spokesman for all the rest: hence, also, the alternation of *Thou* and *Ye* in the addresses to the Chorus. The *Thymele* lay in the very centre of the whole building, all the measurements were made from thence, and the semicircle of the Amphitheatre was described from this as its centre. It was therefore very significant, that the Chorus, which was in fact the ideal Representative of the Spectators, had its place in the very spot where all the radii from their seats converged into one point.

As to the Mimetic Art of ancient Tragedy, it was altogether ideal and rhythmical, and must be judged of from this point of view. Ideal, i. e. it aimed above all, to the highest dignity and grace; Rhythmical, as the play of the gesticulations and the modulations of the voice were more solemnly measured than they are in real life. Just as the Plastic Art of the Greeks set out with almost scientific severity from the most universal conception, fashioning this into different, yet still always universal characters, then investing these only by slow degrees with the charms of life,

and descending last of all to the individual: so also the Mimetic Art set out first of all upon the Idea,—upon the exhibition of the Persons with heroic greatness, with more than human dignity, and ideal beauty,—then proceeded to the Character, and lastly to the Passion, which therefore was to give way in the collision. They were more willing to dispense with living reality of representation than with Beauty; with us it is exactly the reverse. The use of masks, which seems strange to us, was on such views not only justifiable, but absolutely essential; and so far was it from being a make-shift, that the Greeks would not have failed, and with truth, to declare it a make-shift indeed to allow an actor with common, ignoble, at all events too individually marked features, to represent an Apollo or a Hercules; nay, this they would have esteemed an actual profanation. How little can an actor, even the best practised in the play of the features, alter the character of his face! And this, nevertheless, is unfavourable to the expression of passion, inasmuch as all passion is tinged by the character. Neither is there any need to have recourse to the conjecture<sup>1</sup>, that in the different scenes they may have changed their masks in order to present a more sorrowful or more joyful countenance. Even this, however, would not have been sufficient, for the passions often alternate in the same scene: and those modern Critics, therefore, can only add the laughable supposition of masks with two dissimilar halves, presenting on either side a different countenance, to be turned towards the spectators now this way now that according to circumstances.<sup>2</sup> No: the countenance was from first to last one and the same, as we may see in

1. A conjecture I call it, though Barthelémy in his *Anacharsis*, considers it a settled point. He adduces no authorities: neither do I recollect any.

2. Voltaire, in his *Essay on the Tragedy of the Ancient and Moderns*, prefixed to his *Semiramis*, has actually gone to such a length! Among a multitude of supposed incongruities which he heaps together to confound the admirers of the ancient Tragedy, he alleges this also: “aucune nation (viz. except the Greeks) ne fait paroître ses acteurs sur des espèces d’échasses, le visage couvert d’un masque qui exprime la douleur d’un côté et la joye de l’autre.” In a conscientious enquiry into the authorities on which an assertion so bold, yet so incredible, could possibly be grounded, I can find nothing but a passage of Quincilian, *Lib. xi. c. 3.* and a still more vague allusion in Platonius (see *Aristoph. ed. Kuster, Prolegom. p. 10.*) Both passages refer merely to the new Comedy, and state only that in some characters the eye-brows were dissimilar. As to the intention of this, I shall say a word or two when I come to the newer Greek Comedy. Voltaire, however, is without excuse, for the mention of the *Cothurnus* leaves no doubt that he wished to speak of the tragic masks. And indeed his error could scarcely have so learned an origin. To trace the sources of Voltaire’s ignorance would in most cases be an unprofitable labour. The whole of that description of the Greek Tragedy, and of the *Cothurnus* in particular, is worthy of the scholarship of the man who boasts (in the *Essay on Tragedy* prefixed to his *Bintus*) of having brought the Roman Senate on the Stage in red mantles!



the ancient masks hewn in stone. For the expression of passion there remained the glances of the eye, the movements of the arms and hands, the attitudes, and, lastly, the voice. People complain of the loss of the play of the features without reflecting that at such a distance it would have been all thrown away.

Here we have nothing to do with the question, whether without the use of masks a higher distinct cultivation of the Mimetic Art might not find place: which may be readily allowed. Cicero, it is true, speaks of the significance, the gracefulness, and delicacy of Roscius's style of playing, in the same terms a modern connoisseur would apply to a Garrick or Schröder. But to this actor, whose excellence has passed into a proverb, I will not appeal, since from a passage of Cicero, it is plain, that Roscius frequently played without a mask, and that his contemporaries preferred this. I doubt whether this ever happened among the Greeks. The same Author, however, relates that the Players in general, in order to acquire a more perfect purity and flexibility of voice, (and indeed not only of the singing voice, otherwise the Orator could not have made use of this example,) perseveringly engaged in such exercises as to our modern Actors, even the French, who still have more of the school-discipline than others, it would seem a thing unheard-of to require of them. For the display of dexterity in the Mimetic Art by itself alone, without the utterance of words, the Ancients have provided in their pantomimes, which they carried to a degree of perfection quite unknown to the Moderns. In Tragedy, however, strict subordination on the part of the Actor was the main thing required: the whole was to be animated by one Spirit, and therefore not only the Poetry, but also the musical accompaniment, the scenic adornment and representation proceeded from the Poet himself. The Player was merely the instrument, and his merit consisted in the accuracy with which he filled his part, not at all in arbitrary bravura, and the parade of his own skill.

Since from the nature of their writing materials they had then no facility of making frequent copies, the parts were studied by means of reiterated recitation from the Poet, and the Chorus was practised in the same way. This was called *teaching* a Play. As the Poet was also a Musician, and most commonly an Actor as well, this must have contributed much towards making the performance perfect.



We may easily grant that the task of the modern actor who is to transform his own individuality without being allowed to keep it out of view, is much more difficult; but this difficulty affords no genuine criterion for deciding to which the preference should be awarded as a representation of the noble and beautiful.

As by means of the mask the features of the actor were drawn with a more decisive expression, as his voice was strengthened by means of a contrivance attached to the mask, so the *Cothurnus*, which was composed of several soles of considerable thickness, as may be still seen in antique figures of *Melpomene*, elevated the form of the Actor above the usual size. Even the female characters were personated by men, inasmuch as the female carriage and voice would not have been adequate to the energy which belonged to the tragic heroines.

The forms of the masks we learn from the sculptured representations which have come down to us. They are at once beautiful and of a manifold variety. That such a variety did find place even in the tragic department, (in the comic this is understood as a matter of course) we may be convinced by the copious store of technical expressions in the Greek language for all gradations of Age and Character in the masks.<sup>1</sup> What, however, cannot be seen in the marble masks, is the thinness of the materials with which the real masks were made, the delicate colouring and the dexterous manner of fitting. The affluence of Athens, in excellent works of all kinds relating to the Plastic Arts, allows us to conjecture that here her excellence was not to be surpassed. Whoever has seen at the Roman Carnival the waxen masks in the noble style, which lately came into vogue, which in part also cover the rest of the head, can form a tolerable conception of the theatrical masks of the Ancients. Those Carnival-masks imitate to the very life, and at such a distance as the Actors were seen at, the deception is complete. In these also, as in the marble antiques, the white of the eye is given, and the masker sees merely through the opening left for the pupil. The Ancients must sometimes have gone yet farther, and inserted even an *Iris* into the mask, according to the account that the Songster *Thamyris*, probably in a Play of *Sophocles*, appeared with a dark eye. Even accidental circumstances were represented; for instance, the cheeks of *Tyro* streaming with blood from the cruel treatment of her

1. See the *Onomasticon* of *Julius Pollux*.

stepmother. It is true this masking must have made the head appear somewhat large compared with the height of the figure; but this misproportion, in tragedy at least, was compensated by the elevation from the Cothurnus.

The entire appearance of the Tragic figures it is not easy to represent to ourselves with sufficient beauty and dignity. It will be well to keep the ancient Sculpture present to the mind, and perhaps the most accurate conception will be to think of those figures as statues in the great style, living and moving. But as Sculpture so willingly dispensed with clothing in order to image forth the more essential beauty of the figure, the Plastics of the Stage must have followed the contrary principle, that of clothing as much as possible: as well for decency's sake as because the real forms of the body would not have been noble and beautiful enough compared with the countenance. Those Deities therefore whom Sculpture always represents wholly or half unclothed, would make their appearance on the stage in complete clothing. Beneath this, however, many contrivances were used for giving a visibly greater degree of strength to the forms of the limbs, and so restoring symmetry to the artificially enlarged form of the Actor.

The great breadth of the theatre in comparison with its small depth must have given to the grouping of the figures the simple and clear order of the bas-relief. We Moderns prefer, on the stage, as in general, to have the groups more closely thronged together, in part concealing each other, and picturesquely retiring into the distance; the Ancients on the contrary had so little liking for perspective shortenings, that even in their pictures they mostly avoided it.

The movements accompanied the rhythm of the declamation, and in this accompaniment they aimed at the highest degree of beauty and elegance. The style of the poetry required a certain repose in the manner of playing, and that all should be kept in masses, so as to present a succession of fixed plastic situations, and the actor perhaps not unfrequently remained for some time motionless in the same attitude. But it must not be imagined from this that the Greeks contented themselves with a cold and impotent representation of the passions: this would ill agree with the circumstances that whole lines of the Tragedies are often given up to inarticulate exclamations of anguish for which our modern languages afford no correspondent expressions.

I have occasionally met with the conjecture that the delivery of the dialogue may have resembled our modern recitative. The only circumstance which could afford grounds for such a conjecture is that the Greek language, like the Southern languages in general, must have been pronounced with more musical inflexions of the voice than ours of the North. But in other respects, I think, their tragic declamation must have been altogether unlike recitative: being, on the one hand, much more measured; on the other, far removed from its studied and artificial modulations.

So also on the strength of the general account that the ancient tragedy was accompanied with music and dance, it is still frequently compared with the Opera<sup>1</sup>: a comparison, however, the most inapplicable in the world, and which testifies an utter ignorance of the spirit of Classic Antiquity. That dance, that Music have nothing in common with what is so called among us, but the name. In tragedy, the poetry was the main affair: all the rest existed only to be subservient to it, and that too in the strictest subordination. In the Opera on the contrary the Poetry is only, by the bye, a means of connecting the rest together; it is almost swallowed up amidst what environs it. The best prescription therefore for an opera-text, is, to deliver a poetic sketch, the outlines of which are to be afterwards filled up and coloured by the other Arts. This Anarchy of the Arts,—Music, Dance, Decoration, all seeking by lavishment of their most wanton charms to outbid each other—forms the very essence of the Opera. What sort of an Opera-Music were that which should accompany the words with the simplest and merely rhythmical modulations? It is precisely in the revelry of emulation between the different Arts, in the confusion of their redundancy, that the fantastic charm of the Opera consists. This would be destroyed by approximation to the severity of ancient Taste in any one point, were it but in Costume; for then that variegated gaiety in all the rest would be even unsufferable. Much more suitable for the Opera are glittering robes, overladen with spangles: and this does away the imputation of much that is unnatural in the Opera—for instance, that the Heroes make their exits, in the deepest despair, with coloraturas and quavers. It is not real men, but a strange species

1. Even Barthelemy is guilty of this error in a note on the xxxth Chapter of his *Anacharsis*.

of singing creatures that peoples this fairy world. Neither is it any loss that the Opera is brought before us in a language which we mostly do not understand: the text, at all events, in such music goes for nothing; the sole consideration is what language is the most vocal and melodious, with the greatest number of open vowels for the *Airs*, and lively accents for the *Recitative*. It would therefore be as wrong to wish to approximate the Opera to the simplicity of the Greek Tragedy, as it is absurd to compare the one with the other.

Set in the syllabic composition, which then at least prevailed universally in Grecian Music, and with no other accompaniment than that of a single flute, the solemn Choral Ode (of which we may form some conception from many of our own national airs, especially our church-tunes, seemingly so artless,) certainly lost nothing in verbal distinctness. For the Choruses and the lyric Odes in general are the part of ancient tragedy most difficult to be understood, and must have been so to the contemporary hearers as well. There occur in them the most complicated constructions, the most daring images and allusions. How should the Poets have lavished on them such exquisite art, if it must all have been lost in the delivery? Such purposeless adornment had nothing whatever in common with Greek ways of thinking.

In the metres of their Tragedies there prevails in general a very elaborate regularity, but by no means a stiff symmetrical uniformity. Besides the endless variety of the lyric strophes which the Poet in each instance specially invented, they have also a metre to intimate the transition in the tone of mind from the dialogue to the Lyric, namely, the Anapæsts; two for the dialogue itself, one of which, by far the most usual, the Iambic Trimeter, expresses the steady progress of the action; the other, the Trochaic Tetrameter, denotes the eagerness of passion. It would lead us too far into the depths of Metrical Science to enter in this place into farther considerations of the structure and significance of these Metres. Thus much I wished to remark, only because so much is said of the simplicity of the ancient Tragedy, which moreover finds place only in the general plan, at least in the two older Poets; whereas in the detail the richest multiplicity of poetical ornament is expended. It is a matter of course that to the art of the Actor belonged the most exact correctness of delivery in the different metres, since we know that the fineness of



the Grecian ear animadverted upon the false quantity of a syllable even in the speech of an Orator.

We come now to the essential character of Greek Tragedy. That its mode of representation is ideal is an admitted point. This is not so to be understood as though the personages introduced were all morally perfect. Among such, how could there be room for any opposition, which nevertheless the plot of the drama requires? Weaknesses, defects, nay crimes are depicted in them, but in general their manners are ennobled beyond the limits of reality, and to each person is assigned so much of dignity and greatness as his part in the action admits of. This, however, is not all. The ideality of its representation rests principally in the elevation to a higher sphere. Tragic Poetry wished to separate the image of humanity which she sets before us, altogether from the soil of Nature to which the human being is in reality fettered, like a vassal of the glebe. How was she to effect this? Was it to hover in air? For this she must absolve it from the law of gravity, must withdraw from it all earthly materials, and therewith its bodily substance also. Very often that which is praised in art as Ideality amounts to nothing more. It brings forth only airy evanescent shadows of images, which can effect no lasting impression on the mind. But the Greeks in their Art succeeded in uniting most perfectly Ideality with Reality, or, apart from scholastic terms, superhuman Beauty with human Truth, and in investing the manifestation of an Idea with an energetic corporeality. They suffered not their forms to flutter about unsupported in empty space, but they fixed the Statue of Humanity on the eternal and immoveable basis of Moral Freedom; and that it might stand firmly there and unshaken, its own weight pressed it downwards, inasmuch as it was fashioned of marble or brass, of more massive substance than the forms of living men, and its very elevation and magnificence served but to subject it more decisively to the law of gravitation.

Interior Freedom and Exterior Necessity—these are the two Poles of the Tragic World. Each of these ideas is brought into full manifestation only by its opposition to the other. Since the feeling of interior self-determination elevates the human being above the unlimited dominion of Impulse, of natural Instinct, in a word absolves him from Nature's guardianship, so also the Necessity which he is to recognize beside her can be no mere

Physical Necessity, but must lie beyond the world of sense in the bottomless depths of the Infinite; consequently exhibits itself as the unfathomable might of Destiny. Therefore also it extends above the world of Gods; for the Greek Gods are merely physical Powers, and though immeasurably higher than the mortal Man, yet compared with the Infinite, they rank in the same grade with him. This gives rise to the altogether different manner in which they are introduced in Homer and the Tragedians. In Homer they appear with mere chance-caprice, and can impart to the Epic Poem nothing higher than the charm of the marvellous. In Tragedy, on the contrary, they come forward either as servants of Destiny and mediate executors of its decrees, or the Gods approve themselves Godlike only by asserting their freedom of action, and are involved in the same battles with Fate as Man.

This is the Essence of the Tragical, in the sense of the Ancients. We are wont to call all terrible or deplorable events Tragic, and it is certain that Tragedy does choose such by preference, though a melancholy termination is by no means indispensably necessary, and several ancient Tragedies, for instance, the *Eumenides*, the *Philoctetes*, even the *Œdipus at Colonos* in some measure, not to mention so many of Euripides's Plays, end happily and cheerfully.

But why does Tragedy select subjects so fearfully contradictory to the wishes and wants of our sensual nature? This question has been frequently put, and for the most part has seldom met with a specially satisfactory solution. Some have said that the complacency felt in such representations arises from the comparison of our repose and security with the storms and confusion brought about by the passions. But when one takes a lively interest in the tragic persons, he loses all recollection of self in the contemplation; and if he is thinking about himself, it is a sign that he takes but a weak interest, and that the Tragedy misses of its effect. Others have sought it in the feeling of moral improvement which is brought about in us by the view of poetic justice, in the rewarding of the good and punishment of the wicked. But that person for whom the sight of such warnings would indeed be wholesome, would be conscious of a base feeling of depression, far removed from genuine morality, and would experience humiliation rather than elevation of mind. Moreover, poetic justice

is not at all indispensable to the essence of a good Tragedy; this may close with the sorrows of the righteous and the triumph of the guilty, provided the equipoise be restored by consciousness, and by the prospect of futurity. Little better off are we, if we would say with Aristotle, that the aim of Tragedy is to purify the passions by excitement of pity and terror. In the first place the commentators have not been able to come to an agreement on the meaning of this proposition, and have had recourse to the most strained explanations. See Lessing's "*Dramaturgy*" on this subject. Lessing brings forward a new explanation, and thinks he has found in Aristotle a poetic Euclid. But mathematical demonstrations are subject to no misunderstanding, and the conception of geometrical evidence, one would think, must be quite inapplicable to the Theory of the Fine Arts. But even supposing that Tragedy did work this moral cure in us, she does it by means of painful feelings, Terror and Pity, and therefore it would still remain to be explained why we should feel an immediate pleasure in the operation.

Others again have been content to say that we are attracted to tragic representations by the craving for violent agitations to rouse us from the dulness of every-day life. Such a craving exists, no doubt; it gave rise to beast-fights, and among the Romans to gladiatorial shews also. But should we, less hardened and more inclined to tender emotions, require to see demi-gods and heroes descend into the bloody arena of the Tragic stage, like reprobate gladiators merely to agitate our nerves by looking on their sufferings? No; it is not the looking upon suffering that forms the charm of a Tragedy, or of the circus-games, or even of the beast-fights. In these we see a display of address, strength, and courage, bright qualities, and allied to the spiritual and moral capacities of man. The kind of satisfaction which we feel in a beautiful Tragedy from our sympathy in the violent situations and heart-rending sorrows there represented, is, either the feeling of the dignity of human nature, awakened by mighty exemplars; or the trace of a higher Order of Things impressed on the apparently irregular course of events, and therein mysteriously revealed; in both of these together.

The true reason therefore why Tragedy need not be shy of even the harshest subject is this: that a spiritual and invisible Power can be measured only by the resistance which it encounters



from an exterior Force, which may be measured by the senses. Man's moral freedom, therefore, can only reveal itself in the encounter with the sensual impulses; so long as no higher call summons it into conflict with these, it either really slumbers within him, or seems at least to slumber, since his place might suitably be filled even by a mere animal being. In the conflict alone does the Moral Nature approve itself; and if therefore we must needs exhibit the Aim of Tragedy as a lesson, let it be this: that to maintain the claims of the soul to a nature intrinsically godlike, the earthly being is to be nothing heeded; that for this all sorrows must be endured, all difficulties overcome.

On all that concerns this point I would refer to the section on the Sublime in Kant's "Critique of the Judgment" (*Kritik der Urtheilskraft*), which to be quite perfect, wants nothing but a more definite reference to the Tragedy of the Ancients; with which this Philosopher does not seem to have been particularly well acquainted.

I come to another peculiarity which distinguishes the ancient Tragedy from our own: the *Chorus*. We must conceive it as the personification of the Thought inspired by the represented Action, as the embodiment into the action itself of the Sympathy of the Poet, considered as the spokesman of collective Humanity. This is its general poetical meaning, with which alone we are here concerned, and to which it is no detriment that the Chorus had a local occasion in the festivities of Bacchus, and among the Greeks at all times retained a special national significance. In their republican spirit, namely, as has been already remarked, publicity was essential to the completeness of an action. Now as they went back in their poetic inventions to the heroic age in which the monarchal constitution was yet in force, they in some measure republicanised those Hero-families by bringing forward their actions in the presence either of the elders of the people, or of other persons who might represent something of the kind. This publicity, it is true, was not exactly consonant with the manners of the heroic age, as we learn them from Homer; but Dramatic Poetry managed the Costume as well as Mythology in general, with an independent and conscious freedom.

In this way, then, was the introduction of the Chorus brought about. And this introduction, inasmuch as the whole was to have the appearance of reality, was obliged to adapt itself in each in-



stance to the circumstances of the story. Whatever it might be, and do in particular pieces, in general it represented first, the common national spirit, then the universal sympathy of mankind. The Chorus is, in a word, the idealized spectator. It mitigates the impression of a deeply agitating, or deeply touching representation, while it reverberates to the actual spectator a lyrical and musical expression of his own emotions, and bears him aloft into the region of contemplation.

The modern Critics have never known what to make of the Chorus, and this is the less to be wondered at, considering that even Aristotle gives no satisfactory explanation of the matter. Better is the office of the Chorus depicted by Horace, where he ascribes to it a universal voice of moral sympathy, instruction and warning. Those modern Critics were of opinion, partly, that its main office is never to leave the theatre quite empty, whereas properly speaking it had not its place on the stage. Or they found fault with it as a superfluous and cumbersome accompaniment, and took offence at the supposed absurdity of conducting so much secret business in the presence of a considerable body of people. They have also considered the chief ground of the general observance of the unity of place, to be the impossibility of changing the place without first removing the Chorus, for which however the Poet must have some pretext. Lastly, they believed the Chorus to be a mere chance-remnant from the first beginnings of Tragedy; and as it may be easily conceived that in Euripides, the last of the Tragic Poets, the Choral Odes have often very little connection with the contents of the piece, and become an episodic ornament, they are even of opinion that the Greeks had but one step more to make in Dramatic Art, to throw up the Chorus altogether. To refute these shallow suppositions it is sufficient merely to observe that Sophocles, there is reason to believe, wrote a prose-work on the Chorus against the principles of some other Poets, and therefore, far from blindly following traditional prescriptions, knew, like a thoughtful Artist, how to give an account of his doings.

Modern Poets, even of the first rank, have frequently attempted since the revival of the study of the Ancients, to introduce the Chorus into their pieces, mostly without a correct, and especially without a lively conception of its design. But we have no suitable song and dance, we have also in the construction of our Theatre

no proper place for it, and therefore it is not likely that it should ever become naturalized with us.

In general, the Greek Tragedy, in its own unaltered form, is likely enough for ever to remain for our theatre an exotic, to which we can scarcely promise successful growth even in the hothouse of learned art and criticism. The Greek Mythology, which forms the materials of the ancient Tragedy, is as foreign to the thoughts and imaginations of most spectators, as the form and the manner of its theatrical representation. But to wish to force into that form materials of quite a different nature, an historical subject for instance, is a precarious attempt without hope of recompense amidst the most manifest disadvantages.

Mythology I have called, in particular, the materials of Tragedy. We know indeed of two historic Tragedies by Greek Poets, Phrynichus's Capture of Miletus, and The Persians of Æschylus, which latter we yet possess; but these singular exceptions, both of them from the epoch, when the art had not yet attained its full maturity, are merely a confirmation of the rule, where there are so many hundred examples to the contrary. The judgment of the Athenians who sentenced Phrynichus to pay a fine in money because by the representation of contemporaneous mishaps, which perhaps they might have avoided, he had too painfully agitated them, however severe and arbitrary it may appear on the side of justice, yet manifests a correct feeling for the proprieties and limitations of Art. Pained by the thought of an exterior and near reality in the depicted sorrow, the mind cannot have the repose and collectedness which are necessary for the reception of purely tragical impressions. The heroic Fable on the contrary always stepped forth from a certain distance, and in the light of the Marvellous. But the Marvellous has this advantage, that it can in some measure be at once both believed and not believed: believed, in so far as it rests on the connexion with other opinions; not believed, since we never take so immediate an interest in it, as we do in that which bears the colours of every-day neighbourly life. The Greek Mythology was a web of national and local traditions, alike revered as an appendage to religion, and as a prologue to History; every where kept alive among the people by ceremonies and monuments, and by its varied treatment in the hands of numerous Epic, or merely mythical Poets, already prepared for the wants of Art and higher

Poetry. The Tragedians therefore had only to engraft Poetry on Poetry: certain preliminary suppositions of invaluable importance for dignity, grandeur, and independence of all petty accessories were granted them at the very outset. The sanctity of legend had ennobled every thing,—even errors and frailties—in that god-born and long departed race of Heroes. Those old Worthies were depicted as beings of more than human power, but so far from possessing unerring virtue and wisdom, that they were represented with violent and unbridled passions. It was an age of a wild effervescence: the soil of Morality had not yet been brought into productiveness by the cultivating hand of social Order, and therefore brought forth a beneficent and a pernicious offspring with the fresh fulness of a creative Nature. Here even the monstrous, the horrible might make its appearance without manifesting that degenerate corruption which belongs to them in a condition of developed Law and Order, and which makes us revolt from them with abhorrence. The guilty ones of fable are, so to speak, without the province of criminal justice, and are only consigned to a higher tribunal. Some are of opinion that the Greeks, as zealous republicans, had a particular complacency in looking upon the representation of those deeds of violence, which drew on the kingly houses calamity and ruin; and they almost go to the length of interpreting the ancient Tragedy in general into a satire on the monarchal constitution. In that case, this would have been wholly a party-view of the matter, which would have been altogether at variance with the sympathy which was called for, and consequently with the intended effect. But we must remark that those royal families, which by a chain of self-requiting crimes offered the most abundant materials for the most awful tragic pictures, were those of the Pelopids in Mycenæ, and the Labdacids in Thebes, families which were foreign to the Athenians, for whom the Tragedies were in the first instance composed. We no where see that the Attic Poets laboured to make the ancient kings of their country odious; on the contrary they invariably hold up their national hero, Theseus, to public veneration as a pattern of justice and moderation, as the protector of the oppressed, as the first law-giver, nay, as the founder of freedom; and it was with them a favourite piece of adulation to the people, to shew how Athens even in the heroic age outshone the rest of Greece



in justice, humanity, and the recognition of national rights common to all Greece. The universal revolution by which the independent sovereignties of ancient Greece were transformed into a community of small free states, had separated the heroic age from the times of social cultivation, with a mighty force, beyond which the genealogy of only a few families could be traced. This was certainly very advantageous for the ideal elevation of the figures in Tragedy, since in aftertimes the affairs of men would not allow a close inspection without betraying their weaknesses. To the altogether different relations wherein those heroes lived, the rule of a merely civil and domestic morality was inapplicable; it was necessary that the feelings should revert to the original constituents of human nature. Before there were constitutions, before the notions of justice had suitably developed themselves, the sovereigns were their own lawgivers in a world which was still subordinate to them, and a powerful will had the freest room for exercise, both in good and evil. Moreover hereditary sovereignty presented more striking instances of sudden vicissitudes of fortune than could occur under the political equality of later times. In these respects, therefore, the high rank of the principal persons was essential, or at least favourable to the purposes of tragic representation; not, however, as many moderns have understood it, as though only the destinies of such as exercise an influence on the weal or woe of numbers, are sufficiently important to excite our sympathy, nor as though intrinsic loftiness of sentiment must be clothed with extrinsic dignity to be admired and revered. The Greek Tragedians depict to us the destruction of the kingly houses without any reference to the condition of the people at large; in the *King* they exhibit to us the *Man*; and far from spreading forth the purple mantle as a wall of separation between us and their heroes, they bid us look through its idle splendour into a bosom torn by passions. That the thing required was not so much the kingly pomp as the heroic costume, is clear from those modern tragedies, which take their subjects from kings and courts, on the principle just alluded to, though under different circumstances from those of the ancient tragedy, namely, under existing monarchical governments. They cannot paint from existing reality, for nothing has less tragic capability than the Court, and the Court-Life. Consequently, where they do not depict an ideal kingdom with manners already far remote.



they fall under the constraint of formality, which to boldness of character and depth of pathos, is yet more fatal than the narrow limitations of private life.

Only a few of the *Mythi* seem to have been originally coined for Tragedy, as for instance the long continued alternation of crime, revenge, and curse in the house of Atreus. When we look at the names of the lost pieces, in many of them it seems difficult to conceive how the *Mythi*, so far as we are acquainted with them, could have matter enough to fill up the compass of a Tragic whole. It is true, the Poets had, amongst the varying traditions of the same story, a great latitude of choice, and this very fluctuation of the legend justified them in going yet farther, and considerably altering the circumstances of an event, so that the inventions made use of in one piece, sometimes are at variance with the suppositions of the same Poet in another. But, principally, we are to form a conception of the productiveness of Mythology for Tragic Art from the law which we see in operation through the whole history of Grecian culture: namely, that the power which preponderated for the time assimilated to itself all the materials which lay within its reach. As the heroic legend in all its discrepancies had willingly unfolded itself into the reposeful fulness and light multiplicity of the Epos, so it conformed itself to the demands of the Tragic Poets by the earnestness, the energy and condensed coherence, then first discovered in it; and what in the sifting process of this transformation fell out as useless for Tragedy, presented materials for a half sportive, though always ideal representation in the subordinate species, called the Satyric Drama.

Let it be permitted me to throw a fuller light on the above considerations as to the essence of Ancient Tragedy, by a comparison borrowed from the plastic Arts, which perhaps is somewhat more than a mere play of fancy.

The Homeric Epos is in Poetry what the bas-relief is in Sculpture, Tragedy is the out-standing group.

The Poetry of Homer sprung up from the soil of Legend, and is still not drawn off clearly from it, just as the figures of the bas-relief are supported by a back-ground which is foreign to them. These have only a thin rounding off, as in the Epos all is depicted as past and remote; their most favourite position is that of the profile, as in the Epos all is characterised in the simplest

manner; they are not properly grouped, but follow each other, just as Homer's Heroes came forth, in rank as it were, one by one. It has been remarked that the *Iliad* is not definitively closed into a whole, but supposes something before and after it. So too the bas-relief is without limits, it may be prolonged in both directions, on which account the most favourite subjects for the bas-relief with the Ancients were such as admit of an indefinite extension, sacrificial processions, series of battles, and so forth. Hence they applied the bas-relief to round surfaces, as vases, the frieze of a rotunda, where the two ends are withdrawn from us by the curvature, and as we move round, one appears and the other disappears. The reading of the Homeric Poems is very like a circuit of this kind: that which lies before us always arrests our attention, and suffers what goes before and what follows to disappear.

In the outstanding group, on the contrary, as in Tragedy, the Sculpture and the Poetry will bring at once before our eyes an independent and distinct whole. To separate it from the natural reality the Sculptor sets it upon a basis, as on an ideal ground. On the contrary he removes as much as possible all foreign and accidental matter, that he may fix the eye wholly on the essential objects, the figures themselves. He completely rounds off the forms, but despises the illusion of colours, and by the solid and uniform masses of which he fashions them, he announces a Creation of no fleeting existence, but endowed with a higher intrinsic value.

The aim of Sculpture is Beauty, and for Beauty the most advantageous condition is Repose. This, therefore, is proper for the single figure. But a number of figures can be combined into unity, can be grouped, only by an Action. The group exhibits Beauty in motion, and here the problem is, to unite the two in the highest degree. This will be the case if the Artist finds means, in the strongest bodily or mental agony, so to temper the expression by means of manly resistance, calm grandeur, or inherent gracefulness, that, with all the touching truth, the features of Beauty shall still be undisfigured. Winkelmann's expression on this subject is inimitable. He says that "Beauty was to the Ancients the tongue on the balance of expression," and describes, in this sense, the groups of the Niobe and the Laocoon; the former a master-work in the high and severe, the latter in the learned and ornamental style.

The comparison with Ancient Tragedy is here the more apposite, as we know that both Æschylus and Sophocles composed a Niobe, the latter a Laocoon also. In the Laocoon, the passive efforts of the body and the resistful efforts of the soul are apportioned in wonderful equipoise. The help-imploring children, tender objects only of compassion, not of admiration, turn our eyes to the father, who seems in vain to turn his to the Gods. The wreathing snakes represent to us the inevitable Destiny, which often so fearfully entangles the acting persons with each other. And yet the beautiful symmetry, the pleasing flow of the outlines is not lost in the violence of the struggle; the horror, which the representation has to the senses, is managed with forbearance, and a softening breath of gracefulness is diffused over the whole.

In the group of the Niobe, terror and pity are in like manner blended to perfection. The former descends invisibly from that Heaven, which the upturned eyes of the Mother and her half-opened mouth are imploringly accusing. The Daughter, fleeing in the agony of death to the bosom of her Mother, in her childish innocence, can tremble only for herself: never was the innate instinct of self-preservation more tenderly represented. On the other side, can there be a more beautiful emblem of the self-devoting greatness of an heroic soul than Niobe bending forward to receive, if it were possible in her own body, the annihilating arrow? Haughtiness and indignation are melted away into the most heartfelt maternal love. The unearthly nobleness of her features is the less disfigured by the agony, as from the sudden accumulation of the blows, it seems, as the significant fable relates, to be already passing into the stony torpor. But, in the presence of this Figure, thus petrified into marble in a double sense, and yet so infinitely full of soul, in the presence of this boundary-stone of all human sorrows, the spectator melts into tears.

Yet with all the agitating feelings which these groups inspire, there lies a something in their look which allures us to collected contemplation; and so also the Ancient Tragedy guides us into the sublimest reflections, included in the sphere of its very representation, reflections on our existence, and its never-to-be wholly unriddled significance.

## FOURTH LECTURE.

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Progress of Tragic Art among the Greeks. Their different Styles. *Æschylus*. Connexion of one of his Trilogies. His other Works. Life and Poetical character of *Sophocles*. Criticism of his Tragedies, severally.

OF the boundless treasures which the Greeks possessed in the tragic department, and which were called forth by the public contests at the Athenian Festivals, since the rival Poets always contended for a prize, little indeed has come down to our times. Of three alone of their many Tragedians, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* have we some works remaining, and these bearing a small proportion to the great fertility of those authors. They are those which the Alexandrine Critics included in their selection of Authors, which was to serve for a basis to the study of the older Grecian Literature, not as though these were the only valuable ones, but because in them the different styles of Tragic Art might best be recognized. Of each of the two more Ancient Dramatists we have seven pieces, but among these are to be found several of what the Ancients testify to be their most distinguished works. From *Euripides* we have a much greater number, and many of them we might gladly exchange for other lost works; for Satyric Dramas, for instance, of *Achæus*, *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, for some pieces of old *Phrynichus* for the sake of comparison with *Æschylus*, or of *Agathon* in later times, whom *Plato* describes to us as effeminate, but amiable, and who was contemporary with *Euripides*, but younger than he.

The stories about the waggon of the itinerant *Thespis*, about the contests for a goat, whence, it is said, the name of Tragedy is derived, about the lees of wine with which the first improvisatory Players smeared their faces, and others of the like kind, from which rude beginnings, *Æschylus*, at one gigantic step, elevated Tragedy to that dignified form in which we meet with her in his works; we leave to the critical sieve of the Antiquarian, and we now proceed forthwith to the Poets themselves.



The tragic style of Æschylus, (taking the word in the sense which it bears in Sculpture, not merely applied to his manner of writing) is great, severe, and often hard; in the style of Sophocles there is finished symmetry and harmonious gracefulness; the style of Euripides is soft and luxuriant; extravagant in his easy fulness he sacrifices the effect of the whole to brilliant passages. The analogies every where presented by the uninterrupted development of the Fine Arts among the Greeks will allow us to compare the Epochs of Tragic Art to those of Sculpture. Æschylus is the Phidias of Tragedy, Sophocles her Polycletus, Euripides her Lysippus. Phidias wrought sublime forms of Gods, but he also lent them an extrinsic splendour of material; he surrounded their majestic repose with images of the most violent battles in strong outlines. Polycletus reached perfection in his proportions, for which reason one of his statues was called the Rule of Beauty. Lysippus distinguished himself by the fire of his imagery, but in his time Sculpture had already receded from her original calling, and rather sought to express the charm of the moving and living being, than attempted to reach the Ideal in Form.

*Æschylus* is to be looked upon as the Creator of Tragedy: in full panoply sprang she from his head as did Pallas from the head of Jupiter. He clad her with dignity and gave her a suitable stage; he invented scenic pomp, he not only trained his Chorus in the song and dance, but himself came forward as an actor. He first unfolded the dialogue, and limited the lyric part of tragedy, which, however, still often occupies too great a space in his plays. The characters he throws off with a few bold strong touches. His plans are extremely simple: he had not yet learned how to divide an action into rich and varied members, and to portion out its complication and disentanglement into measured gradations. Hence the action often comes to a stand-still, of which by an excessive protraction of his Choral Odes he makes us yet more sensible. But all his compositions display a high and earnest spirit. It is not the softer emotions, it is terror that bears rule with him; he holds up the head of Medusa before the petrified spectators. His management of Destiny is extremely harsh: it hovers over the heads of mortals in all its gloomy majesty. The Cothurnus of Æschylus treads, one might say, with an iron ponderousness: forms, sheerly gigantic, stride in upon it. It seems almost to cost him a conquest over himself to depict mere

human beings: Gods he frequently introduces, especially Titans, those elder Gods, who intimate the gloomy Powers of primeval Nature, and who had been thrust down, long ago, into Tartarus beneath a world of more serene order. In proportion to the dimensions of his personages he seeks to swell out the very language which they speak, into a gigantic vastness. Hence his rugged compounds, an overloading of epithets, and in the lyric parts often an entanglement of the constructions and great consequent obscurity. In the altogether singular strangeness of his imagery and expressions he is like Dante and Shakspeare. Yet in these images there is no want of those fearful graces, which the Ancients so generally extol in Æschylus.

Æschylus flourished exactly at the æra, when Grecian Freedom, after its delivery, was in its prime of vigour, and with the proud consciousness of this he seems to be thoroughly penetrated. He had lived to see, as an eye-witness, the greatest and most glorious event of Greece, the overthrow, nay, the annihilation of the overbearing might of Persia under Darius and Xerxes, and in the great battles of Marathon and Salamis had fought with distinguished bravery. In the *Persians* he has indirectly sung the triumph which he helped to achieve, depicting in that Play the ruin of the Persian sovereignty, and the shameful return of the Monarch, who with difficulty escapes to his seat of royalty. He describes in the most lively colours the battle of Salamis. Through this piece and the *Seven before Thebes* there flows the vein of a warrior: the personal inclination of the Poet to a hero's life gleams through them in a manner not to be mistaken. It was ingeniously said by the Sophist Gorgias, that in the great drama last mentioned, Mars inspired him instead of Bacchus; for Bacchus was the guardian God of the tragic Poets, not Apollo: a circumstance which at first sight seems strange, but then we must recollect that Bacchus was not merely the God of wine and gladness, but also of the higher inspiration.

Among the extant pieces of Æschylus we have, what is remarkable in the extreme, a complete *Trilogy*. The Antiquarian account of the Trilogies is this: that in the more ancient times the Poets did not contend for the prize with one piece only, but with *three*, which however were not always connected in their subjects: to these was added a fourth, namely, a *Satyrical Drama*. All these were performed in one day, one after another. In relation to the tragic art, the notion of a Trilogy is thus to be compre-

hended: that a Tragedy cannot, it is true, be lengthened out and continued indefinitely, like the Homeric heroic poem, for instance, to which whole rhapsodies have been appended; Tragedy is too independent, too complete in itself for this. Notwithstanding, several Tragedies, by virtue of a common Destiny which proceeds through their Actions, admit of being connected into a great cycle or period. Even the restriction to the number *three* may be very satisfactorily explained. We have *thesis*, *synthesis*, and *antithesis*. The advantage of this connection is, that from the contemplation of the conjoint histories there results a more complete satisfaction than could possibly be attained in the single Action. As to the rest, the subjects of the three Tragedies might lie far apart in time, or might follow each other immediately.

The three pieces of the Æschylean Trilogy are the Agamemnon, the Choëphoroi (or as we should call it, Electra), and the Eumenides or Furies. The subject of the first is the murder of Agamemnon by Clytæmnestra on his return from Troy. In the second, Orestes avenges his Father by murdering his Mother; *facto pius et sceleratus eodem*. This deed, though perpetrated on the most powerful motives, is revolting to the natural and moral order of things. Orestes, it is true, as a ruler, is called upon to exercise justice even upon his own family, but then he is obliged to creep in disguise into the abode of the tyrannical usurper of his throne, and to go to work like an assassin. The memory of his Father is his acquittal, but however deserving of death Clytæmnestra might be, the voice of blood accuses him inwardly. This is represented as a controversy between the Gods; one party of whom approve the deed of Orestes, the others persecute him, till Divine Wisdom under the form of Minerva balances the claims on either side, establishes peace, and puts an end to the long train of crime and vengeance which had desolated the royal House of Atreus.

Between the first and second piece a considerable interval elapses, during which Orestes grows up to manhood. The second and third, on the contrary, are immediately connected with each other in time. Orestes directly after the murder of his Mother flees to Delphi, where we find him at the opening of the Eumenides.

In each of the first two pieces there is a visible reference to that which follows. In the Agamemnon, Casandra, and, at the close of the play, the Chorus, prophesy future requital by the



hands of Orestes to the haughty Clytæmnestra and her help-mate Ægisthus. In the *Choëphoroi*, Orestes, immediately after the perpetration of the deed, finds no rest; the Furies of his Mother begin to persecute him, and he announces his purpose of fleeing to Delphi.

The mutual dependence of the pieces is therefore apparent, and, being in fact also connected in the performance, the three plays might be regarded as so many acts of one grand Heroic Drama. I mention this in order to vindicate the practice of Shakspeare and other modern Dramatists, in comprising into one representation a greater cycle of human destinies; because the supposed example of the Ancients is precisely what has been objected to the practice.

In the *Agamemnon* Æschylus wished to exhibit to us the sudden downfall from the very summit of prosperity and renown to the abyss of ruin. The Ruler, the Hero, the Commander of the collected hosts of Greece at the very instant of his success in that most glorious achievement, the destruction of Troy, for which his fame was to be re-echoed in time present and time to come, in the very act of crossing the threshold of the house for which he has so long been sighing, and amidst the careless preparations for a festive banquet is murdered, as Homer expresses it, "like an ox beside his crib," murdered by his faithless wife; his throne is seized upon by her worthless paramour, his children are consigned to banishment or to helpless servitude.

In the view of giving a striking effect to so terrific a reverse of fortune, the Poet was obliged in the first place to give additional splendour to the conquest of Troy. This he has done in the first half of the piece, in a peculiar, nay, if you will, singular fashion, but certainly with great impressiveness, and in a manner that arrests the imagination. It is of consequence to Clytæmnestra that she should not be surprized by her husband's return. She has therefore taken measures to have an unbroken line of beacon-fires from Troy to Mycenæ, to announce to her the great event. The play opens with the speech of a watchman, who supplicates of the Gods a deliverance from his toils, since now for ten years exposed to the cold night-dews, he has seen the alternating stars passing above him, and ever in vain been waiting for the signal: at the same time he sighs in secret over the ruin which is at work in the royal house. At this moment he sees the wished-



for flame blaze up, and hastens to announce it to his Lady. A Chorus of Old Men appears, and in its ode exhibits the war of Troy in all its fateful relations, traces it back to its origin, to all the prophecies connected with it at the time, to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, with which the Greeks were constrained to purchase their departure on the expedition. Clytæmnestra explains to the Chorus the reasons for her joyful sacrifice; presently enters the herald Talthybius, who relates all as an eye-witness; the spectacle of the conquered, plundered, flame-devoted city, the triumph of the host, and the glory of its commander. Reluctantly however, as unwilling to interrupt his prayers for their prosperity by evil tidings, he relates the subsequent mishaps of the Greeks, their dispersion, and the shipwreck suffered by many of them—calamities wherein the wrath of the Gods had begun to reveal itself. It is obvious how little the Poet has observed the unity of time; how much, on the contrary, he has availed himself of the privilege of his spiritual dominion over the things of Nature, and has given wings to the circling hours in their career towards the fearful goal. Now comes Agamemnon himself with a kind of Triumphal procession; on another chariot, laden with spoils follows Casandra, his captive concubine, according to the laws of war in those times. Clytæmnestra greets him with a hypocritical show of joy and veneration, bids her maidens spread forth the purple carpets of the costliest golden embroidery, that the foot of the conqueror may not touch the ground. Agamemnon with wise moderation refuses to accept this honour, which belongs only to Gods; at last he complies with her solicitations, and follows her into the house. The chorus begins to entertain dark forebodings. Clytæmnestra returns, to entice Casandra by friendly persuasion to the same destruction. She remains dumb and immoveable, but scarcely is the Queen away, when seized by prophetic rage she breaks out into confused indistinct wailings; presently she reveals her predictions to the chorus more clearly; she beholds, in spirit, all the atrocities which have been perpetrated within this House: that Thyestean banquet from which the Sun turned away his eye; the shades of the mangled children appear to her on the battlements of the palace. She sees also the murder which is in readiness for her lord, and though shuddering at the reek of death, she rushes like a maniac into the house, to meet her inevitable destruction; behind the scenes are heard the groans of

the dying Agamemnon. The palace is thrown open; Clytæmnestra stands beside the corpse of her king and husband, like an insolent criminal who not only acknowledges the deed, but glories in it, and would justify it as a righteous act of requital for Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia to his own ambition. Her jealousy of Casandra and guilty union with the worthless Ægisthus, who does not make his appearance till after the perpetration of the deed at the end of the piece, are scarcely touched upon as motives, and remain quite in the back-ground. This was necessary, to preserve the dignity of the subject. But in other respects also, Clytæmnestra was not to be depicted as a frail, seduced woman, but with the traits of that heroic age, which is so rich in bloody catastrophes, in which all passions were so impetuous, and men, both in good and evil, exceeded the common standard of subsequent degenerated ages. What is more revolting, what proves a deeper degeneracy of human nature than the conception of horrible crimes in the bosom of cowardly effeminacy? If the Poet be at all called upon to depict such crimes, he must by no means seek to palliate them, or to mitigate our detestation of them. The bringing the sacrifice of Iphigenia so close to us has moreover the advantage of obviating too much bitterness of indignation at the fall of Agamemnon. He is, at the best, not guiltless; former crime recoils on his own head. Moreover, according to the religious notions of the Greeks, an ancient curse weighed heavily on his house: Ægisthus, the author of his overthrow, is a son of that very Thyestes on whom his father Atreus had taken so unnatural a revenge; and this fateful connection is vividly brought before our minds by the choral odes, but especially by the prophecies of Casandra.

The next piece, the *Choëphoroi*, I pass over for the present; I reserve what I have to say of this Play for a comparison which I mean to institute between the three Dramatists in respect of their several methods of treating one and the same subject.

In the *Eumenides*, as I have already remarked, the subject is the exculpation and acquittal of Orestes from his blood-guiltiness; it is a trial, but one in which the accusers, the advocates, and the presiding Judge are Gods: and with such majesty its importance and manner of treatment correspond. The very scene of it brought before the eyes of the Greeks the most awful circumstances that they were acquainted with.

It opens in front of the far-famed Temple of Delphi, which occupies the back-ground; the aged Pythoness steps forward in priestly garb, addresses her prayer to all the Gods who presided, or still preside over the Oracle, speaks to the assembled people (the real spectators), and goes into the Temple to take her place upon the Tripod. She comes back full of horror, and describes what she has seen in the Temple, a man stained with blood, in the attitude of a suppliant, and women, with snaky hair, sleeping round about him. She then leaves the stage by the entrance through which she first entered. Apollo next comes forward with Orestes in a travelling garb, and bearing a sword and olive-bough in his hands. He promises him his farther protection, bids him flee to Athens, and recommends him to the safeguard of Mercury who is invisibly present: which safeguard was especially devoted to travellers, and such as were obliged to travel stealthily.

Orestes departs on the side allotted to strangers; Apollo returns into his temple which continues open, and displays in the interior females sleeping round about on the benches. Now the shade of Clytæmnestra ascends by Charon's steps and through the Orchestra to the stage. We are not to imagine her as a haggard skeleton, but as a being in the form of the living woman, only pale, with the wound still open in her breast, and clad in sky-blue garments. She calls up the Furies with many reproaches, and then vanishes, probably by a trap-door. They awake, and not finding Orestes, dance wildly and tumultuously about the stage, while they sing their choral song. Apollo again comes out of the temple, and drives them off as hateful beings who pollute his sanctuary. Let him be imagined as appearing with the sublime indignation and in the threatening attitude of the Vatican Apollo, with quiver and bow, but also clad with tunic and chlamys.

Now the scene changes: but as the Greeks on such occasions liked to go the simplest way to work, the back-ground perhaps remained unaltered, and had now to represent the Temple of Minerva on Mars'-Hill, (the Arcopagus,) the side decorations being transformed into Athens and the surrounding landscape. Orestes comes as from abroad, and, as a suppliant, embraces the statue of Pallas which stood in front of the temple. The Chorus (which according to the Poet's own account was clothed in black with purple girdles and snakes in their hair, the marks perhaps

like Medusa-heads of terrific beauty, the age also being simply indicated, according to the principles of plastic art) follows behind him on foot, but now through the remainder of the play remains below in the Orchestra. At first the Furies had shown themselves like beasts of prey frantic at the escape of their booty: now, with calm dignity, they sing their high and terrible office among mortals, demand the head of Orestes which has fallen forfeit to them, and devote it with mysterious spells to endless torment. Pallas, the warrior-virgin, enters upon a chariot drawn by four horses, being called forth by the prayers of the suppliant. She demands and calmly listens to the petitions of Orestes and of his adversaries, at last, after wise deliberation of the concerns of either side, she assumes the office of arbitress which is offered to her by both parties. The convoked Judges take their seats on the steps of the temple, the herald orders silence by a trumpet, just as in a real trial. Apollo steps forward to speak for his suppliant, the Furies in vain refuse his interference, and now the reasons for and against the deed are debated between them in short speeches. The judges throw their pebbles into the urn, Pallas throws in a white one: all is on the highest stretch of expectation; Orestes, in an agony of soul, calls to his protector;

“O Phæbus Apollo, how shall this contention end?”

The Furies, on the other side,

“O gloomy Night, our Mother, lookest thou not at this?”

The pebbles being numbered, it is found that the black and white are equal, and thereby the accused, on the declaration of Pallas, is acquitted. He breaks out into joyful thanksgiving, whilst the Furies rise in mutiny against the overbearing of these younger Gods, which allows itself all lengths against those of the Titanian race. Pallas bears their wrath with equanimity, speaks to them with graciousness, nay, with reverence; these otherwise so untameable Beings cannot withstand her mild eloquence. They promise to bless the land where she rules, Pallas in return engages to allow them a sanctuary in the Attic domain, where they are to be called the Eumenides, i. e. the Benevolent Beings. The whole ends with a solemn processional circuit and songs of blessing, while troops of children, women, and old men in purple garments and with torches go out with the Furies as their retinue.



Let us now cast back a glance on the entire Trilogy. In the Agamemnon, arbitrary free-will in the plotting and in the perpetration of the deed chiefly prevails; the principal character is a great criminal, and the piece ends with the revolting impression of audacious tyranny triumphant. The reference to an earlier preparatory destiny, I have already mentioned.

The deed in the Choëphoroi was partly ordered by Apollo, and therefore was the decree of Destiny, partly it sprung from natural impulses, Orestes's desire to avenge his Father, and his brotherly affection for the oppressed Electra. The strife between feelings the most holy does not directly appear till after the deed is done, and here also leaves us without full satisfaction.

The Eumenides from the very beginning occupy the summit of tragic elevation; all that went before is concentrated as into a focus. Orestes has become the merely passive instrument of Destiny. All Freedom of action has passed over into the higher sphere of the Gods. Pallas is properly the principal person. That contradiction between the holiest relations, which often occurs in life as a problem not to be solved by man, is here represented as a contention in the world of Gods.

And this leads me to the deep significance of the whole. The ancient Mythology in general is symbolical, though not allegorical; for the two certainly admit of a distinction. Allegory is the personification of a notion, a poetical invention designed solely in this view; but that is symbolical, which though invented by the imagination for other purposes, or possessing in other respects a reality of its own, independent of the notion, readily adapts itself to an emblematical interpretation, nay, even of its own accord, suggests it.

The Titans in general denote the dark mysterious powers of primeval Nature and of the Mind; the younger Gods, what enters more into the sphere of consciousness. The former are more nearly allied to original Chaos, the latter belong to a world which has now begun to be orderly. The Furies denote the fearful violence of Conscience, so far as this rests on dark feelings and misgivings, and yields to no grounds of reason. In vain may Orestes represent to himself all the motives, however righteous, which urged him to the deed, the voice of blood accuses him. Apollo is the God of Youth, of the noble effervescence of passionate indignation, of the daring deed. Therefore it was he that

ordered it. Pallas is thoughtful Wisdom, Justice and Moderation, which alone can compose the strife.

The very falling asleep of the Furies in the Temple is symbolical; only in the holy sanctuary, only in the refuge offered by Religion can the fugitive find repose from the torments of conscience. But scarcely has he ventured forth into the world, when the image of his murdered mother appears, and wakens them afresh. In the very speeches of Clytæmnestra, the symbolical purport is plain, as in the attributes of the Furies, the snakes, the sucking of blood. The like may be said of the horror of Apollo at the sight of them. This emblematical character runs through the whole. The equipoise between the conflicting motives for and against the deed is denoted by the divided number of the judges. When at last the appeased Furies are promised a sanctuary in the Athenian territory, the meaning is, that Reason is not to wish to enforce universally her moral principles against involuntary impulse; there is in the human mind a boundary not to be transgressed, all contact with which must be shunned with awful reverence by every one who wishes to preserve inward peace.

So much of the deep philosophical meaning, which in this Poet, who, according to Cicero's testimony, was a Pythagorean, ought not to surprize us. But Æschylus had political aims besides. The most immediate, the exaltation of the glory of Athens. Delphi was the religious centre of Greece, and yet how far does it retire into the shade! It is only against the first stress of persecution that Delphi can defend Orestes, it has not the power to make him wholly free; this is reserved for the land of Law and Humanity. Yet farther, he wished, and this was the main point, to recommend as essential to the welfare of Athens, the Areopagus, an incorruptible yet mild tribunal, in which especially the white pebble of Pallas, given in favour of the accused, is an invention which does honour to the humanity of the Athenians. The Poet shows us how from a portentous round of guilt proceeds an institution which became a blessing to mankind.

But, it will be asked, are not such extrinsic objects detrimental to the pure poetical impression of the whole<sup>1</sup>? Certainly they

1. I do not find that this aim has been expressly ascribed to Æschylus by any of the Ancients. But it is too plain to be overlooked, especially in the speech of Pallas at v. 630. This agrees with the account that in the same year in which this play was exhibited. (Ol. LXXX, 1.) one Ephialtes excited the people against the Areopagus, which was the best guardian of the old and stricter constitution. This Ephialtes was murdered

are, in the manner in which many Poets, and even Euripides, have conducted themselves in such cases. But in Æschylus, the design is rather subservient to the poetry than the poetry to the design. He does not descend to a contracted reality, but elevates it into a higher sphere, and brings it into connection with conceptions the most sublime.

In the *Orestia* of Æschylus (so the *Trilogy* was called), we certainly possess one of the sublimest Poems ever conceived by a human Imagination, and probably the ripest and most perfect among all the productions of his Genius. With this the chronological account agrees: for he was at least sixty years old when he brought these Plays upon the stage, the last dramas with which he won the prize at Athens. Nevertheless, every one of his extant Dramas is remarkable for some one point of view in the Poet's peculiar genius, or for the gradation of the art to which he had in each instance attained.

The *Suppliant Women* I should be inclined to take for one of his earlier works. Probably it might belong to a *Trilogy* of Tragedies on the same subject, and occupied the middle place between two others, the names of which are found in the Catalogue, namely, the *Ægyptians* and the *Danaïdes*. The first would describe the flight of the *Danaïdes* from Egypt, to escape from the detested union with their cousins; the second shews the protection which they seek and find in Argos; the third, their murder of the husbands forced upon them. We are inclined to view the two first pieces as only single scenes, introductions to the last, in which the action first becomes properly tragical. But the Tragedy of the *Suppliants*, supposing it to occupy this place, wants points of connexion with the actions supposed to precede and follow, for it forms in itself an entire satisfactory whole. The Chorus in this Play does not merely participate in the proceedings, but it is the principal person towards whom our sympathy is chiefly to be directed. This constitution of the Tragedy is favourable neither to the deline-

one night by an unknown hand. Æschylus gained the first prize in the theatrical games, but we know that he soon afterwards left Athens and closed his remaining years in Sicily. It may be, that though the judges gave him his due, the populace conceived an aversion to him which induced him, without any express sentence of banishment, to quit his native city. The story of the sight of his too terrific chorus of Furies having thrown children into mortal convulsions and made women miscarry, I consider fabulous. A Poet would scarcely have been crowned, if through his fault the festival had been protaned by such occurrences.

ation of proper character, nor to the touching effect of the passions; in the technical language of the Greeks, neither to *Ethos* nor to *Pathos*. The Chorus has but one voice, but one Soul: the character common to fifty young girls (for such was undoubtedly the number of the Chorus of the Danaïdes) is set at variance with the nature of things by every trait of exclusive particularity; it can only be described with the universal traits of human nature, next with the distinctive features of sex and age, and, it may be, of nationality. This last indeed, Æschylus has rather wished than managed to express: he lays great stress on the foreign extraction of the Danaïdes, but he only testifies it of them without making the foreign character recognizable in their speeches. Sentiments, resolutions, actions proceeding from such a multitude, manifested with such unanimity, conceived and executed like the movements of a regiment under orders, have scarcely the appearance of somewhat proceeding freely and immediately from the inward being. Again, situations and turns of destiny in the case of a single individual example, which shall be displayed till we are intimately acquainted with it, excite the sympathy more powerfully than could be the case in a multitude of uniformly re-iterated copies combined into a mass. It is more than dubious whether Æschylus so managed the history of the third piece that the Danaïd Hypermnestra, who forms the single exception, became with her pity or her love the chief object of the piece. It is probable that here also he gave the preponderance to the utterance of the complaints, wishes, anxieties and prayers of them all in magnificent choral odes exhibiting, so to speak, a social solemnity of action and suffering.

In the *Seven against Thebes*, likewise, the King and the Messenger, whose speeches occupy the greatest part of the Play, are the speakers rather by virtue of their office than as interpreters of personal feelings. The description of the attack which threatens the city, and of the seven Chiefs, who, like heaven-storming Giants, have sworn its overthrow, and expose their arrogance to view in the emblems of their shields; all this is epic matter invested with Tragic Pomp. This long mounting preparation is worthy of the one terrific moment when Eteocles, who having preserved till now a vigilant and courageous composure has at each gate confronted one of the insolent foes with a patriotic Hero, when at last in the seventh is described to him



the Author of the whole calamity, his brother Polynices, instantly borne away by the Furies of his Father's curse, resolves to meet him in battle himself, and heedless of all the adjurations of the Chorus, with a distinct consciousness of the inevitable destruction, rushes to the mutual deed of fratricide. War in itself is no subject for Tragedy: from the ominous preparation the Poet hurries us to the decision: the City is rescued, the two competitors for the throne have fallen by each other's hands, and the whole is closed by the wailings over their dead bodies, in which the sisters and the Chorus of Theban Maidens bear their part. It is remarkable that the resolution of Antigone not to leave her brother uninterred in spite of the prohibition, with which determination Sophocles begins his play of this name, is here interwoven at the end, which, therefore, as in the *Choëphoroi*, forms the connecting point for a new subsequent developement of the action.

I wish I might assume the *Persians* to have been composed by Æschylus merely out of a wish to comply with an eager desire of Hiero, King of Syracuse, to realize to his imagination more completely the great events of the Persian War. Such in fact is the tenor of one account, but, according to another, the play had already been acted at Athens. In consequence of the choice of subject, on which we have touched above, and in the manner of treatment, it differs from all the extant Tragedies of this Poet, and is indisputably the most imperfect. Scarcely has the dream of Atossa in the beginning raised our expectation, when with the arrival of the very first messenger the whole catastrophe is before us, and no farther progress is conceivable. Still, even if it be no correct drama, it is a proud triumphal hymn of liberty clothed in weak and endless wailings over the fallen majesty of the subjugator. With great wisdom, both in this Drama and in the *Seven against Thebes*, the Poet describes the issue of the battle not as accidental, in which light it almost always appears in Homer (for in Tragedy no room whatever is to be left to accident), but as dependent from the very first on the overweening infatuation of the one side and the prudent moderation on the other.

The *Prometheus Bound*, again, stood between two others, the *Prometheus Fire-bringing* and *Prometheus Unbound*; if indeed we may reckon the first, which was doubtless a Satyric

Drama, to have been part of a Trilogy. Of the *Prometheus Unbound*, we have an important fragment in the Latin Translation of Attius.

The *Prometheus Bound* is the representation of steadfast endurance under suffering, and, indeed, the immortal suffering of a God. Banished to a desolate rock over against the earth-encircling Ocean, this play nevertheless takes in the world, the Olympus of the Gods, and Earth the abode of Man, all scarcely yet reposing in a state of security over the precipitous abyss of the dark primeval powers of Titanism. The notion of a Deity delivering himself up as a sacrifice has been mysteriously inculcated in many religions, as a confused foreboding of the true One, but here it stands in most fearful contrast with consolatory Revelation. For Prometheus suffers not on an understanding with the Power that rules the world, but in atonement for his rebellion against that Power, and this rebellion consists in nothing else than his design of making man perfect. Thus he becomes a type of Humanity itself, as, gifted with an unblest foresight, rivetted to its own narrow existence, and destitute of all allies, it has nothing to oppose to the inexorable powers of nature arrayed against it, but an unshaken will and the consciousness of its own sublime pretensions. The other inventions of the Greek Tragedians are single Tragedies; this, I might say, is Tragedy herself: her inmost Spirit revealed in all the prostrating and annihilating force of its hitherto unmitigated austerity.

Of exterior action there is little in this piece: from the commencement, Prometheus suffers and resolves: he resolves and suffers the same throughout. But the Poet has contrived in a most masterly manner to introduce vicissitude and progress into that which is irrevocably fixed, and to afford a measure of the unattainable grandeur of his sublime Titan in the circumstances which environ him. First, the silence of Prometheus during the horrible process of his fettering under the rude superintendence of Strength and Force, against whose menaces Vulcan, their instrument, can only offer an unprofitable compassion; then his lonely complainings; the arrival of the femininely tender Oceanides, amidst whose timid lamentations he gives more free vent to his character, recounts the causes of his fall, and prophecies of the future, which, however, with wise reserve, he but half reveals; then the visit of old Oceanus, a kindred God of

Titanian extraction, who, under the show of wishing to be a zealous intercessor for him, counsels submission to Jupiter, and is therefore dismissed with proud disdain; next how Io, the frenzy-driven wanderer, comes before him, a victim to the same tyranny under which Prometheus lies subdued; how he prophesies to her of her yet impending wanderings, and of her final destiny, which hangs connected with his own, inasmuch as from her blood after many generations a saviour shall arise to him; farther how Mercury as the messenger of the universal Tyrant, with domineering menaces demands of him his secret, in what way Jove is to be secured upon his throne against all the malice of Fortune; how, at last, before the refusal is well uttered, amidst thunder, lightning, storm and earthquake, Prometheus, together with the rock to which he is fettered, is swallowed down into the infernal world. The triumph of subjection has perhaps never been more gloriously solemnized, and it is difficult to conceive how in the *Prometheus Unbound* the Poet could maintain his ground on an equal elevation.

Generally considered, the Tragedies of Æschylus are one example among many, that in Art as in Nature, gigantic productions precede those of regulated symmetry, which then dwindle away into delicacy and insignificance, and that Poetry in her first manifestation always approaches nearest to the awfulness of Religion, whatever shape the latter may assume amongst the various races of men.

An expression of the Poet, which has been preserved, proves that he exerted himself to maintain this elevation, and diligently avoided that artificial polish, which might lower him from this godlike sublimity. His brothers exhorted him to write a new *Pæan*. He answered, that "the old one by Tynnichus was the best composed; that his own, by comparison with this, would fare just as the new statues do beside the old; for the latter with all their simplicity are esteemed godlike, but the new and carefully elaborated works are admired indeed, but give less of the impression of divinity." As in all things, so in religion as in all things else, his boldness carried him to extremities, and so he came to be accused of having in one of his pieces made a betrayal of the Eleusinian mysteries, and it was only on the intercession of his brother Amynias, who displayed the wounds which he had received in the battle of Salamis, that

he was acquitted. Perhaps it was his belief, that in the communications of the Poet, the initiation into the Mysteries lay implied, and that to none would aught be revealed in this way, who was not worthy of it.

The tragic style of Æschylus is certainly incomplete, and not unfrequently runs into epic and lyric elements, which are not well fused together. Abrupt, immoderate, harsh, he often is; to compose after him Tragedies which should be better works of Art was very possible: in almost superhuman grandeur he may perhaps be for ever unsurpassed, considering that in this respect his fortunate younger rival, Sophocles himself, did not come up to him. An expression of this Poet concerning him, proves that he himself was a thoughtful artist. "Æschylus does what is right, but without knowing it." Simple words these, but they express the whole of what we mean, when we speak of an unconscious genius.

*Sophocles*, in the date of his birth is about intermediate between his predecessor and Euripides, so that he stands at the distance of about half a generation from each; but the accounts do not entirely coincide. With both, however, he was contemporary through the greater part of his life. With Æschylus he often contended for the ivy-wreath of Tragedy, and Euripides he outlived, though that Poet reached an advanced age. It would seem, to speak in the spirit of the Old Religion, as if a gracious Providence had purposed to reveal to the human race in the example of this one man, the dignity and the blessedness of its lot, by conferring upon him, in addition to all that can adorn and elevate the mind and the heart, all conceivable blessings of life besides. To have been born of wealthy and respected parentage, as a free citizen of the most polished community in Greece, was but the first preliminary to his felicity. Beauty of person and of mind, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of both in perfect soundness to the very extreme term of human life, a most select and complete education in the gymnastic and musical arts, the one of which was so mighty to impart energy, the other, harmony to exquisite natural capacities: the sweet bloom of youth, and the mature fruit of age; the possession and uninterrupted enjoyment of poetry and art, and the exercise of serene wisdom; love and esteem among his fellow-citizens, renown abroad, and the favour of the well-pleased Gods: these



are the most general features of the life of this pious and holy Poet. It is as though the gods—among whom he early devoted himself to Bacchus in particular, as the giver of all gladness, and the civilizer of rude mankind, by the exhibition of tragedy at his festivals,—had wished to make him immortal, so long did they defer his death; and, as this might not be, they loosened his life from him as softly as possible, that he might imperceptibly exchange one immortality for the other, the long duration of his earthly existence for an imperishable name. When a youth of sixteen years old, he was chosen, on account of his beauty, to dance the prelude, according to the Grecian custom, playing at the same time upon the lyre, to the Pæan which was performed by the Chorus of youths around the trophy erected after the battle of Salamis—that battle in which Æschylus had fought, and which he has depicted in such glorious colours. Thus, then, the most beautiful disclosure of his youthful bloom, coincided with the most glorious epoch of the Athenian people. He held the office of General in conjunction with Pericles and Thucydides, at a time when he was drawing near to old age; moreover he was priest to a native Hero. In his twenty-fifth year he began to exhibit Tragedies, twenty times he gained the victory; frequently the second place, the third never; in this employment he went on with increasing success till past his ninetieth year; nay, perhaps some of his greatest works belong to this period of his life. A legend tells how in consequence of his more tenderly loving a grandson by another wife, he was charged by an elder son or sons with dotage and incapacity to manage his property: that, instead of all defence, he recited to his judges his *Œdipus at Colonus*, which he had just then composed, or according to others, the magnificent Chorus in that Play which sings the praises of *Colonus*, the place of his birth: whereupon the Judges, without more ado, broke up the court in admiration, and the Poet was conducted in triumph to his house. If it be a well-established fact, that he composed this his second piece on *Œdipus at Colonus* at so advanced an age, of which in fact it does bear the marks, in its remoteness from all the harsh impetuosity of youth, in its ripened mildness, we have here the picture of an old age at once most amiable and most venerable. Although the varying legends about the manner of his death seem fabulous, yet in this they agree and have this true purport, that while

he was employed about his art, or something connected with it, he expired without the touch of disease; that therefore, like some hoar old swan of Apollo, he breathed out his life in song. So also the story of the Lacedæmonian General, who, when he had intrenched the burial-ground of the Poet's ancestors, was twice warned by Bacchus in a vision, to allow Sophocles to be there interred, I regard as true in the same sense, as I do all else that serves to display the veneration paid to this glorified man. Pious and holy I called him in his own sense of the words. But though his words breathe altogether the antique grandeur, sweetness, gracefulness and simplicity, he is, of all the Grecian Poets, the one whose feelings have most in common with the spirit of our Religion.

Nature had refused him one gift only: a voice for song. He could only call forth and guide the harmonious effusions of other voices, and is therefore said to have departed from the established custom that the Poet should act a part in his own play: so that once only he made his appearance in the character of the blind songster Thamyris, (a very characteristic feature, this) playing on the lyre.

In so far as he had Æschylus for his predecessor, who had fashioned Tragedy from its original rudeness, into the dignity of his cothurnus, Sophocles stands, in respect of the history of the Art, in such a relation to that Poet, that he could avail himself of the enterprizes of that original Master, so that Æschylus appears as the projecting predecessor, Sophocles as the finishing successor. That there is more art in the compositions of the latter, is evident: the restriction of the Chorus in proportion to the dialogue, the finish of the rhythms and of the pure Attic diction, the introduction of more numerous persons, the richer connection of the fables, the greater multiplicity of incidents, and the completer developement, the more quiet sustentation of all momenta of the action, and the more theatrical display of the decisive ones, the more finished rounding off of the whole, even in a mere outward point of view. But there is yet another respect in which he outshines Æschylus, and deserved the favour of Destiny, which allowed him such a predecessor, and to compete with him on the same subjects: I mean the inward harmony and completeness of his mind, by virtue of which he satisfied, from his own inclination, every

requisition of the beautiful; a mind whose free impulse was accompanied by a self-consciousness clear even to transparency. To surpass Æschylus in daring conception might be impossible: but I maintain that it is only on account of his wise moderation that Sophocles seems to be less daring, since every where he goes to work with the greatest energy; nay, perhaps with more sustained severity; as a man, who is accurately acquainted with his limits, insists the more confidently on his rights within those limits. As Æschylus delights in carrying all his fictions into the disturbances of the old world of Titanism, Sophocles on the contrary seems to avail himself of divine interference only of necessity; he formed human beings, as was the general agreement of Antiquity, better, that is, not more moral and unerring, but more beautiful and noble than they are in reality, and by taking every thing in the most human sense, he attained at the same time to the higher significance. To all appearance he was more temperate than Æschylus in scenic ornament, and perhaps sought after more select beauty, but not the same colossal pomp.

As characteristic of this Poet, the Ancients have praised that native sweetness and gracefulness, on account of which they called him the Attic Bee. Whoever has penetrated into the feeling of this peculiarity, may flatter himself that the spirit for antique Art has arisen within him: for modern sensibility, very far from being able to fall in with that judgment, would be more likely to find in the Sophoclean Tragedy, both in respect of the representation of bodily suffering, and in the sentiments and arrangements, much that is unsufferably austere.

In proportion to the great fertility of Sophocles, considering that according to some accounts he wrote a hundred and thirty pieces (of which, however, the Grammarian Aristophanes declared seventeen not to be genuine), and eighty according to the most moderate statements, little, it must be owned, has remained to us, for we have but seven of them. But chance has taken good care of us, for among this number are some which the Ancients considered his most excellent master-pieces, as the *Antigone*, the *Electra*, and both those on *Œdipus*; they have also come down to us tolerably free from mutilation, and with the text uncorrupted. By modern Critics the King *Œdipus* and the *Philoctetes* have been admired, but without reason, above all

the rest; the former, for the artificial complication of the plot, in which the horrible catastrophe, which keeps the curiosity ever on the stretch (a rare occurrence, this, in the Greek Tragedies), is brought on inevitably by a series of connected causes; the latter for its masterly delineation of character, and the beautiful contrasts between the three principal figures, together with the simple structure of the piece, in which, notwithstanding there are so few persons, all is deduced from the truest motives. But the Tragedies of Sophocles, collectively, are each one of them resplendent with its own peculiar excellencies. In the *Antigone* we have heroism exhibited in the most purely feminine character; in the *Ajax* the manly sense of honour in all its strength; in the *Trachinian Women* (or, as we should call it, the *Dying Hercules*) the female levity of Dejanira is beautifully atoned for by her death, and the sufferings of Hercules are depicted in a worthy manner; the *Electra* is distinguished by energy and pathos; in the *Œdipus at Colonos* the predominant character is a most touching mildness, and an extreme gracefulness is diffused over the whole. To weigh the comparative merits of these pieces, I will not venture: but I own I cherish a preference for the last-mentioned, because it seems to me to be most expressive of the personal character of Sophocles. As this piece is devoted to the glory of Athens in general, and of his birth-place in particular, he seems to have laboured on it with particular affection.

The least usually understood are the *Ajax* and *Antigone*. The reader cannot conceive why these plays run on so long after what we are accustomed to call the catastrophe. I shall make a remark by and bye on this subject.

The story of *Œdipus* is perhaps of all the Fate-fables of ancient Mythology, the most ingenious; yet it seems to me that others, as for instance that of *Niobe*, which without any such interweaving of events exhibit quite in a simple manner, and in colossal dimensions, both human overweening, and its impending punishment from the Gods, are conceived in a grander spirit. What gives a less lofty character to that of *Œdipus*, is precisely the intrigue which lies in it. Intrigue, namely, in the dramatic sense is a complication which arises from the mutual crossing of designs and accidents, and this is evidently the case in the destinies of *Œdipus*, inasmuch as all that his



parents, and he himself do to escape from the prophesied horrors, carries him on towards them. But the grand and terrific meaning, of this fable lies in a circumstance which perhaps is generally overlooked; I mean that to that very Œdipus, who solved the riddle of human life propounded by the Sphynx, his own life remained an inexplicable riddle, till it was cleared up all too late in the most dreadful manner, when all was lost irrecoverably. This is a striking image of the arrogant pretensions of human Wisdom, which always proceeds upon generalities, without teaching its possessor the right application of them to himself.

To the harsh termination of the former Œdipus, the reader is so far reconciled by the suspicious and domineering character of Œdipus, that the feelings do not absolutely revolt at so dreadful a fate. In this respect it was necessary to sacrifice the character of Œdipus, which, on the other side, is elevated again by his fatherly care and heroic zeal for the safety of his people, which is the occasion of his hurrying on his own destruction by his honest investigations after the author of the crime. It was also necessary for the sake of contrast with his subsequent wretchedness to invest him with all the pride of sovereignty in his treatment of Tiresias and Creon. This suspiciousness and violence of character may be observed even in his earlier conduct; the former quality in his not suffering himself to be quieted by the assurances of Polybus, as to the reproach of his being a supposititious child; the latter in the encounter with Laius which had so bloody a termination. This character he seems to have inherited from both parents. The arrogant levity of Jocasta, exhibited in her mockery of the oracle, as not being confirmed by the event, for which she is soon called upon to consummate the penalty in her own person, this, it is true, has not passed into the character of Œdipus: on the contrary he is honourably distinguished by the purity of mind which makes him so anxious to flee from the guilt foretold, and by which his despair, at finding he has nevertheless incurred the guilt, is naturally raised to the highest pitch. Fearful is his blindness, when the whole explanation is already so near at hand, for instance, when he asks Jocasta "how Laius looked in person," and she answers, "he had already grey hairs, in other respects he was not so very unlike Œdipus himself." On the other side, here is another trait of her levity, in not having

paid proper heed to his resemblance to her husband, by which she ought to have recognized him for her own son. Thus a nearer analysis will evince the extreme propriety and significance of every trait in the delineation. Only, as it is common to extol the correctness of Sophocles, and especially the exquisite probability of all the incidents in this *Œdipus*, I must remark that this very Drama is a proof how completely the principles of the ancient masters in this respect differ from those of the Critics to whom I allude. For otherwise it would surely be extremely improbable, that *Œdipus*, in so long a space of time, never before enquired into the particulars of Laius's death; that the scars on his feet, nay, the very name which he bore in consequence of the injury never excited any suspicion in Jocasta, &c. But the Ancients did not design their works for the calculating and prosaic understanding: and an unlikelihood which is only found out by dissection, and which does not appear in the sphere of the representation itself, was to them none at all.

The difference between the characters of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, no where shews itself more strikingly than in the *Eumenides*, and the *Œdipus at Colonos*, as these two pieces were composed with similar intentions. In both of them the object is to set forth the glory of Athens, as the holy habitation of Justice and of mild Humanity, and the crimes of foreign hero-families, after suffering their punishment are to find their final atonement in this domain through a higher mediation, while it is also prophesied, that lasting welfare shall thence accrue to the Attic People. In the patriotic and free-spirited *Æschylus* this is effected by a judicial procedure; in the pious *Sophocles*, by a religious one: and this, indeed, is the death-devotion of *Œdipus*, when, bowed down as he is by the consciousness of involuntary guilt, and by long misery, the gods thereby, as it were, finally clear up his honour, as though in the fearful example given in his person, they did not intend to afflict him in particular, but only wished to give a severe lesson to mankind in general. *Sophocles*, to whom the whole course of life is one continued worship, delights to throw all possible lustre on its last moment, as though it were that of a higher solemnity, and thus he inspires an emotion of quite a different kind from that which is excited by the thought of mortality in general. That the agonized, the wearied *Œdipus* at last finds repose and peace in the Grove of

the Furies, on the very spot from which every other human being flees with unconcealed horror,—he, whose misfortune arose only from the having unconsciously, and without warning from any inward feeling, done a deed at which all men shudder; in this surely there is a deep and mysterious meaning.

The Attic culture, prudence, moderation, justice, mildness and magnanimity, Æschylus has more majestically exhibited in the person of Pallas; Sophocles, who delights in drawing all that is godlike into the sphere of humanity, has exhibited all this with finer developement in the character of Theseus. If any one wishes to gain a more accurate knowledge of Grecian Heroism, as contrasted with that of Barbarians, I would refer him to this character.

Æschylus, that the persecuted victim may be delivered, and that his own country may participate in the blessings, will first have the spectator's blood run cold, and his hair stand on end at the infernal horror of the Furies; he will in the first place exhaust all the wrath of these Goddesses of Vengeance: the transition to their peaceable departure is therefore the more wonderful; it is as though the whole race of man were delivered from them. In Sophocles they do not themselves appear, but are kept quite in the back-ground; they are not once mentioned by their own name, but only by euphemistic designations. But the very obscurity, which befits these daughters of night, and the distance at which they are kept, are favourable to a silent horror in which the bodily senses have no part. That, finally, the Grove of the Furies is invested with the loveliness of a southern spring, completes the sweet gracefulness of the poem; and if I were to choose an emblem of the Poetry of Sophocles from his own Tragedies, I would describe it as a holy Grove of the dark Goddesses of Fate, in which laurels, olives and vine-trees blend their green growth, and the songs of the nightingales are for ever sounding.

There are two Plays of Sophocles which, agreeably to the Greek way of thinking, refer to the sacred rites of the dead, and the importance of burial: in the *Antigone*, the whole action turns upon this, and in the *Ajax*, this alone gives a satisfactory conclusion to the piece.

The ideal of the female character in the *Antigone*, is marked by great severity; so much so, that this alone would be sufficient to neutralize all those mawkish conceptions of Greek character,



which have lately become so much the mode. Her indignation at Ismene's refusal to take a part in her daring resolution; the manner in which she afterwards rejects Ismene, when, repenting of her weakness, she offers to accompany her heroic sister to death, borders on harshness; her silence and her speeches against Creon, whereby she provokes him to execute his tyrannous resolution, are a proof of unshaken manly courage. But the Poet has found out the secret of revealing the loving womanly character in one single line, where to the representation of Creon, that Polynices died the foe of his country, she replies

οὐ τοι συνέχθειν ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν.

Neither does she restrain the outbreaking of her feelings any longer than while it might have made the firmness of her purpose appear equivocal. While they are leading her off to death, past recal, she pours herself forth in the tenderest and most touching wailing over her bitter, untimely death, and does not disdain,—she, the modest virgin,—to bewail the loss of nuptials, and the unenjoyed blessings of marriage. On the contrary, in not a syllable does she betray any inclination for Hæmon, nay, she nowhere mentions this amiable youth<sup>1</sup>. After a determination so heroic, to be still fettered to life by liking for an individual, would have been weakness; to leave without repining those universal gifts with which the Gods make life happy, would not accord with the devout sanctity of her mind.

At first sight the Chorus in the Antigone may seem weak, accommodating itself, as it does, without contradiction to the tyrannous commands of Creon, and not once attempting a favourable representation in behalf of the young heroine. But it is necessary that she should stand all alone in her resolution and its accomplishment, that she may appear in all her dignity; she must find no stay, no hold. The submissiveness of the Chorus also increases the impression of the irresistible nature of the king's commands. So even in their last addresses to Antigone, there must be a mixture of painful recollections, that she may drain the full cup of earthly sorrows. It is quite otherwise in the Electra, where it was fit that the Chorus should take as eager and en-

1. Barthelémy asserts the contrary: but the line to which he refers, belongs in the more correct MSS, and indeed evidently, from the tenour of the context, to the speech of Ismene.



couraging a part with the two principal characters, inasmuch as there are powerful moral feelings opposed to their design, while others spur them on to it, whereas in the deed of Antigone there is no such variance, but she is to be withheld by merely exterior terrors.

After the completion of the deed, and the suffering endured for it, there yet remains the chastisement of insolence, and retribution for the destruction of Antigone: nothing less than the utter ruin of Creon's whole family, and his own despair can be a worthy death-offering for the sacrifice of a life so costly. Therefore the king's wife, hitherto not even mentioned, must appear quite towards the conclusion of the piece merely to hear the misfortune, and to make away with herself. To Grecian feelings it would have been impossible to look upon the poem as properly closed by the death of Antigone, without any atoning retribution.

The case is the same with the Ajax. His arrogance, which is punished with dishonourable frenzy, is atoned for by the deep shame which drives him even to self-murder. Farther the persecution of the unhappy man ought not to go; and when some would wish to dishonour even his corpse by the refusal of burial, Ulysses interposes; that same Ulysses whom Ajax accounted his deadly enemy, and to whom Pallas in the terrific introductory scene has shown in the example of the frantic Ajax, the nothingness of mankind: he appears as the personification, so to speak, of that Moderation, the possession of which would have saved Ajax from his fall.

Self-murder is of frequent occurrence in the ancient Mythology, at least in the tragic transformation of Mythology; but it occurs for the most part, if not in madness, yet in a state of passion, after some sudden misfortune, which it is impossible to survive. Such self-murders, as those of Jocasta, of Hæmon and Eurydice, and lastly, of Dejanira, occur only as subordinate accessories in the tragic pictures of Sophocles; the self-murder of Ajax is a deliberate resolve, a free act, and therefore deserving of being made the main subject. It is not the last deadly crisis of a creeping melancholy, as is so often the case in these weak modern times; still less, that more theoretical disgust of life, grounded on the conviction of its worthlessness, which induced many later Romans, on Epicurean as well as Stoical principles, to shorten their days. No unmanly faint-heartedness makes Ajax unfaithful

to his rude heroism. His delirium is gone by, and so are the first comfortless feelings on his awaking from it. It is not till after the most complete return to himself, when he has measured the depth of the abyss into which his overweening, by a divine destiny, has plunged him; when he surveys his situation, and finds it to be one of irretrievable ruin: his honour wounded by the loss of the arms of Achilles; the unhappy issue of his vengeful anger missing its aim, and infatuatedly falling on defenceless herds; himself, after a long and blameless career of heroism, become a diversion to his enemies, to the Greeks an object of scorn and detestation, and of shame to his honoured Father should he thus return to him; it is only after all this that he resolves to put in practice his favourite maxim, "*live with glory or die with glory*," for he feels that only the last resource is left him. Even the deceit, the first perhaps in his life, by which he quits his companions, that he may be able to execute his resolution undisturbed, must be reckoned in him a piece of magnanimity. His infant son, the future comfort of his forlorn parents, he commits to the guardianship of Teucer, and dies, like Cato, not before he has set in order the affairs of all who belong to him. Like Antigone in her womanly tenderness, he too in his wild fashion seems in his last speech to feel the glory of the sun-light, from which he is departing. His rude courage disdains compassion, and so only excites it the more forcibly. What a picture of an awaking from the tumult of passion, when the tent opens, and we see him sitting on the ground wailing in the midst of the slaughtered herds!

As Ajax, in the feeling of indelible shame, flings away his life in the haste of a vehement resolve, so Philoctetes bears its wearisome burden through years of suffering with persevering endurance. As Ajax is ennobled by his despair, so is Philoctetes by his constancy. Where the instinct of self-preservation is counteracted by no moral motive, it must needs display itself in its whole strength. Nature has furnished with this instinct all things that breathe, and the energy with which they repel from their life the encounter of all powers that are inimical to it, is a proof of their excellence. It is true, in the presence of that human community which thrust him out, and in dependence on their superior power, Philoctetes would have no more wished to live than Ajax did. But he finds himself confronted with Nature alone; he quails not at her menacing countenance, but forces his

way, notwithstanding, to the bosom of that loving Nurse and Mother. Banished to a desert island, tortured by an incurable wound, lonely and helpless as he is, his bow procures him food from the birds of the forest, the rock bears him soothing medicinal herbs, the fountain offers a fresh beverage, his cave secures him a shelter and coolness in the summer, in the winter-frost the noon-day sun, or a fire of kindled twigs, warms him; even the raging attacks of his bodily pain must needs at last exhaust themselves, and relax into refreshing slumber. Ah! it is only the sophisticating refinements, the slumberous load of redundancy, that make men indifferent to the value of Life: strip it of all foreign accessories, overload it with sorrows, so that scarcely the naked being remains, and still its sweetness will run from the heart with every pulse through all the veins of the body. The poor, unhappy sufferer! Ten years he has stood it out, and he lives still, still clings to life and to hope. What heartfelt truth speaks in all this! But what affects us most deeply in behalf of Philoctetes is the circumstance, that thrust out from Society by an abuse of power, as soon as Society again approaches him, he has to encounter its second more pernicious evil, Falsehood. The anxiety of the spectator lest he should be robbed of his bow, would be too painful, were there not a foreboding from the very first that the open, straight-forward Neoptolemus, cannot carry through to the end the deceitful part which he has learned so reluctantly. It is not without reason that the deluded sufferer turns away from mankind to those lifeless companions, with whom the instinctive craving for society has made him intimate. He invokes the island and its volcanoes to be witnesses to this new wrong, he believes his beloved bow feels pain at being torn away from him; and at last he takes a melancholy farewell of his hospitable cave, of the fountains, even of the surge-beaten rock, from which he so often gazed out upon the sea. So loving is the uncorrupted mind of man.

With respect to the corporeal sufferings of Philoctetes, and the manner in which they are exhibited, Lessing, in his "Laocoon" has opposed Winkelmann, and Herder, again, in his "Kritische Wälder" (*Sylvæ Criticæ*) has contradicted Lessing. Both these two have made many striking remarks on the piece, though we must second Herder in maintaining that Winkelmann was right in comparing the sufferings of Philoctetes to those of Laocoon in the



famous group, as exhibiting, namely, the suppressed agony of an heroic soul never wholly prostrated.

The play of "The Trachinian Women" seems to me so far inferior in value to the rest which have come down to us, that I could wish to find something that would favour the conjecture, that this Tragedy was composed in the age, indeed, and in the school of Sophocles, but by his son Iophon, and was erroneously attributed to the Father. There are several suspicious circumstances not only in its structure and plan, but also in the style of writing; different Critics have already remarked, that the needless soliloquy of Dejanira at the opening, has not the character of the Sophoclean Prologues. Even if, upon the whole, the maxims of this Poet are observed, it is but a superficial observance; the deep mind of Sophocles is wanting. But as the genuineness of the piece was never doubted by the Ancients, as even Cicero confidently quotes the sufferings of Hercules from this drama, as from a work of Sophocles, we must perhaps be content to say, that the Tragedian has in this one instance remained below his usual elevation.

On this occasion we may consider a question, which, however, may much more properly engage the attention of the Critics, in relation to the works of Euripides: viz. how far the invention and execution of a drama must come from one individual, that he may be considered its author. In Dramatic Literature there are many examples of plays composed by several persons jointly. Of Euripides we know, that in the composition of his pieces he had the help of a learned assistant, Cephisophon; perhaps he also laid the plan in conjunction with him. It seems, at all events, that Schools of Dramatic Art had at that time been formed in Athens, as indeed they always will arise, when poetic talents are brought into exercise by public competition, and in great abundance and activity: Schools of Art, which contain scholars of such excellence and ready talents, that the Master may intrust them with a part of the execution, nay, even of the plan, and still, without any detriment to his own renown, may give his name to the whole. Thus were the schools of Painters composed in the sixteenth Century, and every one knows what acuteness of discriminative Criticism is required to make out, for instance in many pictures of Raphael, how much properly belongs to himself. Sophocles had trained his son Iophon to the Tragic Art, and



therefore might easily receive assistance from him in the composition of his pieces, especially as the Tragedies which were to contend for the prize, must be finished and learned by heart by a fixed time. On the other hand, he might work different passages into plays, originally planned by his son, and the pieces so resulting, as the traits of the Master were not to be mistaken, would naturally come into speedy celebrity under the more illustrious name.

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## FIFTH LECTURE.

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Euripides. His excellencies and defects. Decay of Tragic Poetry through him. Comparison of the *Choëphoroi* of Æschylus, the *Electra* of Sophocles, and that of Euripides. Critique on the remaining works of Euripides. The Satyric Drama. Alexandrine Tragedians.

IF we look at Euripides by himself, uncompar'd with his predecessors, if we select several of his better pieces, and single passages in others, we must allow him extraordinary praise. On the contrary, if we place him in his connexion with the history of the Art, if in his pieces we always look to the whole, and, again, to his general aims, as they appear in the works which have come down to us, we cannot avoid subjecting him to much and severe reproof. Of few Authors is it possible to say with truth so much good and so much evil. He was a genius of boundless talents, well practised in the most varied arts of mind: but in him a superabundance of splendid and amiable qualities was not regulated by that lofty earnestness of thought and that severe wisdom of the artist, which we venerate in Æschylus and Sophocles. His constant endeavour is merely to please, without caring by what means. Therefore he is so unlike himself; often he has passages of ravishing beauty, at other times he sinks into mere common-place. With all his defects he possesses a wonderful lightness and a certain insinuating charm.

Thus much I held it necessary to premise, as otherwise it might be objected to me, on account of what is to follow, that I contradict myself, inasmuch as I lately endeavoured in a small French Essay, to develop the excellencies of a certain play of Euripides in comparison with Racine's imitation. There I fixed my attention on an individual work, and indeed one of the most excellent works of this Poet; here I set out from the most general points of view, and from the highest requisitions of the Art; and, that my enthusiasm for the ancient Tragedy may not

seem blind and extravagant, I am compelled to justify it by keen examination into the symptoms of its degeneracy and decay.

Perfection in Art and Poetry, may be compared to the summit of a steep mountain, on which a load laboriously rolled up, cannot long retain its position, but presently rolls down irresistibly on the other side. This is effected with ease and quickness by the laws of gravity, it is also a spectacle which is compatible with our love of indolence, for the mass follows its natural propensity; whereas, the laborious struggle of the ascent is in some measure a painful sight. Hence it happens, for instance, that pictures from the æra of decline in Art please the eye of the unlearned much better than those which precede the æra of its perfection. The genuine connoisseur, on the contrary, will esteem the paintings of Zuccheri and others, which set the fashion when the great schools of the sixteenth century were degenerating into an empty superficial manner, as infinitely inferior in intrinsic value to the works of a Mantegna, Perugino, and their contemporaries. Or let the highest perfection of Art be conceived of as a focus; at equal distances on either side the collected rays occupy the same space, but on the one side they are striving together towards a common effect, on the other they are fleeing away from each other even to total dissipation.

We have, besides, a particular ground for visiting the extravagances of this Poet with unsparing severity, in the consideration that our own age is diseased with the very same vices as those which gained Euripides so much popularity, though not exactly esteem, among his contemporaries. We have lived to see a multitude of plays, which in matter, indeed, and form, are immeasurably inferior to those of Euripides, but are allied to them, inasmuch as by soft, and sometimes even tender emotions, they corrupt the feelings, while they tend in general to produce an utter licentiousness of morals.

What I am going to say on this subject, is for the most part not at all new. Though the Moderns have often preferred Euripides to both his predecessors, have read, admired, and imitated him more frequently, whether from their being attracted by the greater affinity of views and sentiments, or led astray by a misunderstood expression of Aristotle; it may be proved, that many of the Ancients, partly even contemporaries of Euripides, judged of him as I do. In the "*Anacharsis*," this mixture of

praise and blame is at least hinted at, though the Author is cautious of saying all, it being his object to exhibit the Grecian Works of every kind in the most advantageous light.

We have some biting expressions of Sophocles about Euripides: though Sophocles was so far removed from the jealousy of the artist, that he mourned for the death of Euripides, and on the occasion of a play which he had to exhibit shortly after that event, did not allow his Actors the usual ornament of the wreath. Plato's complaints against the Tragic Poets, that they gave men too much up to the violence of the passions, and made them effeminate by putting immoderate lamentations into the mouths of their heroes; I consider myself justified in referring especially to Euripides, since in relation to his predecessors, its ungroundedness would be too evident. The mocking attacks made on him by Aristophanes are well known, but have not always been appreciated and understood. Aristotle bestows much important censure on him, and when he calls him *the most Tragic Poet*, he by no means ascribes to him the greatest perfection of Tragic Art in general, but he means by that expression, the effect produced by unhappy terminations: for he immediately adds, "although he does not manage the rest as he ought." Lastly, the Scholiast on Euripides contains many short and forcible critiques on individual plays, among which perhaps may be some of the judgments of those Alexandrine Critics, one of whom, namely, Aristarchus, has had his name handed down as a proverb for critical skill.

In Euripides, we find the essence of ancient Tragedy no longer pure and unmingled; its characteristic features are in part already blotted out. We have placed these particularly in the prevalence of the idea of Destiny, in the ideality of representation, and the significance of the Chorus.

The notion, indeed, of Destiny, was transmitted to him from his predecessors: the belief in it he inculcates, according to tragic usage. Still, in Euripides, Destiny is seldom the invisible spirit of the Poetry, the fundamental thought of the tragic World. We have seen that this idea may be interpreted with greater severity or mildness: that the midnight fearfulness of Destiny in the connexion of a whole Trilogy, brightens up into intimations of a wise and gracious Providence. But Euripides has drawn it down from the region of the Infinite, and inevitable Necessity not unfrequently degenerates, in his hands, into the



caprice of Chance. Therefore he can no longer direct it towards its proper end, namely, by applying the contrast with it, to exalt the moral freedom of the human being. How few of his pieces turn on the steadfast encounter with the decrees of Destiny, or on an heroic submission to them ! His men and women generally suffer because they must, and not because they will.

The mutual subordination of ideal elevation, character, and passion, which we find observed by Sophocles, and in the sculpture of the Greeks in this same order, he has exactly inverted. To him, passion is the most important ; then he thinks of character, and if these endeavours leave him any room, he seeks now and then to add grandeur and dignity, but more frequently an amiable attractiveness.

We have already admitted that the persons of the Drama cannot be all equally faultless, because then there could scarcely be any collision between them, and therefore no complication could take place. But Euripides has, according to Aristotle's expression, frequently made his characters needlessly vile, for instance, his Menelaus in the *Orestes*. Great crimes were reported of many ancient Heroes by the traditions consecrated by popular belief : but Euripides, of his own arbitrary will, inverts and imputes to them strokes of mere petty villany. It is indeed by no means his object to represent the Heroic Race as pre-eminent to that of later days in its mighty stature ; he rather labours to fill up, or to arch over the chasm between his own contemporaries and that wondrous world, and to spy upon the Gods and Heroes on the farther side, while they are in their undress : a kind of observation against which, as the saying is, no greatness can stand proof. His representation, as it were, presumes upon familiarities with them ; it draws the supernatural and the fabulous, not into the sphere of human Nature (an excellency which we have praised in Sophocles), but into the limits of imperfect individuality. This it was that Sophocles meant, when he said, that " he himself formed men as they ought to be, Euripides as they are." Not as though his own personages could be always set up as patterns of unblameable behaviour : his expression referred to ideal elevation, and gracefulness of character and manners. It seems to be a favourite occupation with Euripides to be always reminding the spectators : " Look you, these beings were men and women, had exactly the same frailties,

acted on exactly the same motives as yourselves, as the meanest among you." Therefore he depicts, quite *con amore*, the weak points and the moral offences of his persons; nay, makes them expose them to view of their own accord in naïve confessions. Often they are not merely common, but they glory in this, as though it ought to be even so.

The Chorus, in his treatment of it, becomes for the most part an extra-essential ornament: its odes are often quite episodic, without reference to the action, with more glitter than sublimity and true inspiration. "The Chorus," says Aristotle, "must be regarded as an actor, and as a part of the whole: it must co-operate in the action: not as Euripides but as Sophocles manages it." The old Comedians enjoyed the privilege of introducing the Chorus at times conversing in their name with the spectators: this was called a Parabasis, and was, as I shall hereafter shew, in strict accordance with the spirit of this kind of drama. But though this procedure is by no means tragic, Euripides frequently, according to the testimony of Julius Polux, did the same in his Tragedies, and in so doing, so much forgot himself, that in the Danaïdes, he made the Chorus, consisting of women, use grammatical inflexions which belong only to the male sex.

Thus has this Poet at once abolished the essence of Tragedy, and marred the beautiful symmetry of its exterior structure. He generally sacrifices the whole to the parts; and in these, too, he seeks rather for extrinsic foreign charms than genuine poetic beauty.

In the accompanying music he adopted all the innovations of Timotheus, and chose those tunes which were most suitable to the softness of his poetry. In the same manner he proceeded in his treatment of the metres; his versification is luxuriant, and flows over into anomaly. The same dissolute and unmanly character would undoubtedly reveal itself to deeper investigation, even in the rhythms of his choral odes.

Every where he uses, even to redundancy, those merely corporeal charms, which Winkelmann calls an adulation of the gross external sense: all that is exciting, striking, in a word, all that produces a lively effect without real substance for the mind and the feelings. He labours for effect to a degree in which it cannot be allowed even to the Dramatist. Thus, for instance, he

never lightly lets slip an opportunity of bringing his personages into a sudden and vain terror; his old men are for ever bewailing the infirmities of age, and, in particular, ascend the steps from the Orchestra to the stage, which were frequently used to represent the declivity of a hill, moaning at the fatigue and with tottering steps. Every where his object is to be touching, and for this he not only violates propriety, but sacrifices the connexion of his piece. He is powerful in his pictures of misfortune, but he often claims our compassion, not for the inward pain of the mind, or at any rate for a sustained and manly endurance of pain, but for mere bodily wretchedness. He delights in reducing his heroes into beggary, makes them suffer hunger and thirst, and come upon the stage with all the outward signs of beggary, and clad in tatter-demalion fashion, for which Aristophanes so pleasantly jeers at him in the "*Acharnians*."

Euripides had frequented the schools of the Philosophers: (he was a scholar of Anaxagoras, not of Socrates, as many have erroneously said, but only connected with him by friendly intercourse)—it is, therefore, his vanity to be for ever alluding to all sorts of Philosophemata; in my opinion, in a very imperfect manner, since, from his expressions, one would not understand these doctrines unless he were previously acquainted with them. For him it is too vulgar to believe in the Gods after the simple fashion of the people: he therefore takes every opportunity to insinuate something of an allegorical interpretation, and to give us to understand of how equivocal a character, properly speaking, was his own religious faith. We may distinguish in him a twofold personage: the Poet, whose productions were consecrated to a religious solemnity, who stood under the protection of Religion, and therefore was bound, in his turn, to honor it; and the sophist of philosophical pretensions, who sought to insinuate his own libertine opinions and scepticism amidst those fabulous marvels connected with Religion, which were the subjects of his plays.

Whilst he is shaking the foundations of Religion, on the other side he plays the moralist: to be quite popular, he applies to heroic life that which held good only for the social relations of his own times. He intersperses a multitude of apophthegms; apophthegms, in which he is for ever repeating himself, most of them trite, and not unfrequently fundamentally false. With



all this parade of morality, the scope of his pieces, and the impression which they produce on the whole is sometimes very immoral. There is a pleasant anecdote of his having introduced Bellerophon with a vile encomium on wealth, in which he preferred riches to all domestic joys, and at last said, "if Aphrodite (who bore the epithet *golden*) be indeed glittering as gold, she well deserves the love of mortals:" at which, it is said, the revolted spectators raised a great outcry, and would have stoned both actor and poet. But Euripides started forth and cried out, "only wait for the end, it will go with him accordingly." So, it is said, that when he was reproached for making his Ixion talk altogether too horribly and blasphemously, he justified himself by saying, "he ended the piece, however, by binding him round the wheel." But even this shift of poetical justice, to make up for represented villany, does not find place in all his tragedies. The wicked not unfrequently come off free, lies and other vile tricks are openly protected, especially when he can manage to pawn them upon some supposed noble motive. So also he has very much at command that seductive sophistry of the passions, which can lend a semblance to every thing. The following verse is notorious for the excuse which it contains for perjury; seeming, in fact, to express the *reservatio mentalis* of the casuists:

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος.

In the connexion in which this verse stands, for which Aristophanes assails him with such manifold ridicule, it may indeed be justified: but the formula is nevertheless bad, on account of the possible abuse in the application. Another verse of Euripides, "for sovereignty's sake it is worth while to do wrong; in other cases one ought to be just," was frequently in the mouth of Cæsar, with the like purpose of making an abusive application of it.

For the seductiveness of his allurements to sensual love, Euripides has been reproached even by the Ancients. For instance, it must excite disgust, when Hecuba, to induce Agamemnon to avenge her on Polymestor, reminds him of the joys which he has received from Casandra his captive concubine: she is willing to purchase revenge for a murdered son at the expense of the avowed and approved debasement of a living daughter. This Poet was the first to make the wild passion



of a Medea, the unnatural passion of a Phædra, the main subject of his drama: whereas, it is easy to conceive, from the manners of the Ancients, why the passion of love, which among them was much less dignified by tender feelings than among ourselves, occupies but a subordinate place in the older tragedies. Notwithstanding this importance which he assigns to the female characters, he is notorious for his hatred of women; and it is not to be denied that he brings forward a multitude of apophthegms on the frailties of the female sex, and the superiority of the male, together with many observations drawn from his experience of domestic life: with all which he perhaps thought to make his court to the men, who formed a considerable part, if not the whole of his audience. A sarcastic expression, and an Epigram of Sophocles, have come down to us, which refer the pretended misogyny of Euripides to his own experience of their seducibility in the course of his own illicit amours. In Euripides's method of delineating female character, much susceptibility may be observed, even for the higher charms of female modesty, but no genuine esteem.

The independent freedom in the treatment of the fables, which was one of the privileges of Tragic Art, in Euripides frequently degenerates into unrestrained caprice. It is well known, that the fables of Hyginus, which vary so much from the common mythology, are in part extracts from his plays. As he often overthrew all that was hitherto known, and usual, there was a necessity for his prologues, in which he announces the posture of affairs, and their progress, in detail, according to his own improvements. Lessing, in his "*Dramaturgy*," has expressed the singular opinion, that this is a proof of advancement in Dramatic Art, inasmuch as Euripides has trusted wholly to the effect of situations, without reckoning upon the tension of curiosity. But I cannot see why the feeling of uncertainty should not find its place among the impressions which a dramatic poem aims at producing. The objection, that in this way the piece would only please the first time, because, when we are once acquainted with the whole, we know the termination before-hand, is easily refuted: if the representation be powerful, it will so rivet the spectator every moment, that what he before knew he again forgets, and is excited to an equal stretch of expectation. Moreover, these Prologues make the openings of Euripides's plays

very monotonous; it has a very awkward look for a person to come forward and say: "I am so and so, this and that has been done, and what comes next is as follows." This method might be compared with the labels proceeding from the mouth of the figures in old paintings, which certainly nothing but the quaint antique simplicity of style can excuse. But then the rest ought to correspond, which is by no means the case in Euripides, where the persons speak in the newest mode of the time. In his prologues, as well as in his disentanglements of his plots, he is very liberal with unmeaning appearances of Gods, who are elevated above human beings only by hanging in a machine, and certainly might be dispensed with.

The method used by the old Tragedians, of holding all together in great masses, and exhibiting the alternation from repose to quick movement by remarkable divisions, he has carried to excess. The alternation of single verse and verse, commonly used by his predecessors, in which question and answer, or attack and repartee, fly from one side to the other like arrows, he sometimes, for the sake of vivacity of dialogue, carries to an immoderate length, and often, indeed, in so arbitrary a manner, that half the lines might have been spared. Sometimes, again, he pours himself forth in speeches of endless length, where he seeks to make a brilliant display of his eloquence by ingenious syllogisms, or by excitement of compassion. Many of his scenes have quite the appearance of a law-proceeding, in which two persons, as parties opposed to each other, or before a third as Judge, do not confine themselves to the matter in hand, but taking as wide a reach as possible, accuse their adversary, and justify themselves, and this, indeed, with all the volubility of advocates and sycophants. Thus the Poet sought to make his poetry entertaining to the Athenians, by its resemblance to their daily favourite occupation of pleading or hearing causes. For this reason Quintilian particularly recommends him to the young orator, who, he says, may learn more from him than from the elder dramatists: which, no doubt, is correct in its way. But it is plain that such a recommendation does not recommend in the best possible style: for eloquence may indeed find its place in the drama, when it is suitable to the powers and to the object of the speaking person; but the rhetoric, which usurps the place of the immediate utterance of the feelings, is any thing but poetical.

Euripides's style of writing is on the whole too little condensed, though it presents very happy single images and ingenious turns: it has neither the dignity and energy of the *Æschylean*, nor the chaste gracefulness of the *Sophoclean* style. In his expressions he often aims at strangeness and singularity, but he presently sinks back into commonness; the tone of his speeches is often very familiar, and descends to the level ground from the height of the *Cothurnus*. In this respect, as also in the approximation to the ludicrous in his description of many characteristic peculiarities (for instance, the awkward carriage of the frenzied *Pentheus* in his woman's clothes, the voracity of *Hercules*, and his boisterous demands on the hospitality of *Admetus*). Euripides is a forerunner of the new Comedy, to which he has a manifest propensity, as under the name of the *Heroic Age* he often depicts existing reality. Menander has even expressed a distinguished admiration for him, and declared himself his scholar; and of *Philemon* we have a fragment full of such extravagant admiration, that it seems almost meant in joke. "If the dead," says either he, or one of his characters, "have indeed any feeling, I would hang myself that I might see Euripides." To this veneration on the part of the later Comedians, the sentiments of the elder Comedian *Aristophanes*, his contemporary, form the most striking contrast. This Poet persecutes him unweariedly and inexorably, he seems to have been ordained to be his continual scourge, that none of his extravagancies in morals and art might remain unpunished. Though *Aristophanes*, as a Comedian, stands in the relation of a parodist to the tragic poets in general, yet he no-where attacks *Sophocles*, and even where he lays hold of *Æschylus* on that side of his character which certainly may excite a smile, his veneration for him is evident, and he everywhere contrasts his gigantic vastness with the petty delicacy of Euripides. He has exposed in Euripides the subtle sophistry, the rhetorical and philosophical vanity, the immorality and seductive softness, the merely sensual excitement of pathos, with extreme good sense and inimitable wit. As most modern Critics for the most part hold *Aristophanes* to be nothing more than an exaggerating, slanderous buffoon, and moreover do not know how to translate his sportive disguises into the truths which lie beneath them, they have paid little regard to his voice.

In all that has been hitherto said, it must not be left out of consideration that Euripides was nevertheless a Greek, and con-



temporary, too, with many of the greatest men of Greece in Politics, Philosophy, History, and the Fine Arts. If in comparison with his predecessors he must rank far behind them, he in his turn appears great beside many more modern Poets. He is particularly strong in his delineations of a soul diseased, misguided, given up to passion even to frenzy. He is excellent where the subject leads mainly to pathos, and makes no higher claims: much more so, where the pathos itself calls for moral beauty. Few of his pieces are without passages of ravishing beauty. It is in general by no means my intention to deny him the possession of astonishing talents: I only affirm that these were not coupled with a mind revering above all things the strictness of moral principles, and the holiness of religious feelings.

The relation in which Euripides stands to both his great predecessors, will be set in the clearest light by a comparison between their three plays, which happily are still extant, on the same subject, namely, on the avenging murder of Clytæmnestra by Orestes.

The scene of the *Choëphoroi* of Æschylus is in front of the royal palace; the grave of Agamemnon is on the stage. Orestes enters with his faithful Pylades, and opens the play (which unhappily is somewhat mutilated at the beginning,) with a prayer to Mercury, and with a promise of revenge to his Father, to whom he consecrates a lock of his hair. He sees a procession of females in mourning garments coming from the palace: and thinking that he recognizes his sister among them, he steps aside with Pylades, that he may watch them unobserved. The Chorus, consisting of captive Trojan maidens, makes known in a speech accompanied by gestures of woe, the occasion of their being sent hither, namely, a frightful dream which Clytæmnestra has had: they add dark forebodings of the impending vengeance of blood-guiltiness, and bewail their own lot in being obliged to serve unrighteous lords. Electra consults the Chorus whether she shall execute the commission of her hostile mother, or pour out the offering in silence, and by their advice immediately addresses a prayer to subterranean Mercury and the soul of her Father, for herself and the absent Orestes, that he may appear as the avenger. During the pouring out of the offering, she and the Chorus bewail the departed. Presently, discovering the lock of hair, of a colour resembling her own, and footsteps round about the tomb, she falls upon the conjecture that her brother has been there, and while



she is beside herself for joy at the thought, he steps forward, and discovers himself. Her doubts he completely overcomes by producing a garment woven by her own hand; they give themselves up to their joy; he addresses a prayer to Jupiter, and gives her to understand how Apollo, under the most fearful menaces of persecution by the Furies of his Father, has called upon him to destroy those guilty of his death in the same manner, namely, by artifice. Now follow odes of the Chorus and Electra—consisting partly of prayers to the departed and to the infernal Deities, partly calling to mind all the motives for the impending deed, especially the murder of Agamemnon. Orestes inquires about the dream, which induced Clytæmnestra to offer the sacrifice, and is informed that she dreamt her child in the cradle was a dragon, which she laid to her breast, and suckled with her own blood. He resolves that he will be this dragon; and enters into further particulars, how he will steal into the house as a disguised stranger, and take by surprise both Ægisthus and herself. With this intention he departs with Pylades. The subject of the next ode of the Chorus is the boundless audacity of mankind in general, and especially of women, in their unlawful passions; which it confirms with fearful examples from mythic story, and shows how at last they are overtaken by avenging Justice. Orestes returning as a stranger with Pylades, craves admission into the palace, Clytæmnestra comes out, and when she is informed by him of the death of Orestes, at which account Electra makes a feigned lamentation, she invites him to come in, and be her guest. After a short prayer of the Chorus, the nurse of Orestes enters, and makes a lamentation for her nurseling; the Chorus inspires her with a hope that he yet lives, and advises her to send Ægisthus, for whom Clytæmnestra has dispatched her, not with, but without, his body-guard. At the approach of the moment of danger the Chorus prays to Jupiter and Mercury that the deed may prosper. Ægisthus comes in conversation with the messenger, cannot yet quite persuade himself of the truth of the joyful tidings of the death of Orestes, and therefore hastes into the house, where, after a short prayer of the Chorus, we hear the cry of the murdered. A servant rushes out, and gives the alarm before the door of the women's chamber, to warn Clytæmnestra. She hears it, steps out, calls for a hatchet to defend herself, but as Orestes without delay assails her with the bloody sword, her

courage sinks, and in the most moving manner she holds out to him the maternal breast. Doubtfully he consults with Pylades, who, in a few lines, urges him on by the strongest motives; after alternate speeches of accusation and defence, he follows her into the house, to slay her beside the corpse of Ægisthus. The Chorus in an earnest ode exults in the consummated retribution. The great door of the palace opens and discovers, in the interior, the two dead bodies on a bed. Orestes bids the servants unfold, that all may see it, the trailing garment, in which his Father was entangled when he received his death-blow; the Chorus recognizes on it the traces of blood, and breaks out into lamentation for the murder of Agamemnon. Orestes, feeling that his mind is already becoming confused, takes the opportunity of justifying the deed; he declares that he will betake himself for purification to Delphi; and then flees, full of horror, before the Furies of his Mother, who are invisible to the Chorus, but leave him no more rest. The Chorus concludes with a reflection on the thrice-repeated scene of murder in that royal house since the Thyestean Banquet.

The scene of the *Electra* of Sophocles, is also laid in front of the palace, but without the grave of Agamemnon. At day-break enter, as if from foreign lands, Pylades, Orestes, and his keeper, who on that bloody day had been his preserver. The latter gives him instructions, as he introduces him to the city of his fathers: Orestes replies with a speech on the injunction of Apollo, and the manner in which he means to execute it, and then addresses a prayer to the Gods of his home, and to his Father's house. Electra is heard sobbing within; Orestes wishes to greet her immediately, but the old man leads him away to present an offering at the grave of his father. Electra comes out, and in a pathetic address to Heaven, pours forth her griefs, in a prayer to the infernal deities, her unappeased longing for revenge. The Chorus, consisting of Virgins of the place, approaches her to give her consolation. Electra, in alternating song and speech with the chorus, makes known her unabateable sorrow, the contumely of her oppressed life, her hopelessness on account of the delays of Orestes, notwithstanding her frequent exhortations, and gives faint hearing to the encouraging arguments of the Chorus. Chrysothemis, the younger, more submissive, and favourite daughter of Clytæmnestra, comes with a funeral-offering, which she is ordered to carry to her Father's grave. An altercation

arises between Electra and Chrysothemis concerning their different sentiments: Chrysothemis tells Electra that Ægisthus, now absent in the country, has come to the severest resolutions respecting her; to which she bids defiance. Then she relates the dream of Clytæmnestra, that Agamemnon had come to life again, and planted his sceptre in the floor of his house, whence there sprung up a tree overshadowing the whole land: terrified at which she had commissioned her to be the bearer of an offering to the dead. Electra advises her not to regard the commands of her wicked mother, but to offer up at the tomb a prayer for herself and her brother and sister, and for the return of Orestes as the avenger: she adds to the oblation her own girdle and a lock of her hair. Chrysothemis promises to follow her advice and departs. The Chorus divines from the dream, that retribution is nigh, and traces back the crimes committed in the house of Pelops, to the first guilty deed of that ancestor. Clytæmnestra chides her daughter, to whom, however, perhaps from the effect of the dream, she is milder than usual: she justifies what she did to Agamemnon; Electra attacks her on that score, but both without violent altercation. After this, Clytæmnestra, standing beside the altar in front of the house, addresses a prayer to Apollo, for welfare and long life, and, secretly, for the destruction of her son. Now enters the keeper of Orestes, and in the character of messenger from a Phocian friend, announces the death of Orestes, at the same time entering too into all the details of his having lost his life at the Chariot-race in the Pythian Games. Clytæmnestra scarcely conceals her triumphant joy, although at first a slight touch of maternal feeling comes over her, and she invites the messenger to partake of their hospitality. Electra, in touching speeches and songs, gives herself up to her sorrow; the Chorus seeks in vain to comfort her. Chrysothemis returns from the tomb full of joy, with the assurance that Orestes is near at hand, for she has found there the lock of his hair, his drink-offering and wreaths of flowers. Electra's despair is renewed by this account, she tells her sister the dreadful tidings which have just arrived, and calls upon her, now that no other hope is left them, to take part with her in a daring deed, and to put Ægisthus to death: a proposal which Chrysothemis, not possessing courage enough, rejects as foolish, and after a violent altercation goes into the house. The Chorus bewails Electra



now so utterly desolate, Orestes comes with Pylades, and some servants bearing the urn, which, it is pretended, contains the ashes of the dead youth. Electra prevails upon him by her prayers to give it into her hands, and laments over it in the most touching speeches, by which Orestes is so affected, that he can no longer conceal himself: after some preparation, he makes himself known to her, and confirms the discovery, by shewing her the seal-ring of their Father. She gives herself up in speeches and songs to the most unbounded joy, till the old man comes out, and rebukes, and warns them both for their imprudence. Electra, with some difficulty, recognizes in him the faithful servant, to whom she entrusted the preservation of Orestes, and gives him thankful greeting. On the advice of the old man, Orestes and Pylades hastily betake themselves with him into the house, to surprize Clytæmnestra while she is yet alone. Electra offers a prayer in their behalf to Apollo: the ode of the Chorus announces the moment of retribution. Within the house is heard the shriek of the dismayed Clytæmnestra, her short prayers, her wailings under the death-blow. Electra, from without, calls upon Orestes to complete the deed: he comes out with bloody hands. The Chorus sees Ægisthus coming, and Orestes hastes back into the house to take him by surprise. Ægisthus inquires about the death of Orestes, and from the equivocal speeches of Electra, is led to believe that his corpse is within the house. He therefore orders the doors to be thrown open to convince those among the people, who bore his sway with reluctance, that there is no more hope from Orestes. The middle entry is opened, and discloses in the interior of the palace a covered body lying on a bed. Orestes stands beside it, and bids Ægisthus uncover it: he suddenly beholds the bloody corpse of Clytæmnestra, and finds himself lost, past redemption. He desires to be allowed to speak, which, however, Electra forbids. Orestes compels him to go into the house, that he may slay him on the selfsame spot where Ægisthus had murdered his Father.

The scene of the *Electra* of Euripides lies, not in Mycenæ, but on the boundaries of the Argolic territory, in the open country, before a poor and solitary peasant's cottage. The inhabitant, an old countryman, comes out, and in the prologue tells the Spectators how matters stand in the royal house; partly what was known already, and then that not content with treating Electra



with ignominy, and leaving her unmarried, they had forced her to marry him, a person so far below her rank ; the reasons which he alleges for this procedure are strange enough, but he assures the spectators that he has too much veneration for her to debase her, in fact, to the condition of his wife. They are therefore living in virgin wedlock. Electra comes out, before it is yet day-break, bearing on her head, which is shorn in the servile fashion, a pitcher to fetch water ; her husband adjures her not to trouble herself with such unwonted labours, but she will not be withheld from the performance of her duties as housewife, and both of them depart, he to his field-work, she after her occupations. Orestes now enters with Pylades, and in a speech to his friend, gives us to understand that he has already sacrificed at his Father's grave, not venturing, however, into the city, but wishing to look about for his sister, who, he is aware, is married, and living hereabout on the frontier, that he may learn from her the posture of affairs. He sees Electra coming with the water-pitcher, and retires. She begins a song of lamentation for her own fate, and that of her father. The Chorus, consisting of rustic women, comes and exhorts her to bear her part at a festival of Juno, which she declines, in the dejection of her sorrow, and points to her tattered garments. The Chorus offer to lend her some of their own holiday ornaments, but she is fixed in her purpose. She espies Orestes and Pylades in their hiding-place, takes them for robbers, and is about to flee into her house ; when Orestes comes forth, and stops her ; she thinks he is about to kill her ; he quiets her and gives her tidings that Orestes lives. She inquires about the situation of his affairs, whereupon the whole matter is once more inculcated to the audience. Orestes does not make himself known, but merely promises to do Electra's commission to her brother, and testifies his interest in her as a stranger. The Chorus seems to think this a good opportunity of gratifying their desire to hear some news from the city, and Electra, after describing her own misery, depicts the wantonness and insolence of her Mother, and Ægisthus, who, she says, leaps upon Agamemnon's grave, and flings stones at it. The peasant returns from his labour, and finds it not a little indecorous in his wife to be gossiping with young men ; but when he hears that they are the bearers of news from Orestes, he invites them into his house in the most friendly manner. Orestes at the sight of

this worthy man enters into a train of moral reflections, how often it happens that the most estimable men are found in low families, and under an unseemly garb. Electra reproves her husband for inviting them, as they have nothing in the house; he is of opinion that the strangers would very contentedly put up with what they could get, a good housewife can always manage to bring together all sorts of dishes, her stores will certainly be enough for one day. She sends him to the old keeper and former preserver of Orestes, who dwells hard by in the country, to bid him come and bring with him something for their entertainment. The peasant departs with moral sayings about riches and moderation. The Chorus mounts into an ode on the expedition of the Greeks to Troy, describes prolixly the engravings on the shield of Achilles, brought to him by his mother Thetis, but ends with the wish that Clytæmnestra may be punished for her wickedness.

The old keeper, who finds it right hard work to mount up-hill to the house, brings Electra a lamb, a cheese, and a skin of wine; hereupon he falls a weeping, not forgetting, of course, to wipe his eyes with his tattered garments. To the questions of Electra, he relates, how at the grave of Agamemnon he had found traces of an oblation, and a lock of hair, and therefore he conjectures that Orestes has been there. Then follows an allusion to the tokens of recognition used by Æschylus, such as the resemblance of the hair, and the footsteps, and also a garment, together with a refutation of them. The probability of that anagnorisis, perhaps, admits of being vindicated; at any rate one may easily let it pass; but a reference so express to another play on the same subject, is the most annoying, the most foreign to genuine poetry that could possibly be. The guests come out, the old man looks sharply at Orestes, recognizes him, and convinces Electra also of his identity by a scar on his eye-brow which he received from a fall:—(this, then, is the magnificent invention which is to be substituted for that of Æschylus!)—they embrace each other, and give themselves up to their joy during a short ode of the Chorus. In a dialogue of long speeches, Orestes, the old man, and Electra, plan the execution of the deed. Ægisthus, as the old man knows, has betaken himself into the country to sacrifice to the Nymphs: there Orestes will steal in as a guest, and fall upon him. Clytæmnestra, from fear of evil

report, has not gone with him; Electra offers to entice her mother to them by the report of her being in childbed. The brother and sister now address their united prayers to the Gods, and the shade of their Father, for a happy termination. Electra declares she will make away with herself if it should miscarry, and for that purpose will have a sword in readiness. The old man departs with Orestes to lead him to Ægisthus, and afterwards to betake himself to Clytæmnestra. The Chorus sings of the Golden Ram, which Thyestes stole from Atreus by the help of his faithless wife, and how he was punished for it by the feast furnished out to him with the flesh of his own children, at the sight of which the Sun turned out of his course: a circumstance, however, about which the Chorus, as it wisely adds, is very sceptical. At a distance is heard tumult and groans, Electra imagines her brother is overcome, and about to kill herself. But immediately there comes a messenger, who in a prolix speech, interlarded with divers jokes, relates the death of Ægisthus. While the Chorus is expressing its exultation, Electra fetches a wreath, with which she crowns her brother, who holds in his hand the head of Ægisthus by the hair. This head she in a long speech upbraids with its follies and crimes, and says, among other things, that "it is never a good thing to marry a woman with whom one has lived before in lawless intercourse: that it is indecorous for a woman to have the supremacy in the house," and so forth. Clytæmnestra is seen to approach, Orestes is seized by scruples of conscience concerning his purpose of slaying his mother, and the authority of the Oracle, but on the persuasion of Electra betakes himself into the cottage, there to accomplish the deed. The Queen comes in a pompous chariot hung with tapestry, with her Trojan female slaves attending her. Electra would help her to descend, but this she declines. Then she justifies what she had done to Agamemnon by reference to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and calls upon her daughter to make her objections; in order to give Electra an opportunity for a subtle speech, in which, among other reproaches, she upbraids her mother with having sat too much before her mirror, and adorned herself during Agamemnon's absence. Clytæmnestra is not angry, though Electra declares her purpose of putting her to death if she should ever have the power; she inquires about her daughter's delivery, and goes into the cottage

to perform the sacrifices of purification. Electra accompanies her with a jeering speech. Then we have an Ode of the Chorus on retribution, the cry of the murdered woman within the house, and the brother and sister return stained with blood. They are full of remorse and despair at the accomplishment of the deed, afflict themselves by repetition of the lamentable speeches and gestures of their mother. Orestes will flee into foreign lands, Electra asks "who will now marry her?" The Dioscuri, their uncles, appear in the air, blame Apollo for his oracle, command Orestes to have himself judged by the Areopagus, for the sake of security against the Furies of his mother, and prophesy of his farther destinies. Then they ordain a marriage between Electra and Pylades, her first husband is to be taken with them to Phocis, and to be handsomely provided for. After reiterated lamentations, the brother and sister take a life-long farewell of each other, and the play comes to an end.

It is easy to perceive, that Æschylus has considered the subject in its most terrific point of view, and transported the action over into the domain of the gloomy Deities, with whom he so much delights to take up his abode. The grave of Agamemnon is the nightly point, from which the avenging retribution is to proceed, his indignant shade, the soul of the whole poem. The obvious incompleteness, externally considered, the too long continued pause on the same point without observable progress, help, in fact, to form its internal completeness: for here is the hollow stillness of expectation before a tempest or an earthquake. It is true there is a good deal of repetition in the prayers, but their very accumulation gives the impression of a great, unheard-of purpose, to which human powers and motives of themselves are inadequate. In the scene of Clytæmnestra's murder, and her heart-rending appeal, the Poet, without disguising her crimes, has gone to the utmost verge of all that it is possible to demand of the feelings. As the crime which is to be punished is kept in view from beginning to end, by the presence of the grave, at the end, by the display of the deadly garment, it is brought yet nearer to the eye of recollection: it is as though Agamemnon, after the accomplishment of revenge, were once more murdered in imagination. The flight of Orestes betrays no unworthy remorse or weakness, but is only the unavoidable tribute which he must pay to offended Nature.



To the admirable method of Sophocles, I need only direct the attention generally. With what beautiful introductions does he preface that mission to the tomb with which *Æschylus* begins! With what finished ornament has he invested the whole—for instance, in the description of the Pythian Contests! What reserve and forbearance in the pathos of *Electra*! first, general lamentations, then hopes inspired by the dream, the annihilation of these by the report of her brother's death, the rejection of the new hopes suggested by *Chrysothemis*, and last of all her wailings over the urn. The heroic spirit of *Electra* is finely elevated by the contrast with her weaker sister. Throughout, the Poet has given quite a new turn to the subject, by directing our sympathy principally to *Electra*. In this noble pair, he has imparted to the female character the unshaken constancy of devoted faithfulness, the heroism of endurance; to the male, the beautiful vigour of heroic youth. To this the Old Man, in his turn, opposes thoughtfulness and experience; that in both Poets *Pylades* is silent, is a proof how much ancient Art was averse to all useless redundancy.

But what especially characterises the Tragedy of Sophocles, is the heavenly serenity amid a subject so terrific, the pure breath of life and youth, which floats through the whole. The light-some God, *Apollo*, who enjoined the deed, seems to spread his influence over it; even the day-break at the opening is significant. The grave, and the world of shades are kept far back in the distance; what in *Æschylus* is effected by the soul of the murdered monarch, proceeds here from the spirit of the living *Electra*, which is gifted with equal energies for indignant hatred and for love. It is remarkable, that there is an avoidance of every gloomy foreboding in the very first speech of *Orestes*, where he says, that he feels no concern at being thought to be dead, while he knows himself to be alive, and in sound health and strength. Neither is he assailed, either before or after the deed, by doubt and disquietude of conscience, so that all that concerns his purpose is more sternly sustained in Sophocles than it is in *Æschylus*; even the terrific stroke of theatrical effect in the person of *Ægisthus*, and the reserving this person for an ignominious punishment after the conclusion of the play, are conceived in a spirit of greater austerity than even in *Æschylus*. The dreams of *Clytemnestra* offer the most striking emblem of

the relation of the two Poets to each other: both are equally suitable, significant, bodeful; that of Æschylus is grander, but horrible to the senses; that of Sophocles, majestically beautiful in its fearfulness.

The play of Euripides is a singular instance of poetical or rather unpoetical perversity; it would be an endless task to expose all its absurdities and contradictions. Why, for instance, does Orestes banter his sister so long without revealing himself? How easy does the task of the Poet become, when, if any thing stands in his way, he has only to set it aside without more ado—as in the case of the peasant, of whom, after he has dispatched the old keeper, we are not informed what he has done with himself? Partly, Euripides wished to be novel, partly he thought it too improbable a circumstance, that Orestes and Pylades should dispatch the king and his wife in the midst of their capital city; to avoid this he has entangled himself in yet greater improbabilities. Whatever in the piece is really agreeable to the tragic character is not his own; it belongs to the fable, to his predecessors, and to tradition. Under his treatment it ceases to be a tragedy; he has lowered it down in every way to the level of a family picture, in the modern sense of the word. The effect produced by the indigence of Electra is truly pitiful: the poet has betrayed his craft-mystery in the complacency with which she makes a display of her own wretchedness. All the preparations towards the deed are marked by utter levity and want of inward conviction; it is mere torture that Ægisthus must first express a good-natured hospitality, and Clytæmnestra a compassionate kindness for her daughter, in order to touch us in their behalf; the deed, the very moment after its performance, is obliterated by a most despicable repentance, a repentance, which is no moral feeling whatever, but merely a revulsion of the animal feeling. Of the abuse thrown upon the Delphian Oracle, I shall say nothing. As the whole poem is thereby annihilated, I cannot see for what purpose Euripides could have written it, unless it were for the sake of providing a comfortable match for Electra, and making the old peasant's fortune, as a reward for his continence. I could only have wished the marriage of Pylades had taken place forthwith on the spot, and that the peasant had a specified sum told out to him in ready money: then all would end to the satisfaction of the spectators like a common comedy.

Not to be unjust, however, I muſt remark, that the *Electra*, is, perhaps, of all the extant plays of Euripides, the very vileſt. Was it his rage for novelty that here led him ſo much aſtray? Certainly it was to be lamented, that in this ſubject two ſuch predecessors had foreſtalled him. But what compelled him to meaſure himſelf againſt them, and above all to write an *Electra*?

Of the more numerous extant plays of Euripides, we can only briefly touch upon ſome few.

On the ſcore of delicate morality, perhaps, none is ſo very praiſe-worthy as the *Alceſtis*. Her reſolution to die, and her farewell to her huſband and children, are painfully beautiful. Even his forbearance in not allowing the heroine to ſpeak after her return from the infernal world, and not drawing aſide the myſterious curtain, which ſhrouds the affairs of the dead, muſt be reckoned a very high merit. The character of *Admetus*, it is true, and eſpecially that of his father, are very much ſacrificed from their ſelfiſh love of life. *Hercules*, alſo, ſhows himſelf at firſt vehement even to rudeneſs, afterwards more noble and worthy of himſelf, and at laſt jovial, when joking with *Admetus*, he brings him his veiled wife as a new bride.

*Iphigenia in Aulis*, is a ſubject particularly well ſuited to the taſte and powers of Euripides: the object here was to excite a ſoft emotion for the innocent youth and childlike manners of the heroine. *Iphigenia*, however, is very far from being an *Antigone*; *Ariſtotle* has already remarked, that the character is not well ſuſtained: “*Iphigenia imploring*,” ſays he, “is altogether unlike *Iphigenia offering up herſelf a willing ſacrifice*.”

*Ion* is alſo one of the moſt favourite pieces, on account of the traits of innocence and prieſtly ſanctity in the boy whoſe name it bears. It is true, in the courſe of the complication of the plot, there is no lack of improbabilities, make-ſhifts and repetitions; and the unravelling of the plot by means of a lye, in which Gods and men combine againſt *Xuthus*, can hardly be ſatisfactory to our feelings.

In the representation of female paſſions, and the wanderings of a diſeaſed mind, his *Phædra* and *Medea* are deſervedly praiſed. The play, in which *Phædra* comes forward, is reſplendent with the ſublime heroic beauty of *Hippolytus*, and alſo recommends itſelf in the higheſt degree by its obſervance of propriety and ſtrict morality in ſo critical a ſubject. This, however, is perhaps not ſo much the merit of the Poet as of

the delicacy of his contemporaries; for the Hippolytus which we have, is, as the Scholiast testifies, a refashionment, in which all that was offensive and blameable in the earlier play, is amended<sup>1</sup>.

The opening of the Medea is excellent: her desperate situation is made known with heart-rending pathos, by the conversation between her nurse and the keeper of her children, and by her own lamentations behind the scenes. But at her very first appearance, the poet has taken pains to cool down our agitation by many general and common-place reflections which he puts into her mouth. She appears yet more mean in the scene with Ægeus, in which, being about to take a dreadful revenge on Jason, she first makes sure of a place of refuge, nay, almost puts in a word for a new husband. This is not the daring criminal, who has subdued the powers of nature to be slaves to her wild passions, and hastes from land to land like a desolating meteor; that Medea, who forsaken by all the world, can still be sufficient for Self. Nothing but complaisance to Athenian Antiquity could induce Euripides to admit this frigid interpolation. Otherwise he would have seized the opportunity of describing in one and the same person the mighty enchantress, and the woman naturally weak by reason of her sex. Most deeply touching are the returns of motherly tenderness in the midst of her preparations for the horrible deed. Only, she announces her intention prematurely and too distinctly, instead of cherishing it as a confused and dark foreboding. When she accomplishes it, surely her impulse to revenge herself on Jason ought to be satisfied by the cruel death of his young wife and her father, and the new motive, namely, that Jason would infallibly destroy his children, and, therefore, she must get the start of him, will not bear examination. For, in the same manner, as she carries away the corpses on her dragon-chariot, she might also have rescued the children alive. But perhaps this may be justified, by taking into account the confusion of mind into which she is plunged by the crime already perpetrated.

1. The learned and acute Brunck tells us, that Seneca composed his play of the name on the plan of the earlier Hippolytus of Euripides, called the Veiled Hippolytus. But as he cites no authority or coincidence of fragments in proof of the assertion, it may be mere conjecture for aught that I know. I should doubt, however, whether Euripides, even in the play which was thus censured, was guilty of the scene in which Phædra declares her passion. Yet Racine did not scruple to borrow this scene from Seneca.



Such pictures of universal woe, of the fall of flourishing families, and states, from the greatest majesty, into the deepest distress, nay, into utter annihilation, as that presented to us in the Troades, might, perhaps, obtain for Euripides, from Aristotle, the name of *the most tragic of poets*. The conclusion, where the captive women, allotted as slaves, leave the burning and down-falling Troy behind them, as they turn towards the ships, is grand indeed. In other respects, however, a play could scarcely have less *action* in the energetic sense of the word: it is a series of situations and incidents without any other dependence on each other, save that they all proceed from the fall of Troy, but without in the least tending towards a common end. The accumulation of helpless sorrow, which has no power whatever to call forth any collision of sentiments, wearies us at last, and exhausts our compassion. The greater the struggle to ward off a misfortune, the greater the impression, when it afterwards does burst upon us. But when there is so little ceremony, as here in the case of Astyanax, the speech of Talthybius preventing even the slightest attempt at rescuing him, the spectator soon resigns himself to the issue. In this respect Euripides frequently commits himself. In the uninterrupted demands on our compassion in this piece, the pathos is not reserved and heightened as it ought to be; for instance, the lamentation of Andromache over her living son is much more affecting than that of Hecuba over her dead son. It is true, the effect of the latter was supported by the sight of the little corpse on the shield of Hector. Perhaps Euripides calculated much on the excitement for the eyes: therefore Helen appears in contrast with the captive females, splendidly arrayed; Andromache, on a chariot laden with booty, and I doubt not, that in the closing scene, all the decorations were in flames. The painful trial of Helen interrupts all pathos by idle wrangling, and produces no effect; for, in spite of Hecuba's accusation, Menelaus abides by the resolution which he had formed at the very outset. Helen's defence may perhaps be as entertaining as the sophistical panegyric on her by Isocrates.

Euripides was not content with having exhibited Hecuba wrapped up in her garments, rolling in the dust, and whining through a whole play; he has brought her forward in another play, which takes its name from her, as the prominent figure in

the disastrous picture. The two actions of this Play, the sacrifice of Polyxena, and the vengeance taken on Polymestor for the murder of Polydorus, have nothing in common with each other except their relation to Hecuba. The first half has great beauties of that description in which Euripides is pre-eminently successful: images of tender youth, womanly innocence, and magnanimous submission to a premature and violent death. A human sacrifice, the triumph of barbarian superstition is represented as completed, suffered, and looked upon with that Hellenism of sentiment which effected the abolishment of such sacrifices among the Greeks at so early a period. But the second half destroys these softer emotions in the most revolting manner. It is full of the vengeful cunning of Hecuba, the bloody-minded avarice of Polymestor, and the miserable policy of Agamemnon, who dares not himself take the Thracian king to account, but plays him into the hands of the captive women. Neither is it by any means consistent, that Hecuba, aged, powerless, and sunk in sorrow, should afterwards display so much presence of mind in the exercise of her revenge, and such a glibness of tongue in her accusation and abuse of Polymestor.

We have another example of two wholly distinct actions in the same Tragedy in the *Hercules Furens*. The first is the distress of his family during his absence, and their delivery from it by his return; the second his remorse at having murdered, in a sudden frenzy, his wife and children. This follows, indeed, after the other, but by no means from the other.

The *Phœnissæ* is rich in Tragic incidents, in the common sense of the word: the son of Creon precipitates himself from the wall for the salvation of the city; Eteocles and Polymestor fall by each other's hands, Jocasta by her own hand over their corpses; the Argives drawn up in array against Thebes are destroyed in battle, and Polynices remains unburied: lastly, Œdipus and Antigone are driven into exile. The Scholiast, after thus enumerating the incidents, notices in how arbitrary a manner Euripides has proceeded. "This play," he says, "is beautiful as a theatrical spectacle, because in fact it is full of filling-up matter foreign to the purpose. Antigone, gazing down from the walls has nothing to do with the action, and Polynices enters the city under warranty of a truce, without any consequence resulting from it. After all the rest is at an end, we

have by way of appendage the banishment of Ædipus, and a garrulous ode." This criticism is severe, but to the point.

Not more indulgent is that on the *Orestes*: "the piece is one of those which produce a great effect on the stage, but in respect of the characters, it is extremely bad; for, except Pylades, they are all good for nothing." Again: "It terminates in a manner that would be more suitable to a comedy." The beginning, indeed, of the play is truly agitating. *Orestes*, after the murder of his Mother, lies on a bed, sick with anguish of soul and madness; *Electra* sits at his feet; she and the chorus tremblingly expect his awaking. But afterwards all takes a perverse turn, and ends with violent strokes of theatrical effect.

Less wild and extravagant is the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, a piece in which the fates of *Orestes* are further followed up: but then it is almost uniformly mediocre in its representations, both of character and passion. The mutual recognition of the brother and sister after such events and deeds, and under such circumstances—Iphigenia, who once trembled before the altar, herself about to devote her brother to the like fate—excites only a passing emotion. Even their flight does not particularly stretch our interest: the cunning by which Iphigenia effects it is readily believed by *Thoas*, and it is only after they are both rescued, that he seeks to oppose it, but he is immediately appeased, as usual, by one of the interpositions of a God. This contrivance has been so much used and abused by Euripides, that in nine out of his eighteen Tragedies, a God must needs descend to untie the knot.

In the *Andromache*, *Orestes* appears for the fourth time. The Scholiast, in whose criticisms we think we recognize for the most part decisions of important ancient Critics, declares this to be a second-rate play, in which he praises only individual passages. Of those on which Racine has based his free imitations, it is certainly the least excellent, and therefore the French Critics play here an easy game, when they labour to put down the Greek predecessor, from whom Racine, in fact, borrowed little more than the first occasion of his tragedy.

The *Bacchæ* exhibits the tumultuous enthusiasm of the Bacchanalian worship, with great impressiveness to the senses, and much living reality. The stubborn unbelief of *Pentheus*, his infatuation and fearful punishment by the hand of his own

mother, form a daring picture. The stage-effect must have been extraordinary. Imagine the Chorus with flying hair and garments, tambourines, cymbals, &c. in their hands, as the Bacchæ are represented on bas-reliefs, storming into the orchestra, and executing their inspired dance amidst the din of music; which in other cases was quite unusual, as the choral odes were performed with no other accompaniment than that of a flute, and with a solemn step. And on this occasion, indeed, this luxuriance of ornament, which Euripides every where seeks, was quite in place. When, therefore, certain modern Critics rank this piece very low, I cannot help thinking that they do not rightly know what they would have. On the contrary, I cannot but admire the harmony and unity of its composition, qualities of so rare occurrence in this Poet; his abstinence from all foreign matter, so that the effects and motives all flow from one source, and tend to one end. Next to the *Hippolytus*, I would assign to this play the first place among the extant works of Euripides.

The *Heraclidæ* and the *Suppliants* are mere occasional tragedies, and surely could only succeed as pieces of adulation to the Athenians. They celebrate two exploits of Athens in the heroic age, on which the panegyrists, who ever blend fable with history, for instance, Isocrates, lay surprisingly great stress: their protection of the children of Hercules, the ancestors of the Lacedæmonian kings, against the persecution of Eurystheus; and their forcing the Thebans, whom they had conquered in a war waged against them on behalf of Adrastus, king of Argos, to allow the interment of the Seven Chieftains and their hosts. The *Suppliants* we know to have been exhibited during the Peloponnesian War, just when the Argives had closed a treaty with the Lacedæmonians: this piece, then, was intended to remind them of their ancient obligations to Athens, and to shew how little success the Argives could reasonably expect from this war. The *Heraclidæ* had undoubtedly a similar design in reference to Lacedæmon. Of the two pieces however, which were both worked wholly after the same pattern, the play of the *Suppliants* (so named from the mothers of the slain heroes), is by far the best, in a poetic point of view: that of the *Heraclidæ* is, so to speak, only a weaker impression. Theseus, it is true, in the former play, does not appear in an amiable point of view, where he upbraids Adrastus so prolixly, and perhaps unjustly, with his errors, before he



helps him; the disputation between Theseus and the Argive herald on the superiority of the monarchical or democratic constitution, may fairly be banished from the stage to the schools of the rhetoricians; the moral encomium, also, of Adrastus on the fallen heroes, is very much out of keeping. I hold myself convinced that Euripides here wished to draw the characters of some Athenian Generals who had fallen in some battle or other. Even then the passage, in a dramatic point of view, is unjustifiable; but without such an object it would have been but too tasteless to praise for their civic virtues those heroes of the Herculean age, a Capaneus, for instance, who defied the very Heavens. How apt Euripides was to roam out of his subject in his allusions to foreign circumstances, allusions even to himself, we see from a speech of Adrastus, where without the least occasion he says, "it is not fair that the poet, while he delights others by his works, should himself suffer discomfort." Nevertheless, the dirges over the dead, and the swan-like song of Evadne, are touchingly beautiful, though this personage may be literally said to jump into the drama, quite unexpectedly. For without having been mentioned before, she appears fast on the rock, and then precipitates herself from it upon the burning pile of Capaneus.

The *Heraclidæ* is a very poor play; its termination in particular, is extremely bald. Of the Sacrifice of Macaria (and this is really accomplished) we hear no more: as the resolution seems to cost even her no victory over herself, so neither do the others make any ceremony with her. Demophon, the Athenian king, does not come on the stage again, any more than that old man, so wonderfully restored to youth, Iolaus, the comrade of Hercules, and keeper of his children; Hyllus, the heroic Heraclide, is not even forthcoming; thus at the end there remains nobody but Alcmene, who wrangles stoutly with Eurystheus. Inexorably vengeful old women, like this, Euripides seems to depict with special relish: twice, at least, has he made this use of Hecuba, once in conflict with Helen, and again with Polymestor. The constant return of the same means and motives, is a sure sign of mannerism. In the works of this Poet we have three instances of women sacrificed, who become affecting from their self-devotion, Iphigenia, Polyxena, and Macaria; the voluntary death of Alcestis and Evadne belong, in some measure, to the same class. Suppliants imploring protection, are another favourite subject

with him: they afford a good opportunity for distressing the spectator with anxiety, lest they be torn away from the hallowed refuge of the altar. I have already enumerated his interpositions of deities at the conclusions of his plays.

The most amusing of all Tragedies is the *Helena*, quite a strange spectacle, full of wonderful incidents and scenes, which evidently are much better suited to Comedy. The invention, on which it is founded, is, that Helen lived concealed in Egypt (so far went the assertion of Egyptian priests), while Paris carried off a phantom in her shape, for which phantom Greeks and Trojans fought ten years long. By this evasion the virtue of the heroine is saved, and Menelaus, who (by way of confirmation to Aristophanes's jeers at the Euripidean heroes), enters in tatters, and as a beggar. But this is a species of improvement on Mythology, which makes it like the tales in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

To the *Rhesus* (for which the Eleventh Book of the *Iliad* lent the materials) modern Philologists have devoted whole dissertations, to prove it illegitimate. Their opinion is, that the play contains a multitude of improprieties and contradictions, and is therefore unworthy of Euripides. This inference is questionable. What if the defects which they censure flow almost unavoidably from the intractable nature of the subject, namely, a nocturnal exploit of arms? Generally speaking, the question on the genuineness of a work turns much less on its merits or demerits, than on the point of fact, whether the style and the peculiarities of the supposed Poet appear in it. A few words of the Scholiast go to the point quite in a different way; "Some have held this piece not to be a genuine production of Euripides, for it bears much more of the Sophoclean style. Nevertheless, in the *Didascalîæ*, it is superscribed as genuine, and the accurate description of the phenomena of the starry heaven betrays the hand of Euripides." I think, also, I understand what is meant here by the Sophoclean style, which, indeed, I find not in the plan of the whole, but in single passages. Therefore, if the piece must be taken away from Euripides, I would conjecture the author to have been some eclectic imitator, but rather of the school of Sophocles than Euripides, and, indeed, only a little later than either. This I infer from the familiar style of many of the scenes, which may be explained by the consideration, that at that time Tragedy was

verging towards the civic Comedy: for afterwards, viz. in the Alexandrian times, it fell away into the opposite error, that of bombast.

The *Cyclop* is a satyric drama. This was a mixed and subordinate species of Tragic Poetry, as we have already mentioned in a passing manner. The necessity of a relaxation of mind after the engrossing earnestness of Tragedy, seems to have given rise to this kind of drama, and, indeed, to the afterpiece in general. The Satyric Drama did not stand alone, but was added by way of appendage to several tragedies together, and was, to all appearance, always considerably shorter. Its exterior form was like that of Tragedy, the materials were also mythological. The distinguishing mark was a Chorus composed of Satyrs, which accompanied with lively songs, gesticulations and antics, such adventures of the heroes, as in themselves had a touch of mirthfulness, (as is the case with many in the *Odyssee*, for the germ of this kind, as of so many other kinds of poetry, is to be found in Homer,) or at least were susceptible of it. The immediate occasion was given by the festivals of Bacchus, at which the Satyr's-mask was a common disguise. In mythological stories, which had nothing to do with Bacchus, these his constant attendants could be introduced only in a kind of arbitrary manner, yet not without propriety. As nature, in her original freedom, seemed to Grecian fancy everywhere rich in marvellous productions, the wild landscapes, where the scene was commonly laid, far from the cultivation of civilized towns, might be peopled with these sensual and frolicsome creatures of the forest. The composition of demi-gods with demi-beasts, formed an amusing contrast. Of the Poets' management of them we have an example in the *Cyclop*. It is not an unentertaining play, though its actual contents are for the most part taken from the *Odyssee*; only, now and then the jokes of Silenus and his troop turn out a little coarse. We must own, indeed, that to us the chief value of this work is its rarity, as it is the only extant one of its kind. Without doubt the mirth of Æschylus, in his Satyric plays, must have been bolder and more full of meaning; for instance, when he introduced Prometheus bringing down fire from heaven, to the rude awkward race of man; and the mirth of Sophocles, as is evident, even from the few extant specimens, was doubtless more graceful and decent; as, for instance, where he introduced the Goddesses vying for the

prize of beauty, or Nausicaa, giving her protection to the shipwrecked Ulysses. It is an expressive feature in the character of the light-hearted and cheerful-spirited Greeks, who knew nothing of stiff, formal dignity, and, as with the feeling of artists, admired aptness and gracefulness even in matters the most insignificant, that in this play, called Nausicaa, or the Washerwomen, in which, as Homer relates, the Princess, after finishing the washing, amuses herself with playing at ball with her maidens, Sophocles himself played at ball, and gained great applause for his graceful adroitness in this exercise. The great poet, the revered citizen of Athens, the man, who, perhaps, had been a general, came publicly forward in woman's clothes, and as, on account of the weakness of his voice, he certainly did not act the part of Nausicaa, took the secondary, perhaps mute, character of a maid, to give to the exhibition of his work the slight ornament of bodily activity.

With Euripides, as far as we are concerned, the History of ancient Tragedy comes to an end, though there were many more recent Tragedians, for instance, Agathon, whom Aristophanes describes to us as perfumed all over, and crowned with flowers, and into whose mouth Plato, in his Symposium, puts a speech in the taste of the sophist Gorgias, full of the most exquisite elegancies and unmeaning antitheses. He was the first that forsook Mythology, as the natural material of the drama, and sometimes wrote tragedies with purely fictitious names, (this is to be noticed as forming a transition to the newer Comedy) one of which was called the Flower, and probably, therefore, was neither seriously touching, nor terrible, but of an idyllic and pleasing character.

The Alexandrine literati also busied themselves in composing tragedies; but, if we may form a judgment from the only one that has come down to us, the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, which consists of an endless monologue, full of prophecy, and overloaded with obscure Mythology, these productions of an elaborate affectation of art, were extremely lifeless, untheatrical, and every way devoid of attraction. The creative powers of the Greeks in this way, were so utterly lost, that they were obliged to content themselves with repetitions of the works of their ancient masters.



## SIXTH LECTURE.

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Ancient Comedy explained. as forming the complete antithesis to Tragedy. Parody. The Comic Ideal, the exact converse of the Tragic. Mirthful caprice. Allegoric, and, especially, Political meaning. The Chorus and its Parabases. Aristophanes. His character as a Poet. Description and Criticism of his extant Works.

WE leave Tragic Poetry, to occupy ourselves with the consideration of another species of Poetry, altogether contrasted to it, I mean the *Ancient Comedy*. In the midst, however, of its striking dissimilarity to Tragedy, we shall perceive a certain symmetry of contrast between them, together with certain mutual relations, which may serve to exhibit the essential character of both in a clearer light. In forming a judgment of the ancient Comedy, we must, in the first place, dismiss from our thoughts all considerations of that which among the Moderns, and, indeed, among the later Greeks themselves, bears the same name. The distinction between these species of poetry does not consist in mere accidents (as, for instance, in the introduction of real persons by their names in the old Comedy), but is essential and runs throughout. We must also take care not to look upon the old Comedy as the rude beginning of the more cultivated species of later times<sup>1</sup>, to which mistaken notion many have been led by the unbridled freedom of that old Comedy; on the contrary, this is the genuine poetic species, and the newer Comedy, as I shall shew in due course, is a mere descent to prose and reality.

The old Comedy may be most rightly conceived, as forming the thorough antithesis to Tragedy. This was perhaps the meaning of that assertion of Socrates, mentioned by Plato at the end of his Symposium. He relates, namely, how after the other guests were dispersed, or had fallen asleep, Socrates was left awake with

1. This is the general purport of Barthelémy's section in the *Anacharsis* on the older Comedy, one of the poorest and most erroneous of that work. It is in the pitiable overweening of ignorance, that Voltaire, (among others, in his philosophical dictionary, Art. *Athée*), passes sentence of extermination on Aristophanes, and that most of the modern French critics have followed his example. But the basis of all the nonsensical opinions of the moderns on this subject, and the same dull prosaic manner of viewing it, may be found in Plutarch's parallel between Aristophanes and Menander.

only Aristophanes and Agathon; and, whilst he drank with them out of a large bowl, compelled them to confess, however unwillingly, that it was the province of one and the same man, to excel alike in tragic and comic poetry, and that the Tragedian, by virtue of his art, is a Comedian also. This was contradictory both to the prevailing opinion, which entirely separated the two kinds of talent, and to experience, inasmuch as no Tragedian had ever attempted to shine in Comedy as well, nor *vice versâ*: and therefore it could only be grounded on the intrinsic nature of the thing. At another time, likewise, speaking of comic imitation, the Platonic Socrates says, "all contrasted things can be properly understood, only through each other, the serious, therefore, not without the ridiculous." Had it pleased the divine Plato, in the details of that conversation to communicate his own or his Master's thoughts on these two kinds of Poetry, the following investigation might doubtless have been dispensed with.

The relation of comic to tragic poetry may be comprehended in one point of view, under the idea of parody. But this parody is infinitely stronger than that of the mock-heroic poem, because the subject parodied was brought before the mind by means of the scenic representation, with far greater reality and presence than the Epos, which related stories of old times as past, and went back with them itself into remote antiquity. The comic parody was made when the action was fresh, and even the circumstance that it was represented on the same stage on which its serious antitype was wont to be seen, must needs strengthen the effect. At the same time, the parody extended not merely to single passages, but to the whole form of tragic poetry, and doubtless not only to the poetry, but also to the music and dance, to the pantomime and the scenery. Nay, in so far as tragic art trod in the footsteps of plastic art, the comic parody also had the same scope: i. e. it caricatured the ideal forms of the gods, yet in such a manner, that they might easily be recognized<sup>1</sup>. Now the more striking the productions of these several arts are to the outward senses, the more the Greeks in their popular festivals, their worship, and solemn processions were surrounded by, and intimate with, that noble style, which is natural to tragic poetry, the more irre-

1. As an example of this, I refer to the well-known vase-painting, in which Jupiter and Mercury, about to ascend by a ladder into Alcmene's chamber, are represented as comic masks.

sistibly ludicrous must have been the effect of that universal parody of the arts, which was contained in Comedy.

But this conception does not exhaust the essentials of the matter; for parody always pre-supposes a relation to the thing parodied, and a dependence on it. But the old Comedy is a kind of poetry just as independent and original as Tragedy, and stands on the same elevation with it; that is, it proceeds equally far beyond a liminary reality, into the domain of the freely creative fancy.

Tragedy is the highest earnestness of poetry, Comedy is altogether sportive. But earnestness consists in the direction of the mental powers to one end, and the consequent restraint upon the sphere of their agency. Its opposite, therefore, consists in the seeming absence of purpose, and the removal of all restraint in the exercise of the mental faculties, and is complete, in proportion as these faculties are exercised on a larger scale, and as the appearance of purposeless mirth and unrestrained caprice is more vividly displayed. Wit and irony may be used in a sportive manner, but both are also consistent with the strictest earnestness, as is proved in the instance of the later Roman Satires, and the old Greek Iambi, in which these means were subservient to the expression of indignation and hatred.

The Modern Comedy, it is true, exhibits what is amusing in characters, in the contrast of situations and combinations, and is comic in proportion as the absence of purpose predominates in it; misunderstandings, errors, vain efforts of ridiculous passion; and, in proportion as all finally resolves itself into nothing: but notwithstanding all its merriment, the form of representation is in itself earnest, that is, regularly tied down to a certain purpose. In the old Comedy, on the contrary, it is mirthful; a seeming purposelessness and arbitrary caprice prevails throughout; the entire poem is one great jest, which again contains within itself a whole world of separate jests, each of which seems to keep its own place, and not to trouble itself about the rest. In Tragedy, to make my meaning plain by a comparison, the monarchal constitution is in force, but as it existed among the Greeks in the heroic age without despotism; all is willing attachment to the dignity of the heroic sceptre. Comedy, on the contrary, is democratic poetry; the principle here is, rather to put up with the confusion of anarchy, than to circumscribe the universal freedom of all in-

tellectual powers, all purposes, and even separate thoughts, sallies and allusions.

Whatever is dignified, noble and great, in human nature, admits only of an earnest manner of representation; for the person, who represents it, feels that it stands to himself in a relation of superiority, and it has, therefore, binding force for him. The comic Poet, therefore, must exclude all this from his representation, must transport himself beyond it, nay, deny it altogether, and idealize human nature in the opposite sense to the Tragedian, namely, into the ugly and the vile. But as little as the Tragic Ideal can be considered a collection of models of all possible virtues, so little does this inverted Ideality consist in an accumulation, surpassing all reality, of moral crime and degeneracy; but in a dependence on the animal part of human nature, in the want of freedom and independence, the disconnection and the inconsistencies of the inner being, in which all folly and silliness originate.

The earnest Ideal is the unity and harmonious composition of the sensual man with the spiritual, as it may be most clearly recognized in the plastic art, where the perfection of form becomes but the emblem of spiritual perfection, and of the highest moral ideas, where the body is quite penetrated by the spirit, and spiritualized even to a glorious transfiguration. The mirthful Ideal, on the other hand, consists in the perfect harmony and unison of the higher nature with the animal, as the ruling principle. Reason and Understanding are represented as voluntary slaves of the senses.

Here we see the natural source of that, which has given so much offence in Aristophanes: namely, his so frequently reminding us of the base necessities of the body, his licentious description of the animal instinct, which, in spite of all the fetters which morality and decency lay upon it, is for ever breaking loose before one is aware. If we consider what it is that on our comic stage infallibly produces, and seems, indeed, to be an inexhaustible source of ludicrous effect, we shall find that it is precisely these ungovernable motions of the sensual being, in opposition to the claims of the higher nature: cowardice, childish vanity, garrulity, greediness, laziness, and the like. Thus, for instance, lechery in infirm old age is the more ridiculous, as it shews that it is not the mere instinct of the animal, but that the Reason has only served



to extend disproportionably the dominion of sensuality; and by drunkenness the real man, in some measure, transports himself into the condition of the comic Ideal.

But we must not be deceived by the circumstance, that the ancient Comedians introduced living characters upon the stage with all circumstantiality and by name; we must not take this to be a proof, that they actually did represent definite individuals. For such historical persons in the old Comedy, have always an allegorical meaning, they represent a genus, and as their features were caricatured in the masks, so were their characters in the representation. Nevertheless, this constant allusion to nearest realities, which not only allowed the Poet in the person of the Chorus, to converse with the audience in general, but even to point with the finger at individual spectators, was very essential to this kind of poetry. For as Tragedy loves harmonious unity, so Comedy lives and moves in a chaotic profusion, seeks out the gayest contrasts and contradictions which are for ever crossing each other. It, therefore, combines the most strange, unheard-of, nay, impossible incidents with the most local and individual circumstances of the immediate reality.

The Comic Poet, like the tragic, transports his characters into an ideal element; but into a world not subject to necessity, but only to the uncontrolled caprice of the inventive will, while the laws of reality are suspended. He is therefore authorized to devise the action as boldly and fantastically as he may; it may even be unconnected and absurd, if it be only adapted to exhibit a set of comic relations and characters in the most dazzling light. In this last respect, the work certainly may, nay, must have a main object, else it will want keeping: and in this point of view the comedies of Aristophanes may be shewn to be completely systematical. But that the comic spirit may not evaporate, this same object must be turned into sport, and the impression must apparently be done away with by foreign admixtures of every kind. Comedy, in its earliest age, viz. under the hands of its Doric founder, Epicharmus, borrowed its materials principally from the mythic world. Even in its mature age, it seems not wholly to have renounced this choice, as we see from the titles of many lost plays of Aristophanes and his contemporaries: and afterwards, in the middle epoch between the old and the new Comedy, it preferred, for particular reasons, to

return to the old sources. But as the contrast between matter and form is here in its proper place, and nothing could form a stronger antithesis to the thoroughly mirthful character of the representation, than the most important, the most serious concern, and indeed the main business of man: it was natural that public life, the affairs of state, should become the proper subject of the old Comedy. It was political throughout: private and family life, above which the modern Comedy never rises, the old introduces only in a cursory and indirect manner, in reference to public life. The Chorus is, therefore, essential to it, as in some measure representing the public: it can by no means be explained as a chance relic from the local origin of the old Comedy; a weightier reason might be found, even in the circumstance that it serves to complete the parody on the tragic form. At the same time it contributes to the expression of festal mirth, of which Comedy was the most unrestrained effusion. For at all national and religious festivals of the Greeks, choral odes were performed, accompanied with dances. The comic Chorus at times transforms itself into such a voice of public joy, for instance, when the women, who are solemnizing the Thesmophoria in the piece thence named, in the midst of the most joyous riot strike up their melodious hymn, just as at the real festival, in honour of all its presiding deities. On such occasions we find effusions of lyric poetry so easy and unconstrained, that these passages might be transferred without any alteration whatever into a Tragedy. On the contrary, there is often this deviation from the Tragic model, that these several choruses are present in one comedy at the same time, and sing responsively to each other, at other times they alternate with each other, and go off without any relation to each other. But the most remarkable peculiarity of the comic Chorus, is the *Parabasis*, an address from the Chorus to the spectators by the authority and in the name of the Poet, and without the least reference to the subject of the play. Sometimes he extols his own merits and ridicules his rivals, sometimes, by virtue of his privilege as an Athenian citizen, to speak on the public affairs in every assembly of the people, he puts forward serious or droll plans for the common good. Properly speaking, the *Parabasis* is at variance with the essence of dramatic representation, for, according to this, the Poet ought to disappear behind his characters, and these also ought to speak and act

altogether, as though they were by themselves, and to take no particular heed of the spectators. All tragic impressions, therefore, are inevitably destroyed by admixture of this kind; but where it is intended that the effect should be mirthful, designed interruptions, or *Intermezzo's*, are welcome, even though they be in themselves more serious than the subject of the Comedy; because here the spectator does not at all wish to subject himself to the constraint of a mental occupation, which by its uninterrupted continuance assumes the appearance of a labour. The invention of the *Parabasis* might, in part, be occasioned by the circumstance, that the Comedians had not the abundant materials of the Tragedians for filling up the intervals during which the stage was empty by odes full of sympathy and enthusiasm. But it accords with the nature of the old Comedy, in which not only the subject, but the entire treatment of it is mirthful. This unbounded prevalence of the mirthful character, manifests itself even in the circumstance, that the dramatic form is not maintained altogether in earnest, and that its laws are in a moment suspended; just as in a merry disguise the masquerader sometimes allows himself to take off his mask. Hence, there remain, even in the Comedy of the present day, those allusions and hints to the spectators, which are often so successful, though many Critics unconditionally reprobate them.

If we were required to comprise in few words the object of Tragic and Comic Poetry, we should say, that as Tragedy by painful emotions, elevates us to the most dignified views of human nature, as being, according to Plato's expression, "the imitation of the most beautiful and excellent life," so Comedy calls forth the most unrestrained frolicsomeness from an altogether jocular and degrading contemplation of all things.

Of the older Comedy, we have but one poet, and, therefore, are unable to give a greater strictness to our estimate of his worth by comparison with other masters. Aristophanes had many predecessors: a Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, and others; he was one of the latest Comedians, for he outlived the Old Comedy. Nevertheless, we have no reason to believe that in him we see it in its decline, as we do that of Tragedy in the last Tragedian; but probably this species of poetry was yet on its rise, and he its most finished poet. For it was quite otherwise with respect to the old Comedy, to what it was with

respect to Tragedy; the latter died a natural, the former a violent, death. Tragedy ceased because it seemed to be exhausted, because it was forsaken, could no longer raise itself to its proper elevation. Comedy was robbed, by a sovereign decree, of its unbounded freedom, on which alone the possibility of its existence depended. Horace describes this catastrophe to us in few words. "Close upon these (Thespis and Æschylus) followed the old Comedy, not without great praise: but freedom degenerated into faultiness, and into a violence which called for the check of law. The law was passed, and the Chorus was reduced to disgraceful silence, when it was deprived of the right to do mischief." Towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, when a few individuals, in violation of the constitution, had possessed themselves of the supremacy in Athens, it was ordained, that any person, who was attacked by the comic poets, might lodge a complaint against them; it was forbidden to introduce real personages, to make them recognizable by masks, and so forth. Hence, arose, what is called the *Middle Comedy*. The form was still pretty much the same, and the representation, if not exactly allegorical, was at least in the manner of parody. But the essence was done away with, and all relish for this kind of drama was of course lost, when it could no longer be seasoned with the salt of personal ridicule. The attraction consisted in the very circumstance, that immediate reality was idealized in a jocular manner, that is, was distorted into the strangest perversity; and how was it possible to pass a mirthful censure, even on general misconduct in state affairs, if it were forbidden to offend any individual? Therefore, I cannot agree with Horace in his opinion, that the restraint was occasioned by the abuse. The old Comedy flourished as long as did Athenian freedom; it was the same circumstances and persons that suppressed them both. So far was Aristophanes from having been the occasion of the death of Socrates by any calumniations on his part (as many have affirmed in their ignorance of history; the Play of the Clouds was composed many years before Socrates was brought to trial), that, on the contrary, the same violent constitution of the republic which silenced the jocose reproofs of Aristophanes, punished with death the earnest ones of the incorruptible Socrates. We do not find that the persecutions of Aristophanes did Euripides any harm; the people of Athens witnessed with admiration



the tragedies of that Poet, and Aristophanes's parodies of them, which were both exhibited on the same stage; all the most diverse endowments of mind were left to thrive undisturbed beside each other in the enjoyment of equal rights. Never did a sovereign, and such was the Athenian people, more good humouredly listen to the severest truths, nay, allow himself to be laughed at to his face. Even if the abuses of government were not thereby amended, it was a great point that they might at least be unsparingly exposed. Aristophanes, it should be added, in general shews himself a zealous patriot; he attacks the most powerful of the demagogues, those very demagogues, whom the earnest Thucydides depicts as so pernicious to the state: he counselled measures of peace in the intestine war, which was irretrievably destroying the welfare of Greece; he recommended the simplicity and severity of ancient manners. So much for the political bearing of the old Comedy.

But Aristophanes, it is said, was an unmannerly buffoon. Very well: among his other qualities, he was that also; and we are by no means disposed to justify his letting himself down to this degradation, whether it were, that he was instigated by course inclinations, or that he held it necessary to gain over the populace, that he might have it in his power to tell such bold truths to the people. At least he makes it his boast, that he did not court the laughter of the multitude, so much as his rivals did, by mere indecent buffoonery, and that in this respect he brought his art to perfection. Not to be unreasonable, we ought to judge him from the point of view of his own times, in respect of those peculiarities which make him so offensive to us. On certain points, the Ancients had quite a different morality to ours, and a much freer one. This arose from their religion, which was a real worship of Nature, and had given sanctity to many public ceremonies, which grossly violate decency. Moreover as in consequence of the great seclusion of their women<sup>1</sup>, the men were

1. Here we may agitate the question so much contested among antiquarians, whether the Greek women were allowed to be present at dramatic representations in general, and at such comedies in particular. With respect to Tragedy, the question I think may be answered in the affirmative with certainty, for if women never visited the theatre on such occasions, the story told about the chorus of the Eumenides, could not even have been invented with any degree of probability. To this may be added a passage of Plato, (*de Legg.* II. 658. D.) where he speaks of the partiality of cultivated women for tragedy. Lastly, among the technicalities of the theatre, Julius Pollux gives us the Greek word for a spectatress. Of the old Comedy, on the contrary, I should be disposed to deny it. Its indecency alone indeed is no decisive proof; for at the public festivals the

almost always together, a certain coarseness entered into the language of conversation, as in such circumstances is always the case. In modern Europe, since the age of Chivalry, women have given the tone to social life, and to the homage paid to them we owe it, that a noble decorum has become prevalent in language, in the fine Arts, and in poetry. Lastly, the Old Comedian, who took the world as he found it, certainly had before his eyes a very great corruption of morals.

The most honourable testimony in favour of Aristophanes, is that of the sage Plato, who in an epigram says that "the Graces chose his soul for their abode," who read him continually, and sent the Clouds to the elder Dionysius, (though in that play, not only the web of the Sophists was attacked, but Philosophy itself, and his master Socrates) signifying to him, that by means of this play he might acquaint himself with the Athenian Republic. By this he could scarcely mean that the play was a proof of the unbridled democratic freedom, which prevailed at Athens, but he meant it as a testimony of the Poet's deep knowledge of the world, his thorough insight into the whole machinery of the civil constitution. Plato has also very strikingly characterized him in his Symposium, where he makes him hold a discourse on love, which Aristophanes, who to be sure was very far from all lofty enthusiasm, explains quite in a sensual manner, but with equal originality and ingenuity.

The motto of a pleasant and shrewd adventurer in Goethe, "mad, but clever!" might be applied to the plays of Aristophanes. Here we shall most easily conceive why Dramatic Art in general was dedicated to Bacchus: it is the intoxication of poetry, the Bacchanalia of mirth. For mirth will maintain its rights as well as the other faculties; therefore different nations have set apart certain holidays for jovial folly, such as their Saturnalia, their Carnival, &c. that being once satisfied to their hearts' content, they might keep themselves sober all the rest of the year, and leave free room for serious occupation. The Old Comedy is a general masquerade of the world, beneath which there passes

the women had to tolerate many an indecent exhibition. But among so many addresses to the spectators as are to be found in Aristophanes, and even among those in which he distinguishes them according to their respective ages, and otherwise, no mention occurs of spectatresses, and the poet would scarcely have omitted such an opportunity for a jest. The only passage to my knowledge from which it might be concluded that women were present is in the Peace, v. 963—967. but it is still doubtful, and I recommend it to the attention of the critics.

much which is unallowed by the common rules of propriety, but at the same time much that is amusing, clever, and even instructive is brought to light, which would not have been possible, but for the demolition for the moment of these barricadoes.

However corrupt and vulgar Aristophanes may have been in his personal propensities, however much he may offend decency and taste in his individual jests, yet in the plan and conduct of his poems in general, we cannot refuse him the praise of the carefulness and masterly skill of the finished Artist. His language is infinitely graceful; the purest Atticism prevails in it, and he adapts it with great skill to all tones, from the most familiar dialogue to the lofty flight of the Dithyrambic Ode. We cannot doubt that he would have also succeeded in the more serious poetry, when we see how at times he lavishes it away with capricious wantonness, merely to annihilate its impression immediately afterwards. This exquisite elegance is rendered the more attractive by contrast, since on the one hand he admits the rudest expressions of the people, the dialects, and even the mutilated Greek of barbarians, while on the other hand the same arbitrary caprice, which he brought to his views of universal nature and the human world, he also applies to language, and by composition, by allusion and personal names, or imitation of a sound, forms the strangest words imaginable. His versification is not less artificial than that of the Tragedians, he uses the same forms, but otherwise modified, as his object is not to the impressive and dignified, but the light and varied character; with all this seeming irregularity he observes the laws of metre no less strictly than they do. As I cannot help recognizing in Aristophanes's exercise of his single, but varied and multiform Art, the richest developement of almost every poetical talent, so the extraordinary capacities of his hearers, which may be inferred from the structure of his works, are at every fresh perusal a matter of astonishment to me. Accurate acquaintance with the history and constitution of their country, with public events and proceedings, with the personal circumstances of almost all remarkable contemporaries, might be expected from the citizens of a democratic republic. But, besides this, Aristophanes required from his audience much poetic culture; especially they had to retain in their memories the tragic master-pieces, almost word by word, in order to understand his parodies. And what



quickness of attention was necessary to snatch in passing the most light and covert irony, the most unexpected sallies, the strangest allusions! We may boldly assume, that in spite of all the commentaries which have come down to us, in spite of all the learning which has been accumulated on these plays, one half of the wit of Aristophanes is still a dead letter to us. Nothing but the consideration of the incredible liveliness of Attic spirits can enable us to conceive, how these Comedies which, with all their buffoonery, are in reality based upon the most important relations of human life, could form a popular amusement. The Poet might be envied who might presume upon such a Public as this, but, it must be owned, this was a dangerous advantage. Spectators, who understood so easily, could not easily be pleased. Aristophanes complains of the too fastidious taste of the Athenians, with whom his most admired predecessors were out of favour, as soon as even a slight falling off of their powers was visible. On the contrary he says that the rest of the Greeks, as connoisseurs of Dramatic Art, were not even to be taken into the account. All who possessed talents in this department strove to shine in Athens, and here too their competition was compressed within the narrow period of a few festivals, where the people was ever desirous of seeing some novelty, and indeed their desires were always gratified in abundance. The apportionment of the prizes (on which every thing depended, as there were no other means of gaining publicity) was decided after a single performance. Hence it may be conceived to what a pitch of perfection this was carried under the directing care of the Poet. If we also take into the account the completely finished character of all the co-operating arts, the extremely audible delivery, both in the dialogue and the singing part, of the most elaborate poetry, together with the splendor and great extent of the stage, we have before us the conception of a theatrical enjoyment, such as since then has perhaps never existed in the world.

Although among the extant works of Aristophanes we have some of his earliest, yet all bear the marks of equal maturity. But he had long been preparing himself in silence for the exercise of his art, which he represents to be the most difficult of all art; nay, out of modesty, (or according to his own expression, like a young girl who having given birth to a child in secret, entrusts it to the care of another,) he at first had his labours brought



out under another person's name. He first appeared in his own character in his *Knights*, and here he maintained the boldness of a Comedian in full measure, by hazarding a capital attack on the popular opinion. Its object was nothing less than the ruin of Cleon, who after Pericles stood at the head of all state affairs, who was a promoter of the war, a worthless vulgar person, but the idol of the infatuated people. His only adversaries were those more wealthy men of property, who formed the class of *Knights*: these Aristophanes blends with his party in the strongest manner by making them his Chorus. He had the prudence no where to name Cleon, but merely to describe him so that he could not be mistaken. Yet, from fear of Cleon's faction, no mask-maker dared to make a copy of his face; the poet therefore resolved to play the part himself, merely painting his face. It may be conceived what tumults the performance excited among the collected populace; yet the bold and skilful efforts of the poet were crowned with success, and his piece gained the prize. He was proud of this feat of theatrical heroism, and more than once mentions with complacency the Herculean courage displayed in this first attack upon the mighty monster. Scarcely any of his Comedies is more political and historical, it is also almost irresistibly powerful as a piece of rhetoric to excite indignation; it is truly a philippic drama. Yet it seems to me to be by no means the best in respect of wit and startling invention. Perhaps it might be that the thought of the too actual danger in which he stood, gave the poet a more earnest tone than was suitable to a Comedian, or that the persecution which he had already undergone from Cleon, provoked him to utter his wrath in a manner but too Archilochian. It is only after the storm of jeering sarcasms has wasted its fury, that droller scenes follow, and droll scenes they are indeed, where the two demagogues, the leather-cutter (that is to say, Cleon,) and his antagonist the Sausage-maker, by adulation, by prophecies, and by dainties vie with each other in wooing the favour of the old dotard Demos, the personification of the People: and the play ends with a triumph almost touchingly joyous, where the scene changes from the Pnyx, the place of the popular assemblies, to the majestic Propylæa, and Demos, wondrously restored to youth, comes forward in the garb of the old Athenians, and together with his youthful vigour has recovered the old feelings of the times of Marathon.

With the exception of this attack on Cleon, and of those on Euripides, whom he frequently singles out, the other plays of Aristophanes are not so exclusively directed against individuals. They have for the most part a general, and often a very important aim, of which, notwithstanding all his round-about ways, his extravagant digressions, and heterogeneous interpolations, the poet never loses sight. The *Peace*, the *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata*, under various turns of expression, recommend peace; the *Ecclesiazusæ*, the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and again the *Lysistrata*, besides their other purposes are satires on the conditions and manners of the female sex. The *Clouds* ridicule the metaphysics of the Sophists, the *Wasps*, the mania of the Athenians for lawsuits and trials; the *Frogs* treat of the decline of Tragic Art; *Plutus* is an allegory on the unequal distribution of wealth. The *Birds* are seemingly the most purposeless of all, and for that very reason one of the most delightful.

The *Peace* begins in an extremely sprightly and lively manner: the peace-loving Trygæus riding to Heaven on the back of a dung-beetle, in the manner of Bellerophon: War, a wild giant, who with his comrade, Riot, is the sole inhabitant of Olympus, in place of all the other Gods, and is pounding the cities in a huge mortar, in which operation he uses the most famous generals as his pestles; the Goddess of Peace buried in a deep well, whence she is hawled up with ropes by the united exertions of all the Greek nations: all these inventions, which are alike ingenious and fantastic, are calculated to produce the most pleasant effect. But afterwards the poetry does not maintain an equal elevation: nothing more remains but to sacrifice and make feasts to the restored Goddess of Peace, while the pressing visits of such persons as found their advantage in the war form indeed a pleasant entertainment, though not a satisfactory conclusion after a beginning of so much promise. We have here one example among several others, which shews that the Old Comedians not only altered the scenes in the intervals, while the stage was empty, but even when an actor was still in sight. The scene here changes from a spot in Attica to Olympus, whilst Trygæus on his beetle hangs aloft in air, and calls out to the machine-manager to take care that he does not break his neck. His subsequent descent into the Orchestra denotes his return to earth. The liberties taken by the Tragedians according as their

subject might require it, in respect of the unities of place and time, on which the moderns lay so foolish a stress, might be overlooked: the boldness, with which the old Comedian subjects these mere externalities to his humorous caprice, is so striking as to force itself on the most short-sighted: and yet in none of the treatises on the constitution of the Greek Stage, has it been properly noticed.

The *Acharnians*, a Play of an earlier date<sup>1</sup>, seem to me much more excellent than the *Peace*, for the continual progress and the ever-heightening wit, which at last ends in a really bacchanalian revelry. Dicæopolis, the honest citizen, enraged at the false prettexts with which the people are put off, and all terms of peace thwarted, sends an embassy to Lacedæmon, and concludes a separate peace for himself and his family. Now he returns into the country, and in spite of all disturbances, makes an enclosure before his house, within which there is peace and free market for the neighbouring people, while the rest of the country is harassed by the war. The blessings of peace are exhibited in the most palpable manner for hungry maws; the fat Bœotian brings his eels and poultry for barter, and nothing is thought of but feasting and revelling. Lamachus, the famous general, who lives on the other side, is summoned, by a sudden attack of the enemy, to the defence of the frontier; while Dicæopolis is invited by his neighbours to partake of a feast to which each brings his contribution. The preparations of arms, and the preparations in the kitchen, now go on with equal diligence and dispatch on both sides; here they fetch the lance, there the spit; here the armour, there the wine-can; here they fasten the crest on the helmet, there they pluck thrushes. Shortly afterwards, Lamachus returns with broken head and crippled foot, supported by two comrades; on the other side, Dicæopolis, drunk, and led by two good-natured damsels. The lamentations of the one are continually mimicked and derided by the exultations of the other, and with this contrast, which is carried to the very highest point, the play ends.

The *Lysistrata* bears so evil a character, that we must make but fugitive mention of it, like persons passing over hot embers. The women, according to the poet's invention, have taken it into

1. In the *Didascalie*, it is dated a year before the *Knights*. It is, therefore, the first of the extant plays of Aristophanes, and the only remaining one of those which he put forth under a borrowed name.

their heads, by a severe resolution, to compel their husbands to make peace. Under the guidance of their clever chieftain, they organize a conspiracy for this end through all Greece, and at the same time get possession, in Athens, of the fortified Acropolis. The terrible plight into which the husbands are reduced by this separation occasions the most ridiculous scenes; ambassadors come from both the belligerent parties, and the peace is concluded with the greatest dispatch under the direction of the clever Lysistrata. In spite of all the bold indecencies which the play contains, its purpose, divested of these, is, on the whole, very innocent: the longing for the pleasures of domestic life, which were so often interrupted by the absence of the men, is to put an end to this unhappy war which was ruining all Greece. The honest coarseness of the Lacedæmonians, in particular, is inimitably well portrayed.

The Ecclesiazusæ; also a government of women, but much more corrupt than the former. The women, disguised as men, steal into the assembly, and by means of this surreptitious majority, ordain a new constitution, in which there is to be a community of goods and wives. This is a satire upon the ideal Republics of the Philosophers with laws like these; such as Protagoras had projected before Plato's time. This play, in my opinion, labours under the same faults as the Peace: the introduction, the private assembly of the women, the description of the assembly, are all treated in a masterly style; but towards the middle it comes to a stand-still. Nothing remains but to shew the confusion arising from the different communities, especially from the community of women, and the appointment of the same rights in love for the old and ugly, as for the young and beautiful. This confusion is pleasant enough, but it turns too much upon one continually repeated joke. The old allegoric Comedy, in general, is exposed to the danger of sinking in its progress. When a person begins with turning the world upside down, of course the strangest individual incidents will result, but they are apt to appear petty compared with the decisive strokes of wit in the commencement.

The play called the Thesmophoriazusæ, has a proper intrigue, a knot which is not untied till quite at the end, and in this it possesses a great advantage. Euripides, on account of the well-known misogyny of his tragedies, is accused and sen-



tenced to condign punishment at the festival of the Thesmophoria, at which women alone might be present. After a vain attempt to excite the effeminate poet Agathon to such an adventure, Euripides disguises his brother-in-law Mnesilochus, a man now advanced in years, in the garb of a woman, that in this shape he may plead his cause. The manner in which he does this, renders him suspected, it is discovered that he is a man; he flees to an altar, and for greater security against their persecution, he snatches a child from the arms of a woman, and threatens to kill it if they do not let him alone. As he is about to throttle it, it turns out to be only a wine-skin dressed up in child's clothes. Then comes Euripides under various forms to rescue his friend; now he is Menelaus, who finds his wife Helen in Egypt; now Echo, helping the chained Andromache to complain; now Perseus, about to release her from her bonds. At last he frees Mnesilochus, who is fastened to a kind of pillory, by disguising himself as a procuress, and enticing away the officer, a simple barbarian, who is guarding him, by the charms of a flute-playing girl. These parodied scenes, composed almost in the very words of the tragedies, are inimitable. Every where in this poet, the instant Euripides comes into play, we may lay our account with finding the cleverest and most cutting ridicule: as though the mind of Aristophanes possessed quite a specific talent for decomposing the poetry of this Tragedian into comedy.

The play of the Clouds is very well known, but for the most part has not been properly understood and appreciated. It is intended to shew, that in the propensity to philosophical subtleties, the martial exercises of the Athenians were neglected, that speculation only serves to shake the foundations of religion and morality, that by sophistical sleight, in particular, all justice was turned into quibbles, and the weaker cause often enabled to come off victorious. The Clouds, themselves, who form the Chorus, (for such beings the poet personified, and, no doubt, dressed them out strangely enough) are an allegory on these metaphysical thoughts, which do not rest on the ground of experience, but hover about without definite form and substance, in the region of possibilities. It is one of the principal forms of Aristophanic wit, in general, to take a metaphor in the literal sense, and so place it before the eyes of the spectators. Thus, it is said of a person who has a propensity to idle, unintelligible

dreams, that he walks in air, and here, therefore, Socrates at his first appearance descends from the air in his basket. Whether this description be directly applicable to him is another question : but we have reason to believe, that the philosophy of Socrates was very idealistic, and not so much confined to popular usefulness as Xenophon would have us believe. But why did Aristophanes embody the metaphysics of the Sophists in the person of Socrates, himself, in fact, a decided antagonist of the Sophists ? Perhaps there was some personal dislike at the bottom ; we must not attempt to justify him on this score, but the choice of the name does not at all prejudice the excellence of the fiction. Aristophanes declares this to be the most elaborate of all his works, though, in this expression indeed, he must not be exactly taken at his word. He unhesitatingly allows himself on every occasion the most unbounded praises of himself ; this also seems to belong to the unrestrained licence of Comedy. The play of the *Clouds*, it may be added, was unfavourably received at its performance ; it was twice exhibited in competition for the prize, but without success.

The play of the *Frogs*, as already mentioned, turns upon the decline of Tragic Art. Euripides was dead, so were Sophocles and Agathon ; there remained none but second-rate Tragedians. Bacchus misses Euripides, and wishes to fetch him back from the infernal world. In this he imitates Hercules, but though equipped with the lion-hide and club of that Hero, he is very unlike him in character, and as a dastardly voluptuary, gives rise to much laughter. Here we may see the boldness of the Comedian in the right point of view ; he does not scruple to attack the guardian God of his own Art, in honour of whom the play was exhibited. It was the common belief, that the Gods understood fun as well, if not better, than men. Bacchus rows himself over the Acherusian lake, where the frogs pleasantly greet him with their unmelodious croaking. The proper Chorus, however, consists of the Shades of the Initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and odes of wonderful beauty are assigned to them. Æschylus had at first assumed the Tragic throne in the lower world, but now Euripides is for thrusting him off it. Pluto proposes that Bacchus should decide this great contest ; the two poets, the sublimely wrathful Æschylus, the subtle, vain Euripides, stand opposite each other and submit specimens of their

art; they sing, they declaim against each other, and all their features are characterised in masterly style. At last a balance is brought, on which each lays a verse; but let Euripides take what pains he will to produce his most ponderous lines, a verse of Æschylus instantly jerks up the scale of his antagonist. At last he grows weary of the contest, and tells Euripides he may mount into the balance himself with all his works, his wife, children, and Cephisophon, and he will lay against them only two verses. Bacchus, in the mean time, has come over to the cause of Æschylus, and though he had sworn to Euripides that he would take him back with him from the lower world, he despatches him with an allusion to his own verse from the *Hippolytus*,

*ἢ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοκ', Αἰσχύλον δ' αἰρήσομαι,*

Æschylus, therefore, returns to the living world, and resigns the Tragic throne to Sophocles during his absence.

The observation which I made concerning the changes of scene in the *Peace*, may be repeated of the *Frogs*. The scene at first lies in Thebes, of which place both Bacchus and Hercules were natives. Afterwards the stage, though Bacchus has not left it, is transformed at once into the hither shore of the Acherusian lake, which was represented by the sunken space of the Orchestra, and it was not till Bacchus landed on the other end of the Logeum, that the scenery represented the Infernal Regions, with the palace of Pluto in the background. Let not this be taken for mere conjecture: the ancient Scholiast testifies as much expressly.

The *Wasps* I take to be the weakest of Aristophanes's plays. The subject is too confined, the folly exhibited appears as a singular weakness without any satisfactory general significance, and in the treatment it is too long spun out. In this instance, the poet himself speaks modestly of his means of entertainment, and will not promise unbounded laughter.

On the contrary, the *Birds* sparkle with the boldest and richest imagination in the province of the fantastically marvellous: it is a merry, buoyant creation, bright with the gayest plumage. I cannot agree with the ancient Critic, who conceives the main purport of the work to consist in the most universal, and most unreserved satire on the corruption of the Athenian state, nay, of all human constitution in general. Rather say, that it is a piece

of the most harmless buffoonery, which has a touch at every thing, gods as well as man, but without anywhere pressing towards any particular object. All that was remarkable in the stories about birds in natural history, in mythology, in the lore of augury, in *Æsop's Fables*, or even in proverbial expressions, the poet has ingeniously blended in this poem; he even goes back as far as the *Cosmogony*, and shews how at first black-winged Night laid a wind-egg, whence lovely Eros, with golden pinions (doubtlessly a bird), soared aloft, and then gave birth to all things. Two fugitives of the human species find their way into the domain of the birds, who are determined to revenge themselves on them for the many hostilities they have suffered from man; the captives save themselves by proving clearly, that the Birds are pre-eminent above all creatures, and advise them to collect their scattered powers into one enormous state: thus the wondrous city, Cloud-cuckoo-town (*Νεφέλοκοκκυγία*), is built above the earth; all sorts of unbidden guests, priests, poets, soothsayers, geometers, lawgivers, sycophants, wish to feather their nests in the new state, but are bid go their ways; new gods are ordained, of course after the image of birds, as mankind conceived theirs as human beings; the frontier of Olympus is walled up against the old Gods, so that no savour of sacrifice can reach them, whereby they are brought into great distress, and send an embassy, consisting of the voracious Hercules, Neptune, (who after the usual fashion among men, swears "By Neptune!") and a Thracian God who cannot talk Greek in the most correct fashion, but discourses gibberish: these, however, are compelled to put up with whatever terms the Birds please to offer, and they leave to the Birds the sovereignty of the world. However like a farcical tale all this may seem, it has a philosophical significance; it casts a bird's-eye glance, as it were, on the sum of all things, which, once in a way, is all very proper, considering that most of our conceptions are true only for a human point of view.

The ancient Critics judged Cratinus to be strong in keen, straight-forward satire, but to be deficient in pleasantry and humour: neither, say they, had he skill to develope a striking plot to the best advantage, nor to fill up his plays with the proper detail. Eupolis, they say, was pleasing in his mirth, skilful in ingenious turns of meaning, so that he had no need of *Parabases* to say whatever he wished; but he wanted satiric



power. Aristophanes, they add, in a happy medium, unites the excellences of both; satire and mirth in his poem are most completely melted down into each other, and in the most attractive proportions. From these accounts, I hold myself justified in assuming that of the plays of Aristophanes, that of "The Knights" is most in the style of Cratinus; "The Birds," in that of Eupolis; and that he had their respective manners immediately in view, when he composed these plays. For though he boasts of his independence and originality, and of his never borrowing any thing from others, yet there could not fail to be a reciprocal influence at work among such distinguished contemporaries. If this conjecture be well grounded, we have perhaps to deplore the loss of the works of Cratinus, rather for their bearing on the history of Athenian manners and the insight which they would have afforded us into the Athenian constitution; and the loss of the works of Eupolis rather in respect of their Comic form.

The *Plutus* is the refashionment of an earlier work of Aristophanes, but in its extant form, one of his latest. In its essence it belongs to the old Comedy, but in the sparingness of personal satire, and in the mildness which pervades it, it seems to verge towards the middle Comedy. The older Comedy, indeed, received its death-blow from a formal enactment, but even before that event it was perhaps every day more hazardous to exercise the democratic privilege of the old Comedian, in its full extent. We are even told, (but probably only on conjecture, for others have denied the story,) that Alcibiades had Eupolis drowned, on account of a play, which that poet had directed against him. Against such perils no zeal in the cause of Art will stand its ground: it is but fair that a person, whose calling it is to amuse his fellow-citizens, should at least be secure of his life.

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## SEVENTH LECTURE.

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Whether there existed a middle Comedy, as a distinct species? Origin of the newer Comedy, or of Comedy in the modern sense of the word. It is a mixed species. Its prosaic side. Is versification essential to Comedy? Subordinate species. The Play of Character, and the Play of Intrigue. The Comic of observation, the Comic of self-consciousness, and the Comic of caprice. Morality of Comedy. Plautus and Terence, in defect of the originals which they imitated, taken into consideration, and characterized. Motive of the Attic Comedy derived from morals and society. Portrait-statues of two Comedians.

BETWEEN the Old and the New Comedy, the ancient critics assume the existence of a Middle Comedy. Its distinctive features are differently assigned. By one, the peculiarity is said to consist merely in the abstinence from personal satire, and from the introduction of real persons; by another, in the omission of the Chorus. The introduction of real persons was never an indispensable requisite. In many plays of Aristophanes, we find personages nowise historical, but purely fictitious, with expressive names, in the manner of the new Comedy; and personal satire is applied only now and then. The right to this was indeed essential to the more ancient species, as I have already shewn, and by the loss of the privilege the poets were incapacitated from giving a comic representation of public life, and state-affairs. But so soon as they confined themselves to private life, the significance of the Chorus was at an end. Perhaps, however, an accidental circumstance led to the abolition of the Chorus. It was a great expence to furnish and to instruct the Chorus: now as Comedy, together with its political privilege, had lost also its festal dignity, and was degraded into a mere amusement, the poet no longer found any rich patrons who would have undertaken to furnish the Chorus.

Platonius mentions yet another criterion of the Middle Comedy. The Comedians, he says, by reason of the danger there

was in meddling with political subjects, had directed their satire against all serious poetry, whether epic or tragic, and exposed its absurdities and contradictions. Of this kind, he tells us, was the *Æolosicon*, one of Aristophanes's latest works. His description proceeds upon the notion of Parody, from which we set out in our account of the Old Comedy. Platonius instances as an example of this kind the *Ulysses* of Cratinus, a parody on the *Odyssee*. But in the order of time, no piece of Cratinus, whose death Aristophanes mentions in the *Peace*, could belong to the middle Comedy. And was that play of Eupolis, in which he described what we call *Lubberland* or *Utopia*, any thing but a parody on the poetical legends of the golden age? And in Aristophanes, not to mention the parodies on so many tragic scenes, are not the *Heaven-journey* of Trygæus, and the *Hell-journey* of Bacchus, ludicrous imitations of the achievements of *Bellerophon* and *Heracles*, in *Epos* and *Tragedy*? It would be vain, therefore, to seek a real boundary-line, in the restriction to parody. In a poetical point of view, the only essential criteria of the older species are sportive caprice, and allegorical significance in the composition. Where these appear, we would assign a work to the Older Comedy, in whatever age, and under whatever circumstances it might be composed.

As it was merely something in the shape of a negation that gave rise to the newer Comedy; namely, the abolition of the political freedom of the old Comedy, it is easy to conceive, that there might be an interval of hesitation, and of search after something to put in its place, before a new form of the Art was developed and established. Therefore, it might be allowable to assume many species of the Middle Comedy, many intermediate degrees between the New and Old, as has been proposed by some of the learned. Historically considered, indeed, this is but reasonable; but in a critical point of view, a transition from one species to another, does not itself constitute a species.

We, therefore, proceed forthwith to the new Comedy, or that kind of poetry, which, among us, bears the name of Comedy. I think we shall form a more correct conception of it, if we view it in its connexion with the history of the Art, and explain it as a mixed and secondary species according to its different elements, than by taking it for an original and pure species, as those do, who either do not trouble themselves at all about the Old Co-

medy, or view it only in the light of a rude commencement. What makes Aristophanes so infinitely remarkable, is, that in him we have a kind of poetry, of which no other example is to be found in the world.

The new Comedy, in a certain point of view, may indeed be described as the Old Comedy tamed down: but in speaking of works of genius, tameness does not usually pass for praise. The loss incurred in the interdict laid upon the old, unrestricted freedom of mirth, the newer Comedians sought to compensate by throwing in a touch of earnestness borrowed from Tragedy, as well in the form of representation, and the connexion of the whole, as in the impressions, which they aimed at producing. We have seen how Tragic poetry, in its last epoch, lowered its tone from its ideal elevation, and came nearer to common reality, both in the characters, and in the tone of the dialogue, but especially as it aimed at conveying useful instruction on the proper conduct of civil and domestic life, in all their several emergencies. This turn towards utility Aristophanes has ironically commended in Euripides<sup>1</sup>. Euripides was the forerunner of the New Comedy; the poets of this species admired him especially, and acknowledged him for their Master. Nay, so great is this affinity of tone and spirit, between Euripides, and the poets of the New Comedy, that apophthegms of Euripides have been ascribed to Menander, and *vice versa*. On the contrary, we find among the fragments of Menander, maxims of consolation, which rise in a striking manner even into the tragic tone.

The new Comedy, therefore, is a mixture of sport and earnest. The poet no longer makes a sport of poetry and the world, he does not resign himself to a mirthful enthusiasm, but he seeks the sportive character in his subject, he depicts in human characters and situations that which gives occasion to mirth; in a word, whatever is pleasant and ridiculous. The comic ideal, therefore, of human nature, above given, we must modify according to the exigencies of this new law of composition, and must accordingly distinguish the different species and degrees of the Comic Character.

The highest tragic earnestness, as I have shown, is in all cases, ultimately based upon the Infinite; and the subject of tragedy is properly the contest between the finite exterior being,

1. Ran. 971—991.



and the infinite interior capability. The softened earnestness, on the contrary, of the new Comedy, does not pass beyond the sphere of experience. The place of Destiny is here occupied by Chance, for Chance is no more than the empirical conception of Destiny, of that which is not within our control. And so, in fact, we find among the fragments of the Comedians as many expressions about Chance, as we do in the Tragedians about Destiny. To unconditional necessity, nothing but moral freedom can be opposed; as to Chance, the individual must turn it to his own advantage, as cleverly as he may. Therefore, the sum total of the morality of Comedy is exactly like that of the Fable; it is the morality of Prudence. In this sense, an ancient Critic has expressed the whole sum of the matter with incomparable brevity: "Tragedy is the flight from, or the taking away of, life; Comedy is its regulation."

The medium of representation in the Old Comedy is a fantastic buffoonery, a merry dream, which, at last, in respect of all but the general meaning, resolves itself into nothing. On the contrary, that of the new Comedy is serious in its form. It rejects all that is contradictory, all that would be subversive of its own aims. It endeavours after strict coherence, and has in common with Tragedy a formal complication, and unravelling of the plot. Like Tragedy, it connects the incidents as cause and effect, except that it takes the law of this connexion, as it exists in experience; whereas, in Tragedy it is referred to an Idea. As Tragedy endeavours at the close to satisfy the feelings, so the new Comedy seeks to terminate in, at least, an apparent resting-point, for the understanding. We may remark in passing, that this task of the Comedian is not the easiest in the world: he must dexterously set aside, at the conclusion of the piece, the contradictions, the confused play of which has amused us during its continuance: if he really balances them, if he makes his fools rational, and reforms or punishes his villains, the mirthful impression is done away with.

Such, perhaps, may be the comic and tragic elements of the new Comedy, or Comedy in general, in the modern sense of the term. But beside these, there is a third, which, in itself, is neither comic nor tragic, no, not even poetical. I mean, portrait-like truth. The Ideal and the Caricature in art, as in dramatic poetry, lay claims to no other truth, than that which lies in their

significance; they are not intended to appear real, as individual beings. Tragedy moves in an ideal, the Old Comedy in a fantastic, world. As the New Comedy sets bounds to the creative activity of the fancy, it must compensate for this to the understanding, and this compensation is rendered by the probability of the objects represented; a probability which is to be judged by the understanding. By this, I do not mean the calculation as to the rare or frequent occurrence of the incidents portrayed (for unless it be allowed to represent those rarer incidents as occurring within the limits of every-day life, comic amusement would perhaps be quite impossible), but I mean individual truth. The New Comedy must be a true picture of existing manners, its tone must be local and national: and even admitting that we see Comedies performed, which belong to other times and nations, yet we seek for this reality in them, and we value it. By portrait-like truth, I do not mean that the comic characters must be altogether individual. The most striking features of different individuals of a species may be combined into a certain completeness, if they be but invested with sufficient peculiarity to have individual life, and not to come forward as examples of a partial conception. But in so far as it is the object of Comedy to depict social and domestic life in general, Comedy is a portrait: on the prosaic side, it must modify itself according to time and place, while the comic motives, in respect of their poetical basis, are always the same.

The Ancients themselves acknowledged the New Comedy to be a strict copy of reality. The Grammarian Aristophanes, penetrated by the sense of this, exclaimed with a somewhat pedantic but ingenious turn of expression, "O Ifile, and Menander, which of you imitated the other?" Horace tells us, that some doubted whether Comedy be a poem or not, because neither subject nor words have the impressive force of other kinds of poetry, and the language is distinguished only by its metre from the language of common conversation. But, others objected, even Comedy does sometimes raise its tone, for instance, when an angry father reproaches a son for his extravagancies. This answer Horace rejects as insufficient. "Would Pomponius," he says with a sarcastic turn, "come off with milder reproaches, if his Father were yet alive?" In order to solve this doubt, we must attend to those particulars, in which Comedy goes beyond

common reality. In the first place, it is a fictitious whole, composed of accordant parts by artificial proportions. Moreover, the subject represented is treated according to the rules of theatrical exhibition in general; all that is foreign and distracts the attention is separated from it, all that is essential to the matter in hand is compressed into swifter progress; the whole, namely, both the situations, and the characters of the persons, is invested with a clearness, which the evanescent, undecided outlines of reality seldom possess. This is the poetical element in the form of Comedy; the prosaic principle lies in the matter, in the required similarity to something individual, something exterior.

We may as well settle at once, in this place, the much contested point, whether versification be essential to Comedy, and whether a Comedy written in prose, must always be somewhat defective. Many have answered this question in the affirmative, on the authority of the Ancients, who, it must be owned, had no prose compositions for the theatre; though this may partly have resulted from mere accident; for instance, from the great extent of their stage, in which verse, from more emphatic delivery, must have contributed to audibility. These critics forgot that the Mimes of Sophron, so much admired by Plato, were written in prose. And what were these Mimes, if we may form a conception of them from the account, that some of the Idylls of Theocritus were hexametrical imitations of them? They were pictures of real life, in dialogues, in which all appearance of poetry was avoided as much as possible. Now this appearance lies in the dramatic coherence, which therefore is not admitted into these mimes: they are detached scenes, where all things follow each other, as much by chance, and without preparation, as the events, which the hours of a work-day, or holiday, bring with them. The want of dramatic tension of the interest, is compensated by the mimic character, that is, by the most exact copy of those individual singularities in manners and language, which are produced by national character, by mere local circumstances, by sex, age, condition, occupation, and so forth.

Even in the versified Comedy, the language must in its choice and combination of words, be not at all, or little more than imperceptibly removed from that of common conversation: those

licences of poetic expression, which are indispensable in other kinds of poetry, are here forbidden. The versification must not injure the natural, unconstrained, nay, careless tone of expression, must seem indeed to present itself of its own accord. The emphasis which it gives is not to serve for the elevation of the persons as in Tragedy, where together with the unusual sublimity of language, it becomes as it were a mental Cothurnus. In Comedy the verse must only serve to produce greater lightness, dexterity and gracefulness in the dialogue. Whether, therefore, it is more advantageous to versify a Comedy or not, is a question which I must solve by this consideration; whether it is more suitable to the particular subject in hand, to give the dialogue those perfections of form, or to imitate all rhetorical, grammatical and even physical imperfections in the manner of speaking.

As we have explained the New Comedy to be a composite species formed out of comic and tragic, poetic and prosaic elements, it is evident that this species may include a variety of subordinate species, according as one or the other element preponderates in them. If the poet plays in sportive humour with his own inventions, the result is a farce; if he confines himself to the ludicrous in situations and characters, avoiding as much as possible all admixture of serious matter, we have a pure comedy; in proportion as the earnest tone prevails in the design of the entire composition, and in the sympathy and the moral judgment which are called forth, it assumes the character of the instructive or affecting Comedy; and from this, but a step remains to the tragedy of common life. About these last-mentioned species a great stir has often been made, as though they were quite new and important inventions; particular theories have been constructed for them, &c. Thus Diderot with his "sorrowful drama," which has since been so much decried: what was new in it was merely all that was false,—the far-fetched affectation of nature, the pedantry of family life, the lavishment of pathos. If we still possessed all the comic literature of the Greeks, we should undoubtedly find there the patterns of all these species, except that the serene Grecian spirit never sank into a fatal narrowness, but led them to arrange and temper every thing in wise proportions. Have we not, even among the few that remain to us, the Captives of Plautus, which may be called a pathetic Drama, the Hecyra of Terence, a true family-picture, while



the *Amphitryo* borders upon the bold caprice of the Old Comedy, and the play of *Menæchmi* is full of wild intrigue? Do we not find in all the plays of Terence serious, passionate, nay, touching passages? Only recollect the first scene of the *Heautontimorumenos*. From our point of view, we hope to find suitable place for all. We see here no separate species, but merely a scale in the tone of the composition, which are distinguished by transitions more or less observable.

Neither can we suffer the current distinction between Plays of Character, and Plays of Intrigue, to pass without limitation. A good Comedy must always be both, otherwise it will either want intrinsic value or interest; all that can be said is that sometimes the one may preponderate, sometimes the other. The developement of the comic characters requires situations that bring them into contrast, and these result from nothing else but the cross-purposes and accidents, according to the explanation which I have already given of intrigue in the dramatic sense. What is meant by intrigue in common life, every one knows, namely, the leading others by cunning and dissimulation, to our own hidden purposes, without their knowledge, and against their will. In the drama, both these significations coincide, for the cunning of the one becomes a cross-accident for the other.

When the characters are only slightly indicated, no more than is just necessary to form a ground for the actions of the persons in this or that case; when, too, the incidents are so accumulated that they leave little room for the display of character; when the plot is drawn out to such a point, that the gay confusion of misunderstandings and embarrassments, must, one would think, be loosened every moment, and yet the knot is drawn tighter every moment: such a composition may well be called a play of intrigue. The French Critics have made it the fashion to rank this kind of play much below what they call the play of character, perhaps because they make it too much their consideration, how much of a play the spectator may retain in his memory, and carry home with him. It is true, the play of intrigue in some measure resolves itself at last into nothing; but why should we not be allowed sometimes merely to divert ourselves ingeniously without any other object in view? Much inventive wit is certainly requisite for a good comedy of this kind; besides the entertainment derived from the ingenuity laid

out upon it, the strange legerdemain may have a great charm for the fancy, as we see in the instance of many Spanish comedies.

It is objected to the play of intrigue, that it deviates from the natural course of things, that it is improbable. Certainly the former may be admitted without the latter. The unexpected, the extraordinary, the singular even to incredibility, is indeed brought before us by the poet; he even allows himself to set out with a great improbability, as for instance the resemblance of two persons, or a disguise which is not seen through; but afterwards all the incidents must have the appearance of truth, a satisfactory account must be given of the circumstances through which the affair takes so wonderful a turn. As in respect of that which takes place, the Poet gives us only a light play of the wit, we take him the more strictly to task as to the How.

In the comedies in which the object is rather the delineation of character, the characters must be artfully grouped, so as to set the one in a fuller light by means of the other. This is apt to degenerate into a too systematic regularity, where each character has its opposite symmetrically assigned to it, and the whole receives an unnatural appearance. Neither are those comedies much to be praised, in which all the rest of the characters are introduced only to put one principal character to the full extent, as it were, of his probation; most of all when the character, as they call it, consists merely of an opinion, or a habit (for instance, *L' Optimiste*, *Le Distrait*), as if an individual could thus consist of a single quality, and must not of necessity be defined on all sides.

The nature of the mirthful ideal in the Old Comedy I have already explained. But as the representation of the New Comedy is required to resemble a definite truth, it cannot allow itself, in general, the studied and capricious exaggeration of the Old Comedy. It must therefore seek for other sources of comic amusement, which lie nearer the serious province, and these it finds in a regular delineation of character.

In the characters of Comedy, there prevails either the *Comic of observation*, or the *knowingly and confessedly Comic*. The former prevails in the finer Comedy, the latter in low Comedy, or Farce. I will explain myself more clearly.

There are ludicrous qualities, follies, perversities, of which the possessor himself is not aware, or if he at all remarks, then

he is very anxious to conceal them, as they might injure him in the opinion of others. Such persons therefore do not give themselves out for that which they are; their secret gives them the slip, either unawares, or against their will, and if the poet depicts them, he must lend us his own excellent talents for observation, that we may understand them properly. His art consists in making the character appear through light hints and glimpses, while he so places the spectator, that he cannot fail to remark it, however fine it may be.

There are other moral faults which the person afflicted with them discovers in himself with a kind of complacency, nay, perhaps, even makes it a principle not to rid himself of them, but to keep and cherish them. Of this kind is all that without selfish pretensions, or hostile inclinations, arises merely from the preponderance of the sensual being. With this there certainly may be connected a high degree of understanding, and if the person turns this against himself, makes merry at his own cost, avows his faults to others, but seeks to atone for them by giving them a mirthful exterior, the result is the knowingly and avowedly Comic. This species always presupposes a sort of inward duality of character, and the superior half which makes a mirthful exposure of the other, has in its tendency and occupation a near affinity to the Comic Poet himself. He sometimes altogether resigns his office to this representative, by making him industriously exaggerate the display which he makes of himself, and join with the spectators in derision of the other characters. Then there results the *Comic of caprice*, which generally produces a great effect, however much the critics may depreciate it. Here the spirit of the Old Comedy is at work; the privileged merry-maker of almost all stages under different names, whose part is filled at one time finely and ingeniously, at another time coarsely and clownishly, has inherited somewhat of the licentious enthusiasm, and together with that, something of the privileges of the free old Comedian; thus affording a certain proof that the Old Comedy which we have described as the original species, was not a Grecian peculiarity, but that its being is grounded in the nature of the thing itself.

To keep the spectator in a mirthful tone of mind, the Comic representation must withdraw him as much as possible from a moral appreciation of the persons, and from a true interest



in what befalls them, for with both these a degree of earnestness is infallibly introduced. But how is the poet to avoid all excitement of the moral feelings, when the actions exhibited are certainly such that they must needs excite sometimes indignation and contempt, sometimes veneration and affection? He effects this by transferring the whole into the province of the understanding. He confronts men with each other, merely as physical beings, in order to measure their powers on each other, of course taking into account the intellectual powers, nay, these especially. In this respect, Comedy is most nearly allied to the Fable: as the Fable introduces us to rational beasts, so Comedy to human beings serving the animal instincts with their understanding. By the animal instincts, I mean sensuality: or still more generally expressed, self-love. As heroism and devotion exalt the character into the tragic, so the comic persons are finished egotists. Let this be understood with the proper limitation: not that Comedy does not delineate the social propensities, but that it represents them as arising from the natural endeavour after our own happiness. As soon as the poet goes beyond this, he falls out of the Comic tone. He ought not to direct our feelings to observe how noble or ignoble, innocent or corrupt, good or vile, the acting persons are; but whether they are dull or clever, dexterous or clumsy, foolish or intelligent.

Examples will set the matter in the clearest light. We have an involuntary and immediate veneration for truth, and this belongs to the innermost motions of the moral feelings. A malicious lie which threatens to do mischief, fills us with the highest indignation, and belongs to Tragedy. But why are cunning and deceit allowed to be so excellent a comic motive, provided that they serve no malicious purpose, but merely self-love, in order to extricate one's-self from a difficulty, or to gain a certain object, and that no dangerous consequences are to be apprehended? The deceiver has already transgressed the boundaries of morality, truth and untruth are indifferent to him, he regards them only as means; and so we entertain ourselves only with observing what degree of acuteness so unexalted a character can bring to his task. It is still more pleasant, when the deceiver is caught in his own snare, for instance, when he wishes to tell a lie, and has a bad memory. On the other hand the mistake so occasioned is, so far as it is not seriously dangerous, a comic situation, and the more



so in proportion, as this malady of the understanding proceeds from former abuse of the mental powers, from vanity, folly, perversity. Now when deceit and mistake are completely at cross-purposes, and are increased twofold, the one by the other, there will be excellent comic situations. For instance, two persons meet with the intention of cheating each other, but each is warned beforehand, gives no belief, but only pretends to do so, and thus both go off only deceived in respect of their expectation of success in deceiving. Or, again, suppose one wishes to deceive the other, but tells him the truth unawares; the other is suspicious, and falls into the mistake merely from being too anxious to guard himself against deceit. In this way a kind of Grammar of Comedy might be composed, in which it might be shown how individual motives are entangled with each other, with continually increasing effect, till the most artificial complications result from them. So also it might be shown that the complexity of misunderstandings, which forms a Comedy of intrigue, is by no means so contemptible a part of comic art, as is maintained by the champions of the play of character with its prolix developement.

Aristotle describes the ludicrous, as an imperfection, an impropriety which does not really tend to do any harm. Excellently said! for so soon as we feel a real compassion for the persons, it is all over with the mirthful tone of feeling. Comic misfortune ought to be merely a perplexity which is to be resolved at the end, at most a deserved humiliation. To this end belong certain corporeal means of instruction for grown up persons, which our finer or more lenient age would fain banish from the stage, whereas Moliere, Holberg, and other masters have made diligent use of them. Comic effect arises from the making it intuitively clear, that the disposition depends on things external: they are as it were motives turned into a tangible shape. These chastisements in Comedy, form the counterpart to a violent death suffered with heroic endurance in Tragedy. Here the sentiments remain unshaken amid all the terrors of annihilation, the man perishes, but he maintains his principles; there the corporeal being remains unharmed, but on the other hand there is an expression of sudden revolutions of sentiment.

If, in this manner, comic representation must set the spectator in quite another point of view, than that of moral appreciation, with what right can moral instruction be demanded

from Comedy, on what grounds can it be looked for? If we examine more closely the moral maxims of the Greek Comedians, we shall find that they are altogether precepts of experience. But it is not from experience that we learn our duties, of which conscience gives us an immediate conviction; experience can only enlighten us as to what is advantageous or disadvantageous. Comic instruction does not trouble itself about the dignity of the object, but confines itself solely to the fitness of the means. It is, as I have already said, the doctrine of prudence, the morality of consequences, and not that of motives. This, which alone is the genuine morality, is essentially allied to the spirit of tragedy.

Many Philosophers, however, have not failed to reproach Comedy with its immorality; as Rousseau has done with much eloquence in his *Epistle on the Drama*. No doubt the aspect of the real world is any thing but edifying; but when it is held up in Comedy, it is by no means meant as a pattern for imitation, but as a warning. In the doctrine of *Morals*, there is an *Applied* or *Practical Part*: it might be called the *Art of Living*. He who has no knowledge of the world, is in danger of making quite a distorted application of moral principles to particular cases, and with the best intentions to be the occasion of mischief to himself and others. Comedy is intended to sharpen our judgment in the distinction of persons and things; it makes us more clever, and this is the true and the only morality which it can possibly teach.

So much for the determination of the general notions which must serve as a clue in our examination of the merits of different poets. On the little that has come down to us of the newer Comedy of the Greeks in fragments, and through the medium of Roman imitations, I can comprise what I have to say in few words.

The Greek Literature was immeasurably rich in this department: the catalogue of the lost Comedians, most of whom were very prolific, and of the names of their works, so far as we are acquainted with them, forms no inconsiderable dictionary. Although the New Comedy unfolded itself, and flourished only in the short interval between the end of the Peloponnesian War and Alexander's first successors, the stock of plays certainly extended to a thousand at least: but time has made such havoc with this superabundance of talented works, that nothing remains

to us except a number of detached fragments in the original language, which in many cases are so disfigured, as to be unintelligible, and in the Latin, twenty translations or refashionments of Greek originals by Plautus, and six by Terence. Here the reparative criticism might be properly applied in endeavouring to put together all the vestiges, in order to form a true conception and estimate of what we have lost. The chief requisite in such an undertaking I will venture to mention. The fragments and moral sayings of the Comedians are distinguished in versification and language by extreme purity, polish and accuracy: they also breathe a certain Attic grace of the conversational tone. The Latin Comedians on the contrary, are careless in their metre; they give very little trouble about it, and the idea of it is almost lost in the midst of their many metrical licences. Their language also, at least that of Plautus, wants cultivation and polish. Some learned Romans, it is true, and among others Varro, have passed the highest encomiums on the style of this Poet, but then we should distinguish between philological and poetical complacency. Plautus and Terence belonged to the oldest Roman Authors of an age in which there was scarcely any book-language, so that every thing was caught up fresh from the life. This naïve simplicity the later Romans of the age of learned cultivation found very charming; but it was rather a gift of nature, than to be ascribed to the Art of the Poet. Horace sets himself against this exaggerated partiality, and maintains that Plautus, and other Latin Comedians, threw off their pieces carelessly, and only thought how they might get paid for them as quickly as possible. In the detail, therefore, the Greek poets have certainly been always losers in the Latin imitations. To these we must restore, in imagination, that finished elegance which we perceive in the Greek fragments. But Plautus and Terence have also made many alterations in the arrangement of the whole play, and those scarcely for the better. The former, sometimes, omitted whole scenes and characters, the latter added to them and compounded two plays into one. Was this done from an artist-like design, and from a real wish to surpass their predecessors in the entire structure of their plays? I doubt this. In Plautus all is broad and diffuse; and he was obliged to compensate in some other way, namely, by omissions for the lengthening of the original



thus occasioned: the imitations of Terence, on the other hand, from his deficiency in invention, turned out somewhat meagre, and he wished to fill up the gaps by foreign interpolations. Even his contemporaries reproached him with having falsified or corrupted many Greek Plays, to make out of them only a few Latin ones.

Plautus and Terence are commonly spoken of as though they were original and perfectly independent writers. The Romans may be pardoned for this: they had little of the proper poetic spirit, and their poetic literature for the most part originated first in translation, then in freer imitation, and, lastly, in appropriation and transformation of the Greek. Therefore among them even a particular way of translation passed for originality. Thus from the apologetic prologues of Terence we find, that the plagiarism imputed to him referred only to his having used a second time matter, that had already been translated from the Greek. Therefore, as we can by no means look upon these authors as creative geniuses, as they are only so far important to us, as by their means we become acquainted with the form of the Greek Comedy, I shall here insert what I have to remark concerning their respective characters, and then return to the newer Greek Comedians.

Among the Greeks, Poets and Artists lived from of old in the most honourable relations: among the Romans, on the contrary, polite literature was at first exercised by men of the lowest class, by needy foreigners, even by slaves. Plautus and Terence, whose lives were contiguous, and fell towards the end of the second Punic War, and between the second and third, were, the one a poor day-labourer at best, the other a Carthaginian slave, who was afterwards set at liberty. But the fortunes which they experienced were very different. Plautus, in the intermissions of his task of Comedy-writing, was obliged to let himself out on hire to do the work of a beast of burden in the mill; Terence was domesticated with the elder Scipio and his bosom-friend Lælius, and they admitted him into such confidential intercourse, that he fell under the honourable imputation of having been assisted by these noble Romans in the composition of his plays, nay, of giving his name to works composed by them. The style of both poets betrays the habits of their respective manners of life: the bold, coarse style of



Plautus, and his famous jokes, savour of his familiarity with the vulgar; in that of Terence, we may find the tone of good society. The second distinguishing mark is their choice of plays to be worked upon. Plautus mostly inclines to the farcical, to overwrought and often offensive drollery; Terence prefers the fine pieces of character, the temperate style, and verges towards the seriously instructive and even the pathetic kind. Some of the plays of Plautus are modelled after those of *Diphilus* and *Philemon*, but there is reason to believe that he threw a great deal of coarseness into his originals; whence he took the others we do not know, unless perhaps the account of Horace, “it is said of Plautus that he emulates the model of the Sicilian Epicharmus,” may justify the conjecture, that he borrowed his *Amphitryo*, a play of quite a different kind from the rest, and which he himself calls a Tragi-Comedy, from the old Doric Comedian, who, as we know, particularly treated mythological subjects. Among the plays of Terence, whose imitations, saving the alterations in the composition, are probably much more faithful in detail, we find two composed after *Apollodorus*, the rest after *Menander*. Julius Cæsar has honoured Terence with some verses in which he calls him a half-Menander, praises the mildness of his style, and only laments that he is deficient in a certain comic vigour of his original.

This naturally carries us back to the Greek masters. *Diphilus*, *Philemon*, *Apollodorus*, and *Menander*, are certainly among the most illustrious of their number. The palm of elegance, polish, and gracefulness, is unanimously adjudged to Menander, though Philemon frequently won the prize from him, perhaps, because he laboured more for the taste of the vulgar, or used other adventitious means of gaining favour. This, at least, Menander expressed, when, on one occasion he met his rival, and asked him: “Pray, Philemon, dost thou not blush when thou gainest the prize over my head?”

Menander flourished after the times of Alexander the Great. He was contemporary with Demetrius Phalereus. Theophrastus instructed him in Philosophy, but he himself inclined in his opinions to that of Epicurus, and boasted in an epigram, that “as Themistocles rescued Greece from slavery, so Epicurus from unreason.” He loved the choicest sensual enjoyments; Phædrus, in a fragmentary narrative, describes him as an effeminate volup-

tuary, even in his exterior; his amours with the courtesan Glycera are notorious. The Epicurean Philosophy, which placed the supreme happiness of life in the benevolent affections, but neither stimulated to heroic activity, nor excited the desire of such in the mind, was likely to flourish after the loss of the glorious freedom of the old times: it was well adapted to comfort the cheerful, mild-tempered Greeks for that loss. It is, perhaps, better suited than any other system to the Comic Poet, who aims only at temperate impressions, but does not wish to excite any strong indignation at human frailties; so also the Stoic Philosophy best suits the Tragedian. On the other hand, it is easy to conceive how the Greeks, in the very period when they lost their freedom, came to conceive a passion for Comedy of the new style, which diverted their sympathy from universal human nature and political events, to domestic and personal interests.

The Greek Theatre was originally formed for other kinds of the drama: we do not wish to overlook the inconveniences and the disadvantages of its structure for the New Comedy. The frame was too wide, the picture could not fill it. The Greek stage lay under the open sky, it shewed little or nothing of the interior of the houses<sup>1</sup>. The New Comedy, therefore, must needs have the street for its scene. This occasions many incongruities; the people come frequently out of the houses to tell their secrets to each other in the street. It is true, the Poets saved themselves the trouble of changing the scenes, by supposing the families, concerned in the action, to be next-door neighbours. It may also be alleged in justification, that the Greeks, like all southern nations, lived a good deal out of their small private dwellings in the open air. The chief disadvantage which this arrangement drew after it, was the restriction of the female characters of the drama. With that due observance of costume which belongs to the essence of the New Comedy, the

1. This purpose must have been answered in some measure by the encyclema, which in the opening scene of the Clouds, no doubt exhibited Strepsiades and his son on their beds. Julius Pollux also mentions, among the decorations of the newer comedy, a kind of tent-awning, shed, or pent-house, with a door-way, which originally represented stabling, beside the middle building, but afterwards was turned to a variety of uses. Here, therefore, or in the encyclema, were held those feasts, which, in the new Comedies, sometimes took place before the eyes of the spectators. Considering their southern way of life, it was perhaps not so unnatural to feast with open doors as it would be in our climate. But no modern commentator, so far as I know, has hitherto set in a proper light the theatrical arrangement of the plays of Plautus and Terence.

exclusion of the unmarried, and of young women in general, was inevitable, by reason of the retired life led by the female sex in Greece. None appear but aged housewives, maid-servants, or girls of light reputation. Besides the loss of agreeable representation, this occasions the incongruity, that very often the whole play turns upon a marriage, or a passion for a person, whom we never once get sight of.

Athens, where the scene was generally laid, was the centre of a small territory, and not to be compared in extent and population with our own capital cities. Republican equality admitted no marked distinctions of rank; there was no proper nobility, all were neither more nor less than citizens, poorer or richer, who for the most part had no other occupation than to superintend their own property. Hence, in the Attic Comedy, the contrasts which arise from diversity of tone and cultivation scarcely appear: it confines itself to the middle ranks, and has an air of civic, and if I may so express myself, of small-town life, which does not please those who would have Comedy pourtray the manners of a court, and the exquisite refinement or corruption of monarchical capitals.

As to the intercourse between the two sexes, the Greeks knew nothing of the gallantry of modern Europe, nor of that love which is combined with enthusiastic veneration. All ended in sensual passion or matrimony. The latter, as Grecian manners and government were constituted, was much rather a duty, a matter of convenience, than of affection. The legislature was strict only in one single point, namely, to secure purity of extraction, which alone was legitimate. Citizenship was a great privilege, the more precious in proportion as the citizens were fewer, whose number they did not willingly suffer to increase beyond a certain point. Therefore, marriages with foreign women were invalid. The intercourse with a wife, whom in many cases the husband had never seen before he married her, who spent her whole life in the interior of the house, could be productive of little entertainment; this they sought among women who had lost all claim to strict respect, and were foreigners without property, freed slaves, and the like. With such women as these the easy morality of the Greeks considered almost every thing allowable, especially to young unmarried men. This kind of life, consequently, is much more freely displayed by the old



Comedians, than we think decorous. Their Comedies, like all Comedies in the world, take care to end with matrimony, (with this catastrophe, it seems, seriousness finds its way into life,) but matrimony is often only a means of propitiating a father after the irregularities of a forbidden amour. But, sometimes, the amour is transformed into a lawful connexion, by means of a discovery that the supposed foreigner or slave is by birth a free-woman of Athens. It is worthy of remark, that the first germ of the New Comedy sprung up in the fruitful spirit of the same poet as brought the old species to perfection. The *Cocalus* of Aristophanes, his last play, described a seduction, a recognition, and all the circumstances afterwards imitated by Menander.

This sketch brings pretty nearly into view the whole round of characters; they may be almost reckoned up, so few are they, and of such perpetual recurrence. The strict and parsimonious, or the mild and easy-tempered father, the latter not unfrequently under the dominion of his wife, and making common cause against her with his son; the fond and sensible, or morose and domineering housewife, proud of her dowry; the young man, light-minded, extravagant, but otherwise open and amiable, capable also of a true attachment in a love which in its origin was sensual; the girl of light character, either quite corrupted at the very first, vain, sly, and selfish, or still good-natured and susceptible of better feelings; the simple and rude, and the cunning slave, who helps his young master to cheat the old man, and by all sorts of knavery to get money for the gratification of his own appetites; (on this character, I shall presently speak more at large, as he plays a principal part); the flatterer, or officious parasite, who is ready to say and do all imaginable things in the prospect of a good meal; the sycophant, a person whose occupation it was to annoy honest people with all sorts of legal pettifoggery, and who also let himself out on hire for such employment; the vain-glorious soldier returned from foreign service, mostly a coward and a simpleton, but passing himself for somebody, by boasting of his exploits abroad; lastly, a female attendant, or pretended mother, who preaches very indifferent morality to the girl whom she has in her charge; and the slave-dealer who speculates on the extravagant passions of young people, and knows no other regard than that of his own profit. The two last characters, with their revolting coarseness, are, to our feelings, a real blot upon the



Grecian Comedy, but from the nature of its materials they could not be dispensed with.

The knavish servant is generally also the merry-maker, who avows, with agreeable exaggeration, his own sensuality, and unprincipled maxims, and makes a joke of the other persons, perhaps, also, with side-speeches to the audience. Hence the Comic servants of the Moderns; but I doubt, whether, as our manners are, there is propriety and truth in borrowing such characters from the ancients. The Greek servant was a slave, given up for life to the sovereign will of his master, and often exposed to the severest treatment. A person, thus deprived by the constitution of society of all his natural rights, may be pardoned if he makes cunning his business: he is in a state of warfare with his oppressor, and artifice is his natural weapon. A modern servant, who is free to choose his situation and his master, is evidently a worthless rascal, if he helps the son to play off a deceit upon the father. As to the self-avowed sensuality, which gives a comic cast of expression to servants, and other persons of mean rank, this motive may still be followed without hesitation: he to whom life grants few privileges, has also less required of him, and may boldly avow vulgar sentiments, without giving offence to our moral feelings. The better servants are off in real life, the less suitable are they to Comedy; it redounds, perhaps, to the glory of this soft age of our's, that in our family-picture works, we see downright virtuous servants, who are better suited to excite tears than laughter.

The repetition of the same character was acknowledged by the Greek Comedians, in the frequent use of the same names; and names partly expressive of character. In this, they acted with more propriety, than many modern Comedians, who for the sake of characteristic novelty, torment themselves with efforts for complete individuality, by which, in general, nothing is gained, but that the attention is diverted from the main business, and dissipated amongst minor features. Notwithstanding this, they imperceptibly relapse into the old, and well-known characters. It is better to lay on the character with a certain breadth, and to leave the actor free room for play, that according to the circumstances of the composition, in each instance, he may define it more closely, and render it more personal. Perhaps, also, in this point of view, the use of masks may be

excused, which like all the other circumstances in the structure of the Greek theatre, for instance, the playing under the open sky, though originally calculated for other species of the drama, were still retained, and might well seem a greater inconvenience in the newer Comedy, than in the Old, and in Tragedy. But, certainly, it was incongruous with the spirit of this kind of drama, that while the representation approached real nature with a more illusive resemblance, the masks deviated more widely from nature than in the Old Comedy, for they were drawn with overcharged features, and in the style of caricature. Surprising as this is, it is too expressly and formally testified to admit of its being doubted<sup>1</sup>. As it was forbidden to bring portraits of real persons on the stage, they were always anxious, after the loss of their freedom, lest accident should betray them into some resemblance, especially to one of their Macedonian governors, and they adopted this way of evading the danger. But this exaggeration was scarcely without its meaning. Thus we find the account, that an uneven profile with one eyebrow raised aloft, and the other depressed, denoted a quarrelsome and pragmatical temper<sup>2</sup>, as in fact, we may remark, that persons who often look at any thing with an anxious exactness, get accustomed to distortions of this kind.

The masks in the New Comedy, among other advantages, have this, that, as the character is unavoidably repeated, they give the spectator to understand at first sight, what he has to expect. I have witnessed at Weimar, a representation quite in the antique costume, of the *Adelphi* of Terence, which, under the direction of Goethe, furnished us with a truly Attic evening. The actors used partial masks<sup>3</sup>, cleverly fitted to the real face; I did not find, notwithstanding the smallness of the theatre, that they occasioned any loss of vivacity of expression. The mask was especially favourable to the jokes of the roguish slave: his grotesque physiognomy, as well as his garb, stamped him at

1. See Platonius, in *Aristoph.* ed. Küster. p. xi.

2. See Julius Pollux in his section on comic masks. Compare Platonius as above, and Quinctil. xi. 3. The reader will recollect the strange discovery, which Voltaire flattered himself he had made, as mentioned above in the third Lecture. (Note 2. p. 266.)

3. These two were not unusual among the ancients, as is proved by a variety of comic masks, which instead of the mouth have a much wider and circular opening, through which the mouth and the adjacent features were displayed, the living distortions of which contrasted with the fixed distortions of the rest of the countenance, no doubt had a very ludicrous effect.

once, as a man of a peculiar species, such as, in fact, the slaves were, partly by extraction, and therefore his speech and gestures might be allowed to differ from those of the others.

From the limited sphere of civil and domestic life, from the simple theme of the assigned characters, the inventiveness of the Greek Comedians managed to educe an inexhaustible multitude of variations; and yet, which is very praiseworthy, they remained true to the national costume, even in those particulars, on which they grounded the artificial complication and unravelment of their plots.

The circumstances of which they availed themselves for this purpose, were pretty much as follows. Greece consisted of a multitude of small separate states, lying round about on the coasts, and in the islands. Navigation was frequent, piracy not rare, and one of its objects was men and women, for the supply of the slave-trade. Thus freeborn children might be carried away, or, in virtue of the rights of parents, they might be exposed, and their life being unexpectedly preserved, might be restored to their families. All this forms a ground in the Greek Comedies, for the recognition between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and the like; a means of unravelling the plot, which the Comedians borrowed of their tragic brethren. The complicated intrigue is played in the scene of the Present: but the strange and seemingly improbable incident, on which its plan is grounded, is thrown back into the distance of place and time, and thus the Comedy, though formed out of every-day life, has often a certain wondrous, and romantic background.

The Greek Comedians were acquainted with Comedy in its whole extent, and wrought with equal diligence upon all its varieties, the play of intrigue, the play of fine, and that of exaggerated character, even including the serious drama. They had moreover a very enchanting species of drama, of which no example remains to us. We see from the titles of the plays, and other indications, that they sometimes introduced historical personages, for instance, the poetess Sappho, that they treated of the love of Anacreon and Alcaeus for her, and her passion for Phaon; the story of her leap from the Leucadian rock, perhaps, took its origin solely from the invention of the Comedians. In their subjects, such comedies must have approached the style of the romantic drama, and the mixture of beautiful



passion with the reposeful grace of the usual comic manner must, doubtless, have been very attractive.

In what I have said, I think, I have given a true picture of the Greek newer Comedy: I have not disguised its defects and limitations. The ancient Tragedy, and the older Comedy are inimitable, unattainable, unique in the whole domain of the History of Art. But in the New Comedy, we certainly might attempt to compete with the Greeks, nay, even to surpass them. As soon as we descend from the Olympus of pure Poetry to the common earth, as soon as with the ideal inventions of fancy we blend the prose of a definite reality, then it is no longer the mind alone, and the sense for art, that can decide the success of the productions, but the more or less favourable aspect of circumstances. The forms of Gods, in the Grecian sculpture, exist as perfect types for all times. When once the fancy had undertaken the sublime employment of purifying the human form into the perfection of that ideal model; the most that can now be done, even with a like degree of inspiration, is only to repeat the attempt. But in the personal, individual resemblance, the modern Artist rivals the ancient; this is no purely artistic creation; observation must here come to the task, and the Artist with all his science, solidity, and gracefulness of execution, is tied down to the reality, which he actually has before his eyes.

In the excellent portrait-statues of two of the most famous Comedians, Menander and Posilippus (to be found in the Vatican), the physiognomy of the Greek New Comedy seems to me to be almost visibly and personally expressed. They are seated in arm-chairs, clad with extreme simplicity, and with a roll in their hand, with that ease and careless selfpossession, which always mark the conscious superiority of the Master, in that maturity of years, which befits the calm and impartial observation which Comedy requires, but sound and active, and free from all symptoms of decay; we may discern in them that hale and pithy vigour of body, which bears witness to an equally vigorous constitution of mind and temper; no lofty enthusiasm, but no folly or extravagance; on the contrary, the earnestness of wisdom dwells in those brows wrinkled not with care, but with the exercise of thought, while in the searching eye, and in the mouth, ready for a smile, there is a light irony which cannot be mistaken.



## EIGHTH LECTURE.

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Roman Theatre. Natural varieties. Atellane Fables, Mimes, Comœdia Togata. Greek Tragedy transplanted to Rome. Tragedians of the more ancient epoch, and of the Augustan age. Idea of a kind of Tragedy peculiarly Roman, but which never was realized. Why the Romans were never particularly happy in Tragic Art. Seneca.

IN treating of the Dramatic Literature of the Romans, whose Theatre is immediately attached to that of the Greeks, we have only to remark, properly speaking, one vast chasm which arose partly from the want of proper creative genius in this department, partly from the loss of almost all their written performances, with the exception only of a few fragments. The only extant works of the good classical age are those of Plautus and Terence, of whom I have already spoken as imitators of the Greeks.

Poetry in general had no native growth in Rome. It was not till those later times in which the original Rome, by imitation of foreign manners, was drawing nigh to her dissolution, that poetry came to be artificially cultivated among the other devices of luxurious living. In the Latin we have an instance of a language modelled into poetical expression, altogether after foreign forms of grammar and metre. This approximation to the Greek was at first effected with much violence: the Græcisms extended even to rude interpolations. Gradually the poetic style was softened: of its former harshness we may perceive in Catullus the last vestiges, which however are not without a certain rugged charm. The language rejected the combinations, and especially the compound forms which were too much at variance with its own interior structure, and could not be lastingly agreeable to Roman ears; and at last the poets of the Augustan age succeeded in effecting the happiest possible union between the native and the incorporated elements. But scarcely was the desired equipoise obtained, when a pause ensued: all free developement was impeded, and the poetical expression, notwithstanding its apparent

elevation into a bolder and more learned character, had irretrievably imprisoned itself within the round of the style, which it had once adopted. Thus the Latin language in poetry enjoyed but a brief interval of bloom between its unfashioned state, and its second death. With the spirit also of their poetry it fared no better.

It was not the desire to enliven their holiday leisure by exhibitions, which carry away the mind from the real world, that led the Romans to the invention of theatrical amusements, but in the disconsolateness of a dreary pestilence, against which all remedies seemed insufficient, they first grasped at the theatrical spectacle, as an attempt to propitiate the wrath of the Gods, the exercises and contests of the Circus having until then been their only public exhibitions. But the *Histriones*, whom they summoned for this purpose from Etruria, were only dancers, and probably not imitative dancers, but merely such as endeavoured to amuse by the adroitness of their movements. Their oldest spoken dramas, those which were called the *Atellane Fables*, the Romans borrowed from the Oscans, the original inhabitants of Italy. With these *Saturæ* (so called because they were originally improvisatory farces, without dramatic coherence, for *Satura* means a *medley*) they rested satisfied till Livius Andronicus, more than five hundred years after the building of Rome began to imitate the Greeks, and introduced the regular kinds of drama, namely, tragedy and the newer comedy, for the old comedy, from its nature, was incapable of being transplanted.

Thus the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for the first notion of the stage-spectacle, to the Oscans for the effusions of sportive humour, to the Greeks for higher cultivation. In the comic department, however, they shewed more peculiar genius than in that of Tragedy. The Oscans whose language, soon extinct, survived only in those farces, were at least such near relations of the Romans, that their dialect was immediately intelligible to Latin hearers: for how else could the Atellane Fables have given them any entertainment? So completely, indeed, did they naturalize this diversion among themselves, that noble Roman youths exhibited the like performances at the festivals: on which account the actors whose regular profession it was to exhibit the Atellane Fables, were exempted by a par-

ticular privilege from the disgrace attached to other theatrical artists, namely exclusion from the tribes, and likewise enjoyed an immunity from military service.

Moreover the Romans had their own *Mimes*. The unlatin name of these little pieces certainly implies an affinity to the Greek *Mimes*; but in their form they differed considerably from these, and doubtless they had a local truth of manners, and the matter was not borrowed from Greek exhibitions.

It is singular, that in Italy from of old the gift of a very amusing, though somewhat rude buffoonery in extemporaneous speeches and songs, with accompanying antics, has been quite at home, though it has seldom been coupled with genuine dramatic understanding. The latter assertion might easily be justified by examination of what has been achieved in that country in the higher departments of the drama, down to the most recent times. The former might be substantiated by many characteristic traits, which at present would carry us too far from our subject into the Saturnalia and the like. Even of the wit which prevails in the speeches of Pasquino and Marforio, and the hitting popular satire on contemporary events, many traces may be found even in the times of the Emperors, who were not generally favourable to such liberties. More to our present purpose is the conjecture, that in the *Mimes* and *Atellane Fables*, we may perhaps seek for the earliest germ of the *Commedia dell' Arte*, of the improvisatory farces with standing masks. A striking affinity between these and the *Atellanes* appears in the employment of dialects, to produce a droll effect. But how would Harlequin and Pulcinello be astonished to learn that they descend in a direct line from the buffoons of the old Romans, nay of the Oscans! How merrily would they thank the Antiquarian, who should trace their glorious pedigree to such an origin! From the Greek vase-paintings, we know that to the grotesque masks of the old Comedy there belonged a garb, which very much resembles theirs: long trowsers, and a doublet with sleeves; articles of dress, which otherwise were strange to both Greeks and Romans. Even to this day, *Zanni* is one of Harlequin's names; and *Sannio* in the Latin farces was the name of a buffoon, who, as ancient writers testify, had his head shorn, and a dress pieced together out of gay, party-coloured patches. The very figure of Pulcinello is said to have been found among the stucco-paintings of Pompeii.

If he descends originally from Atella, he will be still pretty much at home in his own old country. As to the objection, how these characters can have been traditionally preserved, notwithstanding a suspension of all theatrical amusements, for many centuries together, a sufficient answer may be found for it in the yearly freedoms of the carnival, and the fools'-holidays of the middle ages.

The Greek mimes were dialogues written in prose, and not intended for the stage. Those of the Romans were composed in verse, were exhibited, and often delivered extempore. The most famous in this department, were *Laberius* and *Syrus*, contemporaries of Julius Cæsar. He, as dictator, by a courteous intreaty constrained Laberius, a Roman knight, to exhibit himself publicly in his mimes, though the scenic profession was branded with the loss of civic rights. Laberius made his complaint of this in a prologue, which is still extant, and in which the painful feeling of self-respect destroyed is nobly and touchingly expressed. It is not easy to conceive how, in such a state of mind, he could be capable of cracking ludicrous jokes, and how the spectators could take any pleasure in them, with so bitter an example of a despotic act of degradation before their eyes. Cæsar kept his word: he gave Laberius a considerable sum of money, and invested him anew with the equestrian rank, which, however, could not reinstate him in the opinion of his fellow citizens. But he took his revenge for the prologue and other allusions<sup>1</sup>, by awarding the prize against Laberius to Syrus, once the slave, and afterwards the freed-man, and pupil of Laberius in the art of composing mimes. From the mimes of Syrus there still remain a number of sentences, which from their matter and terse conciseness of expression, deserve to be set beside those of Menander. Some even transcend the moral horizon of the more serious Comedy itself, and assume an almost stoic sublimity. How could the transition be effected from vulgar jokes to such sentiments as these? And how could such maxims be at all introduced, without as considerable a developement of human relations, as that exhibited in the perfect comedy? At all events they are calculated to give us a very favourable conception of

1. What an inward humiliation for Cæsar, could he have foreseen, that after a few generations, his successor in the despotism, Nero, out of a lust for self-dishonour, was about to expose himself repeatedly to infamy in the same manner as he, the first despot, had exposed a Roman of the middle order, not without exciting general indignation!



the mimes. Horace indeed speaks disparagingly of the mimes of Laberius, considered as works of art, either on account of the arbitrary manner in which they were composed, or their carelessness of execution. Yet this ought not of itself to determine our judgment against them, for this critical poet, for reasons which it is easy to conceive, lays a much greater stress on the diligent use of the file, than on original boldness and fulness of invention. A single entire Mime, which, however, time has unfortunately refused us, would clear up the matter much better than the confused accounts of the Grammarians, and the conjectures of modern literati.

The regular Comedy of the Romans was mostly *palliata*, that is, was exhibited in the Grecian costume, and represented Grecian manners. This is the case with all the Comedies of Plautus and Terence. But they had also a *Comœdia togata*, likewise so called from the Roman garb, which was usual in it. *Afranius* is mentioned as the most famous author in this way. Of these Comedies we have nothing whatever remaining to us, and find so few accounts on the subject, that we cannot even decide with certainty, whether the togatæ were original comedies of new invention, or only Grecian Comedies, remodelled to Roman manners. The last is more probable as *Afranius* lived in the older period, when the Roman genius had not even begun to stir its wings towards original invention; and yet on the other hand it is not easy to conceive, how the Attic Comedies could have been adapted, without great violence, to a locality so entirely different. The tenour of Roman life was in general earnest and grave, though in personal conversation they had no small turn for wit and joviality. The difference of ranks among the Romans had its political boundaries very strongly marked, the wealth of private persons was often almost regal; their women lived much more in society, and played a much more important part than among the Greeks; by virtue of which independence they also bore their full part in the corruption, which went hand in hand with exterior refinement. Among differences so essential, an original Roman Comedy must have been a remarkable phenomenon, and would have exhibited this sovereign nation in quite a different point of view. That this was not effected in the *Comœdia togata*, is proved by the indifference with which the ancients express themselves on the subject. *Quintilian* does not scruple to say, that

Latin Literature limps worst in Comedy. This is his expression, word for word.

As to Tragedy, we must remark in the first place, that in Rome, the management of the borrowed Greek Tragedy was considerably disarranged by the circumstance, that the Chorus had no place in the Orchestra, where the principal spectators, the Knights and Senators, had their seats, but on the stage itself. Here then was the very incongruity, which we have stated as an objection to the attempts which have been made among the Moderns, to introduce the chorus. Other deviations also, scarcely for the better, from the Greek style of representation, were favourably received. At the very first introduction of regular plays, Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth, and the first tragic poet and actor of Rome, in the monodies (viz., those lyric parts which were to be sung by a single person, and not by the Chorus) separated the song from the mimetic dance, so that the latter alone was left to the Actor, and the song was performed by a boy stationed beside the flute-player. Among the Greeks in their better times, both the tragic song, and the rhythmical gesticulation which accompanied it, were certainly so simple, that a single individual might do ample justice to both. But the Romans, it seems, preferred separate excellence to harmonious unison. Hence afterwards, arose their delight in the pantomimes, the art of which attained to great perfection in the times of Augustus. To judge from the names of the most famous, a Pylades, a Bathyllus, it was by Greeks that this dumb eloquence was exercised in Rome, and the lyric parts, which were expressed by their gesticulative dance, were delivered in Greek. At last Roscius, and probably not he alone, frequently played without a mask: of which procedure there never was an instance, so far as we know, among the Greeks. It might help towards the more splendid display of his art; and here again the pleasure which this gave the Romans, proves that they had more taste for the disproportionately conspicuous talent of a virtuoso, than for the harmonious impression of a work of art considered as a whole.

In the tragic Literature of the Romans, two epochs may be distinguished; the older epoch of Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, also of Pacuvius and Attius, both which last flourished awhile later than Plautus and Terence; and the polished epoch of the Augustan age. The former produced none but translators

and remodellers of Greek works, yet probably succeeded more truly and better in the tragic, than in the comic department. The soaring loftiness of expression, is apt to turn out somewhat awkwardly in a language still little cultivated, but it may be reached by an effort; to hit off the careless gracefulness of social wit, requires natural humour, and fine cultivation. We have not (any more than in the case of Plautus and Terence) any fragments of versions from still extant Greek Tragedies, whereby we might form a judgment of the accuracy and general success of the imitation; but a speech of some length from the Prometheus Unbound of Attius, is nowise unworthy of Æschylus; even its metre<sup>1</sup> is much more careful than that of the Latin Comedians usually is. This earlier style was brought to great perfection by Pacuvius and Attius, whose pieces seem to have maintained their place alone on the tragic stage, in Cicero's times, and even later, and to have had many admirers. Horace directs his jealous criticism against these, as he does against all the other more ancient Poets.

The contemporaries of Augustus, made it the object of their ambition, to compete in a more original manner with the Greeks; not with equal success, however, in all departments. The rage for attempts at tragedy, was particularly great; mention is made of works of this kind from the Emperor himself. The conjecture therefore has much in its favour, that Horace wrote his epistle to the Piso's, principally with a view that these young men, who, perhaps without any true call to such a task, were bitten by the general rage, might be deterred from so critical an undertaking. One of the chief Tragedians of this age, was the famous *Asinius Pollio*, a man of a violently impassioned character, as Pliny says, and who loved the same character in works of fine art. It was he who brought with him from Rhodes, and set up in Rome, the well known group of the Farnese Steer. If his tragedies bore the same relation to those of Sophocles, as this bold, wild, but somewhat exaggerated group does to the still sublimity of the Niobe, the loss of these is still very much to be lamented.

1. But in what metres may we suppose these Tragedians to have translated the Greek Choral Odes? Pindar's lyric metres, which have so much resemblance to the Tragic, Horace declares to be inimitable in Latin. Probably the labyrinthine structure of the Choral Strophes was never attempted: indeed neither Roman language, nor Roman ears were calculated for it. The Tragedies of Seneca, never take a higher flight from the anapaests, than to a sapphic or choriambic verse, the monotonous reiteration of which is very disagreeable.



But Pollio's political greatness might easily dazzle his contemporaries as to the true value of his poetical works. Ovid tried his hand on tragedy, as he did in so many other species of Poetry, and composed a *Medea*. To judge from the garrulous common-places of passion in his *Heroides*, one might expect of him, in Tragedy, at best an exaggerated Euripides. Yet Quintilian assures us that here at least he might have shown what he had it in his power to accomplish, if he had but kept himself within bounds, rather than give way to his propensity to extravagance.

These and all the other tragic attempts of the Augustan age have perished. We cannot exactly estimate the extent of our loss, but to all appearance it is not extraordinarily great. In the first place, the Greek Tragedy laboured there under the disadvantage of all transplanted exotics: the Roman Worship indeed was in some measure allied to that of the Greeks, (though not nearly so identical with it as many persons suppose,) but the heroic mythology of the Greeks was only introduced into Rome by the poets, and was in no respect attached to the national recollections, as it was in such a multitude of ways among the Greeks. There hovers before my mind's eye the Ideal of an originally Roman form of Tragedy, dimly indeed, and in the back-ground of ages, as one would figure to himself a being, which has never sprung forth into reality from the womb of possibility. In significance and form, it would have been necessary that it should be altogether distinct from that of the Greeks, and that it should be religious and patriotic in the old Roman sense of the words. Truly creative poetry can only issue from the interior life of a people, and from Religion which is the root of this life. The spirit, however, of Roman Religion was originally, and before they endeavoured to conceal the loss of the substance, by tricking out the surface with foreign ornament, quite another spirit from that of the Grecian Religion. The latter had all the plastic flexibility of Art, the other the unchangeable fixity of the priesthood. The Roman Faith, and the ceremonies established on it were more earnest, more moral, and pious, more penetrating in their insight into Nature, more magic and mysterious than the Grecian Religion—than that part of it at least, which was exoteric to the mysteries. As the Greek Tragedy exhibits the struggle of the free man with destiny,



so the spirit of a Roman Tragedy must have been the prostration of all human motives beneath that hallowing, binding force, *Religio*, and its revealed omnipresence in all things earthly. But when the craving for poetry of a cultivated character awoke in them, this spirit had long been extinguished. The Patricians, originally an Etruscan school of priesthood, had become merely secular statesmen and warriors, who retained their hereditary sacerdotal character only as a political form. Their sacred books, their Vedas, were then unintelligible to them, not so much by reason of the obsolete letter, as because they no longer possessed that higher science which was the key to that sanctuary. What the heroic legends of the Latins might have become under an earlier developement, and what was the colouring which properly belonged to them, we may still see from some traces in Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, though even these Poets handled them as matters of antiquity.

Moreover, though the Romans now at last were for hellenising in all things, they wanted that milder spirit of humanity which may be traced in Grecian History, Poetry, and Art from the Homeric age downwards. From the severest virtue, which, Curtius-like, buried all personal inclinations in the bosom of native land, they passed with fearful rapidity to an equally unexampled profligacy of rapacity and lust. Never were they able to belie in their character the story of their first Founder, suckled, not at the mother's breast, but by a ravening she-wolf. They were the Tragedians of the World's History, and many a drama of deep woe did they exhibit with kings led in fetters and pining in the dungeon; they were the iron Necessity of all other nations: the universal destroyers for the sake of piling up at last, from the ruins, the mausoleum of their own dignity and freedom, amid the monotonous solitude of an obedient world. To them it was not given to touch the heart by the tempered accents of mental anguish, and to run with a light and sparing hand through the scale of the feelings. Even in Tragedy, they naturally aimed at extremes, by overleaping all intermediate gradations, both in the stoicism of heroic courage, and in the monstrous rage of abandoned lusts. Of all their ancient greatness nothing remained to them save only the defiance of pain and death, if need were that they should exchange for these a life of extravagant enjoyment. With this scale, accordingly, of their own

former nobility, they stamped their tragic heroes with a self-complacent and boastful profusion.

Lastly, in the age of cultivated Literature, the dramatic Poets, in the midst of a people delighting, even to madness, in spectacle, nevertheless wanted a public for Poetry. In these triumphal processions, their gladiatorial games and beast-fights, all the magnificence of the world, all the rarities of foreign climes were led before the eye of the spectator; he was glutted with the most violent scenes of blood. On nerves thus steeled what effect could be produced by the finer gradations of tragic pathos? It was the ambition of the powerful to display to the people in one day, the immense spoils of foreign or civil rapine, on stages which were generally destroyed immediately after the use so made of them. What Pliny tells us of the architectural decorations of that erected by Scaurus, borders on the incredible. When pomp could be carried no farther, they sought to charm by novelty of mechanic contrivance. Thus, a Roman, in honour of his father's burial solemnity, had two theatres built with their backs resting on each other, and both moveable on a single hinge in the middle, in such a manner, that at the end of the play they were wheeled round with all the spectators sitting in them, and formed into a circus in which, games of gladiators were exhibited. In the gratification of the eyes that of the ears was wholly swallowed up: rope-dancers and white elephants were preferred to every kind of dramatic entertainment; the embroidered purple robe of the actor, as Horace tells us, was received with a general clapping, and so far was the great multitude from being attentive and quiet, that he compares their noise to the roar of the ocean, or of a forest-covered mountain in a storm.

Only one specimen of the talents of the Romans for tragedy has come down to us; but it would be unfair to form a judgment from this of the lost works of better times: I mean, the ten Tragedies which pass under the name of *Seneca*. Their claim to his name seems to be very ambiguous: perhaps it is grounded only on a circumstance which rather ought to have led to a contrary decision, viz. that Seneca himself is one of the dramatis personæ in one of them, the *Octavia*. The learned are divided in their opinions on the subject. Some ascribe them partly to the philosopher, partly to his father, the rhetorician: others as-

sume the existence of a Poet, Seneca, distinct from both. In this point all are agreed, that all the plays are not from one hand, but even belong to different ages. For the honour of Roman taste, one would fain hold them to be after-births of a very late æra of antiquity: but Quintilian quotes a verse from the *Medea*<sup>1</sup>, which we actually find in the extant piece of that name, and, therefore, the plea will not hold good for this play, which seems, however, to be no great deal better than the rest. We find also in Lucan, a contemporary of Nero, the very same style of bombast, which distorts every thing great into nonsense. The state of constant outrage in which Rome was kept, by a series of blood-thirsty tyrants, produced similar outrages of nature even in rhetoric and poetry. The same phenomenon has been observed in similar epochs of modern history. Under the wise and mild government of a Vespasian and a Titus, and still more of a Trajan, the Romans returned to a purer taste. But to whatever age these Tragedies of Seneca may belong, they are, beyond all description, bombastic and frigid, utterly destitute of nature in character and action, full of the most revolting violations of propriety, and so devoid of all theatrical effect, that I verily believe they never intended to leave the schools of the Rhetoricians for the stage. With the old Tragedies, those highest of the creations of Grecian poetical genius, these have nothing in common but the name, the exterior form, and the mythological matter: and yet they set themselves beside them evidently in the intention of surpassing them, in which attempt they come off like a hollow hyperbole contrasted with a most heart-felt truth. Every common-place of tragedy is worried out to the last gasp; all is phrase, among which even the most simple is screwed. An utter poverty of mind is tricked out with wit and acuteness. They have fancy too, or at least a phantom of it; of the abuse of that faculty, we may look to these plays for an example. Their persons are neither ideal nor real men, but misshapen giants of puppets, and the wire that sets them going is at one time an unnatural heroism, at another a passion alike unnatural, which no atrocity of guilt can appal.

1. The Author of this *Medea* makes his heroine strangle her children, *coram populo*, in spite of Horace's warning, who probably when he uttered it, had a Roman example before his eyes, for a Greek would hardly have committed this error. The Roman Tragedians must have had a particular lust for novelty and effect to seek them in such atrocities.

In a history, therefore, of Dramatic Art, I might have wholly passed by the tragedies of Seneca, but that the blind prejudice for all that remains to us from antiquity, has attracted many imitators to these compositions. They were earlier, and more generally known, than the Greek Tragedies. Not merely learned men, destitute of taste for art, have judged favourably of them, nay, have preferred them to the Greek Tragedies, even poets have deemed them worth studying. The influence of Seneca on Corneille's notion of tragedy is not to be mistaken; Racine has deigned to borrow a good deal from him in his *Phædra*, (as may be seen in Brumoy's enumeration), and nearly the whole of the scene in which the heroine declares her passion.

And here we close our disquisitions on the productions of Classical Antiquity.

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## NINTH LECTURE.

### ON THE DRAMATIC UNITIES.

THE question concerning the Dramatic Regularity, for which the French Critics contend, may, in a considerable measure, be carried back to the so-called *Three Unities* of Aristotle. We will investigate what is the doctrine of the Greek Philosopher on this subject; how far the Greek Tragedians knew and observed these rules; whether the French Poets have really solved, or only adroitly slipped aside from the difficulty of observing them without constraint and inverisimilitude; lastly, whether this merit is really so great and essential, and does not rather involve the sacrifice of more essential beauties to so narrow a restriction.

These famous Three Unities, which have given rise to a whole Iliad of battles among the Critics, are Unity of *Action*, of *Time*, and of *Place*.

The validity of the first is unanimously acknowledged; but then its meaning is a contested point, and, I add, it is in fact no easy matter to come to an understanding on the subject.

The Unities of Place and Time some consider quite a subordinate matter, while others lay the greatest stress on them, and maintain, that without the pale of these Unities there is no salvation for the Dramatic Poet. In France, this zeal is not merely confined to the learned world, it seems to be a universal concernment of the nation. Every Frenchman, who has sucked in his Boileau with his mother's milk, holds himself a born champion of the Dramatic Unities, in the same way as the Kings of England, since Henry VIII., bear the title *defensor fidei*.

It is pleasant enough, that Aristotle has been obliged, without ceremony, to lend his name to these three Unities, considering that he speaks only of the Unity of Action, at any length, merely throws out an indefinite hint about the Unity of Time, and of the Unity of Place, says not a syllable.

I do not here find myself in a polemic relation to Aristotle, for I by no means contest the Unity of Action, properly understood. I only vindicate a greater latitude in respect of time and place in many species of the Drama, nay, hold it to be essential to them. In order, however, that we may be able to place ourselves in the right point of view, I must premise some words on the *Poetics* of Aristotle, those few pages, which have given rise to such voluminous commentaries.

It has been clearly proved, that this treatise is only a fragment, for many important matters it does not even touch upon. Some of the learned have even believed it not to be a fragment of the true original, but of an abridgment which some person composed for his own instruction. On this point all philological Critics are agreed, that the text is very much corrupted, and they have attempted to restore it by their conjectures. Of its great obscurity the Critics complain either in express terms, or substantiate it in point of fact by rejecting the expositions of their predecessors, while they are alike unable to approve their own to those who come after them.

With Aristotle's "*Rhetoric*," it is quite another case. It is undoubtedly genuine, complete, and easy to understand. But in what way does he there consider the Art of Oratory? As a sister of the Dialectic Art, and as this produces conviction by its syllogisms, so does Rhetoric, in a kindred manner, produce persuasion. This is just the same way of considering it, as though one should treat of Architecture, merely as the art of building strongly and conveniently. This, indeed, is a prerequisite, yet this is not enough to constitute a Fine Art; but we require of it, that it should unite those essential purposes in a building with beautiful arrangement, harmonious proportions, and a correspondence of impression from the whole. Now when we see how Aristotle has viewed even Rhetoric on that side only which is accessible to the understanding, without imagination and feeling, and subservient to an exterior design: can it surprise us that he should have fathomed even much less of the mystery of Poetry, an Art which is absolved from every other aim than its own unconditional one of creating the beautiful by free invention and investing it in language? I have been audacious enough to maintain this, and have hitherto found no ground for retracting it. Lessing was of a different belief. But

what if Lessing himself, with his acutely analytical criticism, went astray on the very same road? This kind of criticism is completely victorious, where it exposes the contradictions, as regarding the understanding, in works which were composed merely with the understanding; but it could scarcely elevate itself to the idea of a work of art created by true genius.

The philosophical theory of the fine arts collectively the Ancients in general had done little towards forming into a distinct science: though of technical manuals on each one of them individually, that is, treating merely of the instrumental means, they had no lack. But were I to choose myself a guide in this matter from among the ancient Philosophers, it should doubtless be Plato, who has comprehended the idea of the beautiful, not by dissection, which never can yield it, but by the intuition of an inspired soul, and in whose works the germs of a genuine Philosophy of Art are every where abundantly scattered.

Let us hear what Aristotle says about the Unity of Action.

“We affirm that Tragedy is the imitation of a perfect and entire action having a certain magnitude (for there may be a whole without magnitude). Now a whole is what has a beginning, middle and end. A beginning is that which is not necessarily subsequent to something else, but which, from its nature, has something after it or arising from it. An end, on the contrary, is that, which from its nature is subsequent to something else, either necessarily or most commonly, but without any thing after it. A middle is that which both follows, and is followed by something else. Of course, well-formed fables must not begin just where it may happen, nor end in the same chance-fashion, but must be subject to the above-mentioned forms.”

Strictly speaking, it is contradictory to say that a whole, which is supposed to have parts, can be without magnitude. Aristotle, however, immediately explained his meaning: by magnitude, as a requisition of the beautiful, he meant certain dimensions, which are neither so small that we cannot distinguish the parts, nor so large that we cannot take in the whole at one view. This is, therefore, merely an empirical, extrinsic definition of the beautiful, and refers only to the constitution of our senses and of our powers of comprehension. His application of it, however, to the dramatic fable, is remarkable. “It must have an extension, but such as can be easily taken in by the memory.

The definition of this extent, according to the circumstances of the theatrical exhibition, and the senses of the spectators, does not fall under the province of Art. As to the essence of the matter, the greater the extent, provided always it be perspicuous, the more beautiful it is." This expression would be very favourable for the compositions of Shakspeare and other romantic dramatists, who have taken into a single picture a more comprehensive sphere of life, characters, and events, than are to be found in the simple Greek tragedy; provided only they have been able to give to it the necessary unity and perspicuity, which we do not scruple to affirm of them.

In another place, Aristotle demands of the Epic Poet the same unity of action as he does of the Dramatist, he repeats his former definitions, and says, the Poet must not do as the Historian does, who relates contemporary events, although they have had no influence at all upon each other. Here the requirement of connexion between the exhibited events as causes and effects, which requirement was already implied in his explanation of the parts of a whole, is stated yet more distinctly. He admits, however, that the Epic Poet is at liberty to expatiate upon a greater multitude of events which tend to one main action, because the narrative form enables him to describe many things as proceeding at the same time; whereas, the Dramatic Poet cannot exhibit many things taking place simultaneously, but only that which is going on upon the stage, and the part which the persons who there make their appearance take in one action. But what if the Dramatist has now found means by a different construction of the scene, and a more skilful theatrical perspective to develope properly, and without confusion, a Fable resembling that of the Epos in compass, though in a more limited space? What farther could be objected to this, if the only reason for the veto lay in the supposed impossibility?

This is pretty nearly all that occurs in Aristotle's Poetics on the Unity of Action. A brief examination will make it plainly appear, how far from adequate to the essential demands of poetry are rules coined out of conceptions so merely anatomical.

Unity of Action is required. What is Action? Most critics pass over this, as though it were self-evident. In the higher proper sense, Action is a procedure dependent on the will of man. Its Unity will consist in the tendency towards a single end; to its



completeness belongs all that is intermediate between the first resolve and the execution of the deed.

This conception of Action applies to many Tragedies of the Ancients; for instance, the matricide of Orestes, the resolution of Ædipus to discover and punish the murderer of Laius; but by no means to all, much less to the modern Tragedies, at least not if the action be sought for in the principal persons. What comes to pass through them, and proceeds with them, has often as little to do with a resolution of the free will, as has the striking of a ship upon a rock in a storm. But, moreover, in the sense of the ancients, we must reckon as part of the action the resolution to bear the consequences of the deed with heroic magnanimity, and the execution of this determination will form part of the completeness of the action. The pious resolution of Antigone to perform in person the last duties to her unburied brother, is soon effected, and without difficulty; but the genuineness of the resolution which alone makes it a fit subject for Tragedy is then proved, and then only, when, without repentance, without relapsing into weakness, she suffers death for it. And, to give an example from quite a different sphere, is not Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, as far as concerns the action, constructed on the same principle? Brutus is the hero of the piece; the accomplishment of his great resolve consists not in the mere assassination of Cæsar (a deed in itself equivocal, the impulses to which might be ambition and jealousy), but in his approving himself, even to the calm sacrifice of his amiable existence, the pure Champion of Roman Freedom.

Yet more: without opposition no complication of the plot would be possible, and this results mostly from contrariety of purposes and views in the acting persons. If, therefore, we restrict the conception of an action to resolution and deed, then in most cases two or more actions will appear in the tragedy. Now which is the main action? Each person thinks his own the most important, for each is the central point to himself. Creon's resolution to maintain his royal authority by the infliction of death on the burier of Polynices is as steadfast as the resolution of Antigone, is as important, and as we see at the end, as dangerous, inasmuch as it draws after it the ruin of the whole house of Creon. The merely negative resolution, however, might, to be sure, be regarded as the complement of the affirmative. But what if the

resolutions be not diametrically opposite, but something else? In the *Andromache* of Racine, Orèstes wishes to excite Hermione to return his affection; Hermione wishes to compel Pyrrhus to marry her, or she will be revenged on him; Pyrrhus wishes to be rid of Hermione, and to wed Andromache; Andromache wishes to save her son, and at the same time to remain true to the memory of her husband. Yet none has ever denied the unity of this piece, as all the actions are locked together, and end in one common catastrophe. Now which of these four is the main action? In strength of passion their endeavours are pretty nearly on a par, to all the whole happiness of their life is at stake; the action of Andromache has the pre-eminence in moral dignity, and therefore Racine was quite right in naming the piece after her.

We see here a new condition in the conception of action, namely, the reference to the idea of moral freedom, by virtue of which alone man is considered as the prime author of his own resolutions. For, regarded within the province of experience, a resolution, as the beginning of action, is not only the cause, but also the effect, of antecedent motives. In this relation to a higher idea, we have at least sought to find the unity and completeness of tragedy in the sense of the Ancients: namely, its absolute beginning is the assertion of free-will, the recognition of necessity is its absolute end. But we hold ourselves justified in asserting this view of the matter to have been quite foreign to Aristotle: nowhere does he speak of the idea of destiny as essential to Tragedy. We must not be urgent with him in the strict conception of action as resolution and deed. He somewhere says: "the compass of a tragedy is always sufficiently great, where a series of probable or necessary consequences effects a reverse from prosperous to adverse fortune, or from adverse to prosperous." It is clear, therefore, that he, like all the Moderns, understands by *action* merely something that is going on. This action, according to him, must have beginning, middle and end, and therefore must be a plurality of mutually connected incidents. But where are the limits of this plurality? Is not the chain of causes and effects in both directions infinite, and therefore would not beginning and end, wherever we fix them, be alike arbitrary? In this province can there be any beginning or end, according to the correct definition which Aristotle gives of these notions? Completeness therefore would be quite impossible. But if, in order to Unity in a plurality of

incidents, nothing more is required than causal dependence, then this rule is extremely indefinite, and the notion of Unity may be contracted and extended at pleasure. For every train of incidents or actions, which are occasioned by each other, how much soever it be prolonged, may always be comprehended under a single point of view, and designated with a single name. If Calderon, in one of his plays, sets before us the conversion of Peru to Christianity, from its very first beginning, viz. the discovery of the country, to its completion, and if in that play nothing actually occurs which had not some influence on that event, has it not as much Unity in the above sense, as the simplest Greek tragedy? which, however, the champions of Aristotle's rules will by no means allow.

Corneille strongly felt the difficulty of a proper definition of Unity, where there is a plurality of subordinate actions, and he attempts to escape from it in the following manner. "I assume," says he, "that Unity of action consists in Unity of intrigue in Comedy, or unity of the opposition raised against the designs of the chief characters; and in Tragedy, in the Unity of danger, whether the hero be overcome by it, or extricate himself from it. At the same time I do not mean to assert, that there may not be several dangers in the tragedy, and several intrigues or oppositions in the comedy, provided only that the person fall inevitably from one into the other, for then the deliverance from the first danger does not make the action complete, as it draws another after it, and the clearing up of one intrigue does not set the acting persons at rest, for it involves them in another."

In the first place, the distinction here assumed between tragic and comic Unity is quite unessential. For the manner of composition is not influenced by the circumstance, that the incidents in Tragedy are more serious, as they affect person and life; the embarrassment of the persons in Comedy, when they cannot effect their designs or intrigues, may equally well be termed a danger. Corneille, like most others, refers all to the notion of connexion between cause and effect. It is true, when the principal persons, whether by matrimony or death, are set at rest, the play is at an end; but if, in order to its Unity, nothing more is requisite than the uninterrupted progress of an opposition, which serves to keep up the dramatic excitement, the simplicity of the play will be badly off; the Poet will have it in his power, notwithstanding

these rules of Unity, to go on to a boundless accumulation of incidents, as in the *Thousand and One Nights*, where the thread of the narrative never once breaks off.

*De la Motte*, a French author, who has written against the Unities in general, would have the term *Unity of Interest* substituted in place of *Unity of Action*. Provided that the word *Interest* be not restricted to sympathy in the destinies of an individual, but be taken to denote in general the direction of the mind at the sight of an event, I should find this explanation the most satisfactory and the nearest to the truth.

But it would advantage us very little to be groping about after empirical definitions with the Commentators on Aristotle. The Idea of *Unity* and *Whole* is in no way whatever drawn from experience, but arises from the original free-agency of our mind. To account for the manner in which we come to think of *Unity* and *Whole*, requires nothing less than a system of metaphysics.

The outward sense perceives in objects only an indefinite plurality of distinguishable parts; the judgment by which we comprise these into an entire and complete unity, is always based on the reference to a higher sphere of ideas. Thus, for instance, the mechanical unity of a clock lies in its intention of a measure of time; but this intention exists only for the understanding, it is neither visible to the eyes, nor palpable to the hands: the organic unity of a plant, or an animal, lies in the idea of life; and the interior perception of life, of life which is itself incorporeal, though it appears mediately in the corporeal world, we ourselves bring with us to the contemplation of the individual animated object, otherwise we should gain nothing from the perception of that object.

The separate parts of a work of Art, and—to return directly to our subject—the separate parts of a Tragedy, must be comprehended not merely with the eye and ear, but also with the understanding. But, taken altogether, they serve one general object, namely, a collective impression on the mind. Here then, as in the above examples, the *Unity* lies in a higher sphere, in the feeling, or in reference to ideas. This is all one, for the Feeling, so far as it is not merely sensual and passive, is our Sense, our Organ for the Infinite, which forms itself into ideas for us.

Far, therefore, from rejecting the law of a perfect *Unity* in Tragedy, as one that may be dispensed with, I require a much



deeper, more intrinsic, more mysterious unity than that with which, I see, most modern Critics content themselves. This Unity I find in the tragic compositions of Shakespeare, as complete as in those of Æschylus and Sophocles; on the contrary, I miss it in many Tragedies praised for their correctness by the anatomical critics.

Logical coherence, causal connection, I hold to be equally essential to Tragedy, and every serious Drama, because all the powers of the mind re-act upon each other, and if the understanding be forced to make a leap, the Imagination and the Feelings do not so willingly follow the representation; but I find that the champions of what is called regularity have reduced this rule into practice with a petty subtilty, which can only serve to impede the Poet, and to make true excellence impossible.

The series of consequences in a Tragedy should not be conceived of as a thin thread, to which we must give anxious heed lest it snap (this comparison is at any rate inapplicable, it being admitted that there must be a number of subordinate actions and interests), but as a great stream, which in its impetuous course overcomes many obstructions, and loses itself at last in the repose of the ocean. It flows, perhaps, from different sources, and certainly receives into it other rivers, which hasten towards it from opposite quarters. Why should not the Poet be allowed to carry onwards the several, and for a while independent, streams of human passions even to the point of their boisterous confluence, if he can but place the spectator on an eminence, from which he may overlook their whole course? And if the body of water, thus swelled, again divides itself into several arms, and pours itself into the sea by several mouths, is it not still one and the same stream?

So much for the Unity of Action. On the Unity of Time we find in Aristotle only the following expression. "Moreover the Epos differs from Tragedy in length; for the latter endeavours, as much as possible, to restrict itself to a single revolution of the sun, or to exceed it but little; the Epos is indefinite in respect of time, and thus differs from Tragedy. But originally this was the case alike in Tragedies and in Epic poems."

Let it be observed, in the first place, that Aristotle does not here lay down a precept, but only makes historical mention of a peculiarity in the Greek examples which he had immediately before him. But what if the Greek Tragedians had particular

reasons for restricting themselves to this extent of time, reasons which fall away under the present constitution of our theatres? We shall presently see that this was really the case.

Corneille finds these rules very inconvenient, as well he might; he therefore prefers the most lenient interpretation, and says "he would not scruple to extend the duration of the action to thirty hours." Others insist rigorously and firmly on the principle that the action itself shall occupy no longer time than its representation, i. e. from two to three hours. The Dramatic Poet, according to their requisition, must be punctually the man of the clock. These critics plead a sounder cause at bottom than their more indulgent brethren. For in fact the sole ground of the rule is the observation of a verisimilitude, which they suppose to be necessary for allusion, namely, that the represented and the material time shall be identical. If once a discrepancy be allowed, as for instance, that from two to thirty hours, there will be just as good reason for proceeding still farther. The notion of illusion has given rise to great errors in the theory of art. The term has often been understood to denote the unwittingly erroneous belief, that the thing represented is the reality. In this case the illusion would be a very torment to us, in the terrors of Tragedy, an Alpine load on the fancy. No: theatrical illusion, like all poetic illusion, is a state of waking dreaminess, to which we voluntarily surrender ourselves. To produce it, Poet and Actor must powerfully captivate the mind, the calculated verisimilarities do not contribute one iota towards it. That demand of illusion in the literal sense, pushed to the extreme, would make all poetical form an impossibility, for we know that the mythological and historical persons did not speak our language, that passionate grief does not express itself in verses, and so forth. What an unpoetical spectator would that be, who instead of following up the events with his sympathy, should like a gaoler, with clock or hour-glass in hand, count out to the heroes of the tragedy, the hours which they have yet to live and act! Is our soul then a piece of clock-work, telling hours and minutes so infallibly? Nay, has it not quite a different measure of time for the state of pleasant occupation, and for that of *tædium*? In the former, under an easy and varied activity, the hours fly apace: in the latter we feel all the powers of our soul impeded, and the

hours are lengthened out into infinitude. Thus is it in the present; but in memory it is quite the reverse: the interval of dead and empty uniformity vanishes altogether; that which is designated by an overflowing of multifarious impressions, increases in the same proportion. Our body is subject to the outward astronomical world, inasmuch as our organic actions are thereby measured: but our mind has its own ideal time, which is nothing else than the consciousness of the progressive developement of our being. In such a chronometry as this, the intervals occupied by an indifferent pause go for nothing, and two important moments, though separated by years, attach themselves immediately to each other. Thus, when we have been busily engaged with any thing before we fell asleep, we often resume the same train of thoughts as soon as we are awake, and the dreams which filled up the interval recede into their unsubstantial obscurity. Even so it is with the dramatic exhibition: our imagination passes lightly over the times which are presupposed and intimated, but which are omitted, as being marked by nothing of consequence; and fixes itself solely on the decisive moments, by the condensation of which the Poet gives wings to the lazy course of hours and days.

“But,” it will be objected, “the old Tragedians, however, have observed the Unity of Time.” This expression is very incorrect; it ought at least to be called the identity of the imaginary with the material time. But then it does not apply to the Ancients: what they observe is only the *seeming continuity of time*. Observe well, the *seeming*—for they certainly allow themselves to make greater advances during the choral odes, than could be made during the material time of their performance. In the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus the whole interval from the destruction of Troy to his arrival in Mycenæ is comprised in the action, and this interval must have been no inconsiderable number of days; in the *Trachinians* of Sophocles the voyage from Thessaly to Eubœa is thrice accomplished during the course of the piece; in the *Suppliants* of Euripides during a single ode, there is the whole march of an army from Athens against Thebes, the battle is fought, and the general returns victorious. So far were the Greeks from troubling themselves with such anxious calculations. But for observing the seeming continuity of time, they had a particular ground in the constant presence

of the Chorus. Where the Chorus leaves the stage, the regular progress is interrupted, of which procedure there is a striking instance in the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus*, for there is an omission of the whole space of time which *Orestes* needed for conveying himself from *Delphi* to *Athens*. Moreover between the three pieces of a trilogy, which were acted one after another, and were intended to compose a whole, there are gaps of time as considerable as there are between the three acts of many a Spanish Comedy.

The Moderns in the division of their plays into acts, which, properly speaking, were unknown to the Greek Tragedy, have found a convenient means of extending the compass of the imaginary time without incongruity. For thus much the Poet may expect from the imagination of the spectator, that while the representation is wholly suspended, he should conceive a longer time to have elapsed than that which is measured by the rhythmical time of the Music between the acts: otherwise it might be as well to invite him to come and see the next act to-morrow, that he may find it so much the more natural. The division into acts properly speaking was occasioned by the omission of the chorus in the newer Comedy. *Horace* prescribes that a tragedy should have neither more nor less than five acts. The rule is so unessential that *Wieland* was of opinion that *Horace* wished to make a joke of the young *Piso's*, by inculcating a precept like this in so solemn a tone, as if it were a point of great importance. If in the Old Tragedy the end of an act be fixed where the stage is empty, and the Chorus is left alone to execute its dance and ode, we may often count less than five, but often also more than five acts. As a remark that in a representation of two or three hours in length, pretty nearly so many resting-points for the attention are requisite, it may be allowed to pass. In other respects I should be curious to hear a reason grounded in the nature of Dramatic Poetry, why a play must have just so many divisions and no more. But tradition and prescription rule the world: a less number of acts has been tolerated; to transgress the consecrated number, five, has been ever looked upon as an atrocious and perilous piece of audacity<sup>1</sup>.

1. Three unities, five acts: why not seven persons? For the rules seem to proceed according to the odd numbers.



As a general rule, the division into acts seems to me erroneous, when there is no progress (as is the case in many modern plays), and when the opening of the new act exhibits the persons in exactly the same posture of affairs as at the close of the preceding. And yet this stand-still has given much less offence than the assumption of a considerable interval or the representation of irregular incidents: the reason for which forbearance is, that the former is merely a negative offence.

The romantic dramatists allow themselves to change the scene even in the course of an act. As the stage is always previously left empty, there is in each instance an interruption of the continuity which warrants them in their assumption of so many intervals. If we take offence at this, yet admit the division into acts, we have only to consider these breaks as a greater number of small acts. But then it will be objected that this is to justify one error by another, the violation of the Unity of Time by that of the Unity of Place: we will therefore consider more at length how far this latter rule is indispensable.

In Aristotle, as I have already observed, it is in vain to look for any expression on the subject. But the Ancients, it is maintained, observed this Unity. Not invariably, only in general. Among seven plays of Æschylus, and as many of Sophocles, there are two, viz., the *Eumenides* and the *Ajax*, in which there is a change of scene. That they generally retain the same scene, follows of course from the constant presence of the Chorus, who must first be got rid of before there could be any change of place. Their scene also in general took in a larger compass than our own: not a chamber, but the open area before several buildings; and the opening of the interior of a palace by means of the encyclema may be viewed in the same light as the drawing up of a hinder curtain on our stage.

The objection to the change of scene rests on the same erroneous notion of illusion which we have already refuted. The removal of the action, say they, to another place wrests the illusion from us. Yes, indeed, if we take the imaginary for the real place: but then we should need to have stage-scenery of quite different make<sup>1</sup>. Johnson, a critic who in general is very

1. It is calculated only for one point of view: in every other position the broken lines betray the imperfection of the imitation. Even about the architectural import most of the audience give themselves so very little trouble, that they take no offence even when the actors make their entrances and exits between the side-scenes, through a wall without any door.

much for strict rules, objects very rightly, that if our imagination can once go the length of transporting itself eighteen hundred years back to Alexandria, to figure to ourselves the history of Antony and Cleopatra, the next step, namely, to transport ourselves from Alexandria to Rome, is much more easy. The capability of our mind to fly in thought with the swiftness of lightning through immeasurable space and time is acknowledged in common life. And shall Poetry, whose very purpose is to give all manner of wings to our mind, and who has at command all the magic of genuine illusion, that is, of a living and enrapturing representation, be alone deprived of this universal prerogative?

Voltaire is for deriving the Unity of Place and Time from the Unity of Action, but his deductions are shallow in the extreme. "For the same reason," says he, "there must be Unity of Place, for a single action cannot be in progress in several places at once." But we have seen that in the one main action, there is of necessity a concurrence of several persons, that it consists of a number of subordinate actions, and what should hinder these from proceeding in several places? Is not the same war often carried on at once in Europe and India, and must not the historian exhibit the events on both stages alike in progress?

"The Unity of Time," continues Voltaire, "is naturally connected with the two first.—If the Poet represents a conspiracy, and extends the action to fourteen days, he must give me an account of all that passes in these fourteen days." Yes, of all that belongs to the matter in hand: but all the rest he passes by in silence, as every good story-teller would, and it never occurs to any one to wish to have such an account. "If therefore he places before me the events of fourteen days, we have here fourteen different actions, however small they may be."—Truly, if the poet were so clumsy as to wind off the fourteen days, one after another, visibly, so that there shall be just so many days and nights, and the people go to bed, and get up again just so many times. But he thrusts into the back-ground the intervals which are marked by no visible advance in the action, he annihilates in his picture all the pauses of absolute rest, and with a flying touch gives us an exact, or pretty nearly exact conception of the elapsed interval. But why is the privilege of assuming a wider interval between the two extremes of the play than the material time of representation, important to the

dramatist, nay, for many subjects, indispensable? Voltaire's instance of a conspiracy is here quite in place.—A conspiracy plotted and executed in two hours is, in the first place, a thing incredible. Moreover, in reference to the characters of the acting persons, such a plot is quite different from one in which the conceived purpose, however dangerous, is silently persevered in by all the persons for a considerable time. Though the Poet does not immediately receive this period into the exhibition, he gives us a sort of perspective view of it in the minds of the characters, as in a mirror. In this sort of perspective Shakspeare is the greatest master I know: a single word often reveals an almost interminable prospect of previous states of mind. The poet who is tied down to the narrow limits of time, must, in many subjects, mutilate the action by beginning close before the last decisive stroke, or he must unsuitably hurry through its progress: in either case, he must reduce to petty dimensions the great picture of a violent resolve, which is no momentary ebullition, but a fixed will, invincibly upheld in the midst of all exterior vicissitude, till the time of its accomplishment is ripe. Thus cut down, it will no longer be what Shakspeare has so often represented, and what he has described in the following lines:

Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim is  
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream:  
The genius, and the mortal instruments  
Are then in council, and the state of man,  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection.

But why is the practice of the Greek and of the Romantic Poets so different in respect of their treatment of Time and Place. The spirit of our criticism will not allow us to imitate the example of many of our modern critics, and unceremoniously pronounce the latter to be barbarous. On the contrary, we hold that they lived in very cultivated times, and were themselves exceedingly cultivated. Next to the structure of the ancient theatres, which naturally led to the apparent continuity of time, and the immutability of the scene, the observation of this custom was favoured by the nature of the materials on which the Greek dramatists had to work. These materials were mythology, which in itself was fiction, and the treatment of which, in the hands of preceding

poets, had collected into continuous and perspicuous masses what, in reality, was broken and scattered about in various ways. Moreover the heroic age, which they depicted, was at once very simple in its manners, and marvellous in its events, and thus every thing of its own accord went straight to the mark of a tragic decision.

But the principal cause of the difference lies in the plastic spirit of the antique, and the picturesque spirit of romantic poetry. Sculpture directs our attention exclusively to the groupe which it sets before us, it divests it as much as possible of all external circumstances, and where these cannot be dispensed with, they are indicated as lightly as possible. Painting, on the contrary, delights to exhibit not only the principal figures, but the detail of the surrounding scenery, and all secondary circumstances, and to open a prospect into a boundless distance in the background: light, and shade, and perspective are its peculiar charms. Hence in the dramatic, and especially in the tragic art of the ancients, the external circumstances of Place and Time are in some measure annihilated, while in the romantic drama their alternations serve to adorn its more varied pictures. Or, to express myself differently: the principle of the antique poetry is ideal, that of the romantic is mystical; the former subjects space and time to the internal free-agency of the mind, the latter honours these incomprehensible essences as supernatural powers, in which there is a somewhat of indwelling divinity.

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PART III.

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EXCERPTA CRITICA.



## ORTHOGRAPHY.

## 1. CRASES ATTICÆ.

‘ΑΥΤΟΣ, crasi Attica est pro ὁ αὐτός *idem*. Simili ratione scribebant Attici ἄνῆρ, ἄναξ, ἄγων, ἄνθρωπος, ἄτερος, ἄγαθος pro ὁ ἀνῆρ, ὁ ἀναξ. ὁ ἀγων, &c. Monk’s Hippol. v. 1005. αὐτός sine articulo non valet *idem*; sed *ipse*, monente Porson ad Hec. v. 295.

Οὗτ’ ἄρα est οὗ τοι ἄρα, diphthongo οι, quæ elidi non potest, cum brevi vocali crasin efficiente: quod persæpe fit in Atticis poetis, præsertim in τοι ἄρα et τοι ἄν. Ib. v. 443.

Πατρῶα καὶ μητρῶα πῆμαθ’, ἄπαθες.

Qua ratione *a* in ἄπαθες produci possit, ambigit H. Stephanus—producitur autem hoc in loco τὸ ἄ propter crasin duarum vocalium brevium, *a*, *e*, in unam longam *a* coalescentium, eadem prorsus ratione qua producitur τὰμὰ pro τὰ ἐμὰ, ἄκων pro ἄέκων, et alia ejusmodi plurima. Elmsley in Œdip. Col. v. 1195.

Quoties articulus in vocalem desinit, vocabulum autem quod eum sequitur a vocali incipit, non eliditur prima posterioris vocis syllaba, sed cum articulo in unam syllabam per crasin coalescit. Verbi causa, pro τοῦ ἐμοῦ, non τοῦ ἴμου, sed τοῦμοῦ scribendum est.

In nostra fabula τὰ ἔξερηματα, τοῦ ἴπιοντος, τὰ ἴμα, τῷ ἴμῳ, τῇ ἴμαντοῦ, scribendum erat τὰ ἔξερῆματα, τοῦ ἴπιόντος, τὰμὰ, τῷ ἴμῳ, τῇ ἴμαντοῦ. Scilicet in omni duarum syllabarum crasi eliditur ἰῶτα prioris syllabæ. Quod in κἀγὼ et similibus in vetustioribus codicibus fieri monuit Porsonus. Eadem est ratio in τὰν et τὰρα, quæ pro τοι ἄν et τοι ἄρα passim leguntur. Hæc qui attente secum consideret, nemo, opinor, dubitabit, quin pro οἱ ἐμοὶ et αἱ ἐμαὶ non οἱ ἴμοι et αἱ ἴμαι, sed οὐμοὶ et ἄμαι scribendum sit.

Elmsley Præfat. in Œdip. Tyr. x—xi.



In vocibus per crasin conjunctis, ut *κάτι, κὰν, κὰν* (i. e. *καὶ ἐν, καὶ ἂν*) Iota nusquam addi oportet, nisi ubi *καὶ* cum diphthongo crasin efficit, ut in *κᾶτα* pro *καὶ εἶτα*.

Pors. Præf. ad Hec. p. xi.

Recte observat Valckenaerius *τᾶθλα* scribi non potuisse a tragico. Articulus enim cum *a* brevi tantum crasin facit, *ᾶθλον* vero primam habet per se longam, utpote ex *ἄεθλον* contractam.

Porson ad Phœn. 1277.

*Καὶ* nunquam crasin facit cum *εὖ*, nisi in compositis.—Dum de crasibus loquimur, non abs re fortasse erit monere, *καὶ* nunquam cum *ἀεὶ* crasin facere.

Porson ad Phœn. 1422.

## 2. Rarius elisio *ε* ante *ἂν*.

Nihil apud Atticos poëtas rarius vocali *ε* ante *ἂν* elisa. Citius in eorum scriptis decies *ἔγραψ' ἂν scripsissem* repereris, quam semel *scripsisset*.

Elmsley ad Eurip. Medeam. v. 416.

*Τοι* diphthongus elidi non potest.

Elidi non potest diphthongus in *τοι*, sed per crasin vocalem longam efficit. Aristoph. Acharn. 162.

*Ὑποστένοι μέντ' ἂν ὁ θρανίτης λεώς.*

Porson ad Med. v. 863.

*οἱ μέν γ' ἄτεκνοι,*——

*Οἱ μέντ' ἄτεκνοι* edd. MSS. elisione non ferenda. Admisi *οἱ μέν γ'* e Reiskii conjectura. Sed cum illæ particulæ *μέν γε* rarissime a Tragicis copulentur, si quis *τ'* expungat, non vehementer repugnem.

Ib. ad Med. v. 1090.

Vocalis in fine Dativi singularis raro eliditur.

*Καὶ παρὰ χαίτην ξανθὴν ῥίψαι*

*Θεσσαλὸν ὄρπακ'*

*Ἐπίλογχον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ βέλος.*

‘Ορπακ’ pessime cepit Valck. post Musgravium, quasi esset ὄρ-  
πακι, vocalis enim in fine dativi singularis perraro eliditur (sex-  
ties tantum, si recte recordatus sum, in omnibus Tragicorum  
reliquiis.)

Monk ad Hippol. v. 220.

Καὶ μὴν προτείνω, Γοργόν’ ὡς καρατόμῳ.

Notanda elisio rara apud Atticos in fine dativi singularis. Non  
assentior Elmsleio ad Heracl. 693, emendenti Γοργόν’ ὡς καράτο-  
μον, subaudito οὐσαν. Videas tamen ingeniosam ejus notam in  
Addendis, ubi alia hujus elisionis exempla corrigere tentat.

Ib. ad Alcest. v. 1137.

Vocalis in fine versus elidi non potest, nisi syllaba longa præ-  
cedat.

Porson ad Med. 510.

### 3. Ionismi apud Tragicos.

Licentiæ, quam in dialectis sibi permisere Tragici, fines accu-  
rate constituere perdifficile est; Ionismos tamen quosdam adhi-  
buisse, sed parce et raro, extra controversiam est. Dixerunt  
utique ξένος et ξείνος, μόνος et μῶνος, γόνατα et γοῦνατα, κόρος  
et κούρος, δορί et δουρί.

Pors. Præf. ad Hec. p. xi.

XO. ὦ πολύξεινος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος.

Ionicas formas in Choris Tragicis certe adhibere licuit. Extat  
ἄξεινος Andr. 795. Iph. T. 218. Πολυξείνη in Hec. 75. Quin  
in senariis quoque nonnunquam ξείνος Tragicos usurpasse obser-  
vatum est.

Monk ad Alcest. v. 584.

4. — ὦν δ’ ἑκατι, παρθένῳ λέγειν  
Οὐ καλόν.

Attici dicunt Ἀθάνα, θαρὸς, ἑκατι, κυναγὸς, ποδαγὸς, λοχαγὸς,

ξεναγὸς, ὀπαδὸς, per *a*, non per *η*: quanquam autem dicunt Ἀθάνα, non dicunt Ἀθαναία, sed Ἀθηναία.

Porson ad Orest. v. 26.

5. Attici verborum tempora augmentum recipientia sine augmento nunquam adhibent\*.

In Hecuba, ut a me edita est, omissi verborum augmenti exemplum non occurrit. Locus unicus, qui huic licentiæ in hoc dramate favet, ab ipso Brunckio, acerrimo alias hujus licentiæ vindice, emendatus est. Et cum rarissima omnino sint talia exempla, quorum tria in Bacchis, corruptissima pene omnium fabula, reperiantur, plane persuasum habeo, non licuisse in Attico sermone augmentum abjicere. D. Porson Præf. ad Hec. p. iv.

(D) Debueram fortasse *χρῆν* excipere, quod non minus quam *ἐχρῆν* in scena Attica occurrit, etiam apud Comicos, quomodo, ut uno exemplo contentus sim, Hermippum Athenæi, viii, p. 344. D.

Τοὺς μὲν ἄρ' ἄλλους οἴκουρεῖν χρῆν,  
Πέμπειν δὲ Νόθιππον ἐν' ὄντα.

Quod ait Brunckius, quædam esse verba quibus solenne sit augmentum abjicere, verba ea quæ augmentum nunquam habuere, abjicere non possunt. Attici semper dicunt *ἄνωγα*, nunquam *ῆνωγα*, sed augmentum plusquam perfecto tempori reservant, Œd. C. 1598. Similis est ratio in *καθεζόμενν*, *καθήμηνν*, *καθεῦδονν*, quibus augmentum non præponunt Tragicæ, Comici pro arbitrio vel præponunt, vel abjiciunt. Duplex aliquando augmentum admisere, ut in *ἡνεσχόμενν*, *ἀνεσχόμενν*, quorum utrumque Tragicis familiare; sed *ἡνεσχόμενν*, quod Sophocli, Aristophani, et Platoni obtrudere conatur Piersonus ad Mœrin. p. 176, Brunckio assentiente, mera est barbaries.

Porson. Supp. Præf. ad Hec. p. xvi.

—In melicis autem hanc licentiam sibi permiserunt Tragicæ.

Χόρευσε δ' ἀμφὶ σὰν κιθάραν.

Ubi augmentum in verbo *χόρευσε* abjicitur. Habes in una Phœnissarum cantilena, v. 650, *δίκε*. 658, *τέκετο*. 686, *δειῖεν*. 693, *κτίσαν*. 699, *κτήσαντο*. Monk ad Alcest. v. 599.

\* Vide autem Wellauer. ad Æschyl. Pers. 302.

Jam hac disputatione absoluta ad Seidleri sententiam revertar, abjectionem augmenti nunciorum narrationibus propriam existimantis. Etenim nunc demum, quid in ea veri sit, judicare poterit. Dixi supra, caussas omittendi augmenti debere alias esse, quam quod hoc quiddam præcipuum fuerit illarum narrationum. Quas autem illas caussas esse existimarem, deinde dixi. Sed eæ si sunt tales, ut fere in solis his narrationibus locum inveniant, minime inanis illa Seidleri observatio videatur necesse est. Vidimus, ut paucis complectar, omitti augmentum nunc in verbo fortiore, sententiam graviter incipiente, nunc in verbo minus forti, media in sententia, sed initio versus, ne in rei gravis expositione æquabilitas numeri iambici anapæsto turbetur; probari autem anapæstum accessione augmenti natum in gravi et vehementi exordio orationis. Ea vero hujusmodi sunt, ut vix in alios tragœdiarum locos, quam in longiores narrationes cadant. Nam etsi verbi, quod augmentum habet, non alius est usus quam ad narrandum, tamen in diverbiis propter ipsam colloquiorum naturam ad aliquid interrogandum, respondendum, commemorandum adhibetur, ut res, si longior sit, in multas partes distrahatur. Unde non est locus aut gravi exordio totius narrationis, aut partis unius a cohærentibus cum ea partibus distinctioni, aut perpetuationi æquabili plurium partium. Plane alia hæc sunt in narrationibus, quales nunciorum esse solent. Primum enim longa narratio grave debet exordium habere, ut ex ipso initio intelligatur, multa sequutura esse. Deinde in ipso cursu narrationis quum res magna vel quasi ex improvviso, vel ita, ut antea ejus expectatio excitata sit, infertur, fortiore et præ cæteris eminente verbo opus est. Denique ubi multa deinceps contexta referuntur, crebrior est verborum in principio versus collocandorum numerisque, prouti sententiæ conveniens est, aptandorum necessitas, quam ubi eadem, ut in colloquiis fit, in partes discerpta exponuntur. Atque ad incipiendam quidem cum gravitate quadam orationem facilius adjec-tione augmenti, quam omissione opus est, quia liberum fere est in principio, quibus verbis uti velis. Tale est ilud,

*ἐγένοντο Λήδα Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.*

Sed si Clytæmnestra prologum egisset, ita, nisi fallor, exorsa esset :

*γενόμεσθα Λήδα Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.*

Prologi quidem, certe quod ad exordium attinet, eamdem habent



rationem, quam narrationes nunciorum: a quibus eo tantum differunt, quod oratio in iis tranquilla et motus expers est, quum nuncii fere res admirabiles aut tristes ac funestas, quarum audientium cupidi sunt spectatores, oratione ad commovendos animos composita exponant. Et graviter incipiendæ sententiæ sæpius etiam extra narrationes locus est: unde illi anapæsti, ἔτεκον, ἐμάνητε, ἐκέλευσε. In media vero oratione, quum ad rem magnam aut admirabilem perventum est, non ita liberum est, quo verbo quis uti velit, ut in principio, sed illud adhibendum est, quod quoque in loco aptissimum est et maximam vim habet. Quod quum est ejusmodi, ut addito augmento non possit eum quem debet locum tenere: is est autem plerumque primus pes trimetri, ut in quo aptissime oratio cum vi quadam incipiatur: idonea ea caussa est abjiciendi potius augmenti, quam commitlendi, ut aliquid de orationis vi ac virtute detrahatur. Ejusmodi illa sunt, σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ· κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος· παίοντ', ἔθρανον· πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν. Denique per rerum deinceps enarrandarum necessitatem fieri potest, ut aliquando etiam ubi non est magna quædam vis in verbo, tamen, ne aut aliud minus aptum verbum adhiberi necesse sit, aut numeri concinnitas anapæsto turbari debeat, præferenda sit in initio versus augmenti abjectio. Quæ quoniam semper in eo genere dicendi, quo Tragicæ in trimetris utuntur, aliquam insolentiæ speciem habet, consentaneum est, non esse eam temere et ubivis, sed arte quadam ibi tantum admissam, ubi non aut forma verbi mutanda, aut aliquo alio modo removeri posset: cujusmodi sunt, ἀμφὶ δὲ κυκλοῦντο· ναυβάτης δ' ἀνὴρ τροποῦτο· φθέγμα δ' ἐξαίφνης τινὸς θώυξεν· γοᾶτο δ' εὐνὰς· κυκλοῦτο δ' ὥστε τόξον. Hæc qui reputaverit, jam, spero, intelliget, qui factum sit, ut pleræque omnes augmenti omissiones in nunciorum narrationibus, ut quæ fere solæ ejus rei aliquas opportunitates præbeant, exstare inveniantur.

Jam ergo ut summam hujus disputationis in pauca contraham, ita ego, quantum quidem in tanta exemplorum paucitate colligi potest, statuendum existimo, in ipsa natura orationis, ei trimetro quem tragicum vocamus adstrictæ, leges quasdam sitas esse, quibus augmenti vel servandi necessitas, vel abjiciendi permissio regatur. Quæ leges quum id commune habeant, ut ea debeat verbi forma eligi, quæ numerum præbeat, qui sit ad sententiam verborum accommodatissimus: si particulatim considerantur, hasce continent regulas.

Prima est: verbum fortius, in quo augmenti accessio anapæstum facit, in principio versus positum, addi augmentum postulat:

ἐγένοντο Λήδα Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.

Secunda: verbum fortius, in quo augmenti accessio non facit anapæstum, in principio versus positum, carere potest augmento:

σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ·  
κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος·  
παίοντ', ἔθραυον·  
πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν.

Tertia: ejusdemmodi verbum, si incipit sententiam, videtur etiam in medio versu carere augmento posse: quale foret illud, ea, qua supra dictum est, conditione:

γυμνοῦντο δὲ  
πλευραὶ σπαραγμοῖς.

Quarta: verbum minus forte, sive facit augmenti accessio anapæstum, sive non facit, in principio versus positum, si ultra primum pedem porrigitur, caret augmento: γοᾶτο· θώῳξεν.

Quinta: ejusdemmodi verbum si non ultra primum pedem porrigitur, ut detracto augmento parum numerosum, aut vitatur, ut *κάνες*, aut cum alia forma commutatur, ut *κάλει* cum *καλεῖ*.

Hermann. Præfat. ad Bacch. pp. L—LV.

## 6. Adverbia in *ει* et *ι*.

Adverbia cujuscunque formæ non a secundo casu nominum, quod somniarunt Grammatici, sed a tertio nata esse, satis ostendit universa linguarum ratio. Horum autem pars maxima, a dativo numeri pluralis orta, in *ως* desinebat (scilicet *οις*); nonnulla, a dativo singularis, in *ει* vel *ι*. Ea nempe, quæ a nominibus in *η* vel *α* desinentibus formata sunt, veteres scribebant per *ει*, utpote quæ nihil aliud fuerint quam dativi, ita scripti ante inventas *ω* et *η* literas. Sic a *βοέ*, genitiv. *βοῆς*, dativ. *βοεῖ*, ortum est *αὐτοβοεῖ*. Dativus vero nominum in *ος* desinentium ita olim formabatur, *οἶκος*, dat. *οἴκοι*. *στρατός*, dat. *στρατοῖ*; ideoque omnia adverbia, ab hujusmodi vocibus ducta, in *οι* antike desinebant; quod satis liquet ex adverbis *οἴκοι*, *πεδοῖ*, *ἀρμοῖ*, *ἐνδοῖ*, quæ veterem terminationem adhuc retinent. Postea, ne cum nominativo plurali confunderentur, *ο* omisso, scripta sunt in *ι*.

Blomf. Gloss. ad. Prom. Vincit. 216.

7. Adjectiva composita in *ος*.

Omnia adjectiva composita, et in *ος* terminata, apud antiquissimos Græcos per tria genera declinabantur: ἀπόρθητος, ἀπορθήτη, ἀπόρθητον. Femininas formas, cum jam paulatim obsolevisent, Poetæ et Attici, vel ornatus vel varietatis ergo, subinde revocabant.

Porson ad Med. 822.

8. Verba in *ύω* et *υμι*.

In tironum gratiam observandum est, hac forma, ea nempe, ubi *ύω* pro *υμι* in fine verbi ponitur, nunquam uti Tragicos, rarissime veteres Comicos; sæpius mediæ, sæpissime novæ Comædiæ poetas. Paulatim et parce adhiberi cœpta est sub mediam fere Aristophanis ætatem; tantum enim occurrit ὁμνύη Av. 1611. συμπαραμυγνύων in ultima ejus fabula, Pluto 719. Cætera loca, ubi usurpari videtur, aut emendata sunt, aut emendanda.

Porson ad Med. 744.

## 9. Μνησθήσομαι et Μεμνήσομαι.

Hac forma hujus verbi, ab Homero etiam adhibita, Iliad. x. 390. semper utuntur Tragicæ, illa nunquam. Idem dici potest de κληθήσομαι et κεκλήσομαι. Sed βληθήσομαι et βεβλήσομαι promiscue usurpant.

Porson ad Med. 929.

## 10. Ούκοῦν—οὔκουν.

Discrimen quod inter ούκοῦν et οὔκουν statuunt grammatici, verissimum est, si Plutarchi aut Luciani scripta pro veræ Græcitatæ norma accipiantur. Apud veteres Atticos utraque particula semper propriam suam significationem servat. Ego ubique οὐκ οὔν scribo, adhibita, prout opus est, vel omissa interrogatione.

Elmsley ad Heracl. v. 256.

## 11.

Multa sunt nomina, quæ, cum in singulari masculina tantum aut feminina sint, in plurali neutra fiunt, ut δίφρος, εἴφρα, κύκλος, κύκλα, κέλευθος, κέλευθα, δεσμός, δεσμά, σῆτος, σῆτα. Vid. Musgravium ad Hel. 428.

Porson ad Med. 494.

## II.

### SYNTAX.

#### A SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPAL USAGES OF THE MIDDLE VOICE OF THE GREEK VERB,

WHEN ITS SIGNIFICATION IS STRICTLY OBSERVED.

*Qui bene dividit, bene docet.*

THE first four may be called usages of *reflexive*: the fifth the usage of *reciprocal* signification.

I. Where A does the act on himself or on what belongs to himself, *i. e.* is the object of his own action.

1. Ἀπήγξατο, he hanged himself.

2. Ὡμιωζεν δ' ὁ γέρων, κεφαλὴν δ' ὄγε κόψατο χερσίν.

*Iliad. x. 33.*

II. Where A does the act on some other object M, relatively to himself (in the sense of the dative case put acquisitively), and not for another person, B.

1. Α κατεστρέψατο τὸν Μῆδον.

*He made the Persian subject, or subdued him, to himself.*

Α κατέστρεψε τὸν Μῆδον τῷ Β. *res prorsus alia.*

2. To this usage belongs the following:

Κοινῇ ἀπώσάμενοι τὸν Βάρβαρον. *Thucyd. 1. 18, et similia.*

III. Where A gets an act done for himself, or for those belonging to him by B.

1. Of Chryses it is said, λυσόμενος θύγατρα, *to get his daughter released by Agamemnon, on the payment of a ransom, that is, briefly, to ransom his daughter.*

Whereas of Agamemnon it is said, Οὐδ' ἀπέλυσε θύγατρα, *sc. τῷ Χρύσῃ.* He did not grant the release, he did not release her.



So too Chryses to the Greeks, Παιῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην.

To this head may be appended, διδάσασθαι τὸν υἱόν, to get one's son instructed. Euripides has said, with a double idiom, Medea, v. 297. παιῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι σοφούς.

2. Δαρεῖζω, to give a loan, to lend, as A to B.

Δαρεῖζομαι, to get a loan, to borrow, as A from B.

So too in the epigram χρήσας, having lent; χρησάμενος, having borrowed.

Ἀνέρα τις λιπόγυιον ὑπὲρ νώτοιο λιπανγῆς  
Ἦγε, πόδας χρήσας, ὄμματα χρησάμενος.

Again χρῆσαι, to utter a response; χρήσασθαι, to seek a response, to consult an oracle.

IV. Where, in such verbs as κόπτομαι, lugeo; σεύομαι, τίλλομαι, &c. the direct action is done by A on himself; but an accusative or other case follows of B, whom that action farther regards.

1. . . . . εἶπερ ἂν αὐτὸν

Σεύονται ταχέες τε κύνες, κ. τ. λ. Iliad. Γ. 25.

Although fleet dogs stir themselves in pursuit of him.

. . . . . Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας

Σεῦε . . . Ζ. 133. . . . res prorsus alia.

Again,

Πρῶται τὸν γ' ἄλοχός τε φίλη καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
Τιλλέσθην. Ω. 710. 11.

Tore their hair in mourning over him.

But κείρομαι is differently used. Bion has κειράμενοι χαίτας ἐπ' Ἀδώνιδι, not Ἀδωνιν. To this class belong φυλάττω and φυλάττομαι.

Φυλάξαι τὸν παιῖδα.—φυλάξασθαι τὸνλέοντα.

And so too the following:

Ὡς εἰπὼν, οὗ παιῖδος ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ.

Stretched out his arms to receive his son.

Thus far the reflexive uses: now the reciprocal use.

V. Where the action is reciprocal betwixt two persons or parties, and A does to B what B does to A; as in verbs of *contract, quarrel, war, reconciliation, and the like*:

“Εως ἂν διαλυσώμεθα τὸν πόλεμον. Demosth. Philip. A. §. 6.—*Till we shall have put an end to the war in which we are engaged with Philip, by treaty mutually agreed upon.*

In a very different sense, as follows, is διαλῦσαι used:

Παρήναι δὲ (Ἀλκιβιάδης) καὶ τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ μὴ ἄγαν ἐπείγασθαι τὸν πόλεμον διαλῦσαι. Thucyd. viii. §. 46.—*To be in no hurry to put an end to the war between the two conflicting parties in Greece.*

*Remark.*—Though on some occasions the active voice is used where the middle would be proper, that is, where the act is denoted without relation to the agent, though there does exist a middle verb so to denote it, yet where the two voices exist in actual use, the middle denoting the action relatively to the agent, as in No. 11, is very seldom, if ever, in pure Attic used to denote the action when it regards another person. E. g. Ἰστάναι τρόπαιον *may* be said of an army who erect their own trophy; for it is true, as far as it goes—they do erect a trophy. But ἐστήσατο *cannot* be said of him who erected a trophy for others, but ἔστησεν only.

*Mus. Crit. No. I. pp. 102—104.*

## CANONES DAWESIANI XI.

### I.

“Voculam ἂν cum verbo περιῶδε conjungi vetat Græcorum Scriptorum consuetudo.” *Miscell. Crit. p. ii. Ed. B. p. ii.*

The particle ἂν, giving the idea of a contingent or conditional event, goes with the past tenses only of the indicative mood; out of which number περιῶδε is excluded, as being strictly what Clarke calls the present perfect tense. [Vid. ad Iliad. A. v. 37.]

1. ἔτυπτον ἂν—I *should have been striking.*

(Sometimes translate, *I should have stricken.*)

2. ἐτετύφη ἂν—I should have done striking.

3. ἔτυψα } ἂν—I should have stricken.  
ἔτυπον }

The same, *mutatis mutandis*, for the past tenses of θνήσκω.

## II.

“Vocula ὅσῳ et similes, comite ἂν, non nisi cum altera forma ἐλθῇ construuntur.” [M. C. p. 79. Ed. B. p. 82.]

The passage itself from which this remark arises, may easily be found in the Anabasis of Xenophon. (Lib. i. 5. 9.) Δῆλος ἦν ὁ Κύρος σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν—νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι. κ. τ. λ.

By transposing ἂν, and by altering the future μαχεῖσθαι, which does not keep that particle's company, into μάχεσθαι, Dawes (with the approbation of Porson) has corrected the passage thus: νομίζων ἂν, ὅσῳ μὲν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τ. α. β. μάχεσθαι—κ. τ. λ.

1. The position of ἂν, as above, with verbs of thinking followed by an infinitive mood to which it refers, is very common in Attic Greek; and Dawes abundantly shows it from Xenophon.

2. Ὅσῳ and similar words are much used with ἂν and the subjunctive mood, it is true; but according to circumstances which will explain themselves, they are used with the optative, and with the indicative also sometimes.

α. *Whatever part you shall have acted towards your parents, your children also will act towards you; and with good reason.*

Οἷός περ ἂν περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς γένη, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ σπαντοῦ παῖδες περὶ σὲ γενήσονται· εἰκότως.

β. *Act such a part towards your parents, as you could wish your own children to act towards yourself.*

Τοιοῦτος γίγνου περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, οἷους ἂν εὖζαιο περὶ σεαυτὸν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς σπαντοῦ παῖδας.

γ. *There is not a man living whom he would have less thought of attacking than him.*

Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπ' ὄντινα ἂν ἦττον, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἦλθεν.

Of the two passages which shall be given from Demosthenes, the first shows a syntax very common and legitimate in Attic

prose; while the second exhibits two instances, the one correct, the other suspicious, at least to my apprehension of it.

Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι τούτοις, οἷς ἂν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιτο,—ἔτ' ἐπισφαλεστέραν αὐτὴν [τὴν Μακεδονικὴν δύναμιν] κατεσκεύακεν ἑαυτῷ. Olynthiac. A. §. 5.

In the same section, *The subjects of Philip*, says the orator, λυποῦνται καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν, οὐθ' ὅς' ἂν πορίσωσιν, οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι, κεκλεισμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

Translate thus: *Nor able to dispose of such articles as they MAY produce, in the way they MIGHT otherwise have it in their power to do, on account of the war, &c. &c.*

And to preserve the Atticism, read—ὅπως ἂν δύναιτο.

3. It is well known, that the following construction, *suppresso ἂν*, is favoured by the tragic writers. [R. P. ad Orest. v. 141.] "Οπου δ' Ἀπόλλων σκαιὸς ἦ, τίνες σοφοί; Electr. Eurip. v. 972. But this suppression of ἂν with the *optative* also deserves remark.

Οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτῳ μείζονα μοῖραν

Νείμαιμ', ἢ σοί. Prom. Vinc. vv. 299, 300.

The following passages demand a separate consideration:

Ἐν σοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν· ἄνδρα δ' ὠφελεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν

Ἔχοι τε καὶ δύναιτο, κάλλιστος πόνων. Œd. R. vv. 314, 5.

Εἰκῇ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις. Ibid. v. 979.

And this, Ἄλλ' εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἡδέως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες πάντας τοὺς κατ' ἐμὲ διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, ὅπως ἕκαστος τὰ κράτιστα δύναιτο. Cyrographia.

### III.

"Præstandum in me recipio Sermonis Attici rationem postulare vel ποῖ τις φύγη, vel ποῖ τις ἂν φύγοι. Verbum utique optativum cum ποῖ, πόθεν, ποῦ, πῶς, vel qualibet alia interrogandi particula conjunctum alteram itidem ἄν comitem exigit; subjunctivum vero respuit." [M. C. 207. Ed. B. 207.]

The meaning of Dawes will be best understood, perhaps, if we take three ways of expressing nearly the same ideas by three different moods of the verb.



- α. ποῖ τρέψομαι; *whither shall I betake myself?*  
 β. ποῖ τράπωμαι; *whither must I betake myself?*  
 γ. ποῖ τις ἂν τράποιτο; *whither should one betake himself?*  
 [M. C. 75. 341. Ed. B. 78. 333.]

1. Under the class (β) may be placed,

Ἐγὼ δὲ τί ποιῶ; Plut. *But what must I do?*

Ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε γ'; Ran. ubi de Euripide Æschylus.  
*Must I hold my tongue for this coxcomb?*

Ὡς ὀξύθυμος! φέρε, τί σοί ΔΩ καταφαγεῖν;

*Well, what must I give you to eat?*

Dawes's account justly exhibits the first and second verbs thus used, not as of the present indicative serving instead of the future; "sed formæ subjunctivæ, quæ temporis futuri vi quodammodo non raro gaudet, vel potius significatu proprio ad ἵνα, sive χρὴ ἵνα, subauditum refertur."

2. Σοφῶς κελεύεις. μὴ τρέσης μιάσματος

Τοῦμοῦ μετασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως θάνω. Herac. 558, 559.

"Θάνω subjunctivus est, ut alibi passim. Subjunctivi primam personam pluralem eo sensu quo Anglice dicitur, *let us die*, passim occurrere nemo nescit. Rarius, nec tamen valde raro, adhibetur prima persona singularis ea significatione qua dicunt nostrates, *let me die*. In Med. 1275, verba παρέλθω δόμους sine interrogatione recte exhibent edd. pleræque." P. Elmsley Annot. in locum.

In Porson's *Medea*, the passage stands thus:

Παρέλθω δόμους; ἀρῆξαι φόνον

Δοκεῖ μοι τέκνοις.

which would require to be translated with somewhat less force, thus: "*Shall I not enter the house?—I am resolved to save the children from murder.*"

Our obligations to the late Mr. Elmsley are very great already; but it was in his power to render a yet more substantial service to the interests of Greek literature, if he would have condescended to adopt the following suggestion. In scattered publications, he had demonstrated, or rendered highly probable, many rules generally, if not universally observed, in the practice of Attic prosody, etymology, and syntax. For the

benefit of those whom Mr. Porson called his "*tirones*," why should not Mr. Elmsley have reduced into a more didactic form, and into a shape more accessible for reference and consultation, what he had so largely contributed? That press which in the year 1745 gave Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica* to the perusal of Greek scholars, would have been proud to have given in the year 1815 a work of similar value, but of more mature execution.

## IV.

Καὶ μὴν ὁπότε τι σκευάριον τοῦ δεσπότου

ῥφείλου, ἐγὼ σε λαρθάνειν ἐποίουν αἶι. Plut. 1139.

"Pöeseos Atticæ ratio istiusmodi hiatum, qualis in altero versu conspicitur, in versibus iambicis et trochaicis omnimodo vetat. Deinde ipsam orationem ὁπότε ῥφείλου.—[*When you actually had stolen one specific thing*].—ἐποίουν αἶι solæcam esse assevero; sermonis autem indolem postulare ὁπότε ῥφέλοιο. Itaque utraque re conspirante, rescribo ῥΦΕΛΟΙ, ἐγὼ." [M. C. 216. Ed. B. 215, 216.]

Fielding and Young thus translate the passage fairly enough :

*Why, when you used to filch any vessel from your master,  
I always assisted you in concealing it [the theft.]*

The nature of those circumstances which demand this usage of ὁπότε with the optative mood, if not sufficiently clear from the instance thus given, is determined by several other instances which Dawes has produced, of ὁπότε similarly employed.

Of εἴ ποιν also in the same usage preceding the *optative*, with the *preter-imperfect tense* (for that is the idiom) of the *indicative* mood in the other member of the sentence, Dawes has given proof quite sufficient. [M. C. 256. Ed. B. 253.]

Ἄλλη δὲ κάλλη δωμάτων στρωφωμένη,

ΕΙ ΠΟΥ φίλων ΒΛΕΨΕΙΕΝ οἰκετῶν δέμας,

ΕΚΛΑΙΕΝ ἢ δύστηνος. Sophocl. Trachin. 924.

*And wandering up and down the house, whenever she saw  
a favourite domestic, so oft the wretched dame would weep.*

The particle ἐπεὶ occurs in a similar construction. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἂν εἰστήκεσαν· (πολὺ γὰρ τοῦ ἵππου θάττον ἔτρεχον) καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοι ὁ ἵππος, ταυτὰ ἐποίουν. Xenophon. Anab. p. 45. *ex emendatione Porsoni; quem vide ad Eur. Phæn.* 412.

## V.

“Quod autem eruditissimos quosque videtur fefellisse, observare libet, Verba istius formæ, cujus est αἰέσαι, nusquam vel notione optativa adhiberi, vel cum vocula κέν sive ἂν conjungi: sed temporibus præteritis significatione futura perpetuo subjici.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὢν μειράκειον ΗΠΕΙΔΗΣ' ὅτι

Εἰς τοὺς δικάιους καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ κοσμίους

Μόνους ΒΑΣΙΛΟΙΜΗΝ.—Plut. 88. [M. C. 103. Ed. B. 105.]

*For I when a stripling threatened that I would visit the honest and wise and respectable—and no others.*

1. If this *dictum* be true, and I have met with nothing to disprove it, all the other usages of the future optative must be struck off the roll without delay.

α. Ζήσσετε: *fare ye well.* “Neque enim futurum istius formæ tribuitur.” [M. C. ii. Ed. B. ii.]

β. μᾶλλον ἂν ἐσοίμην, “locutio est Græcis ignota. Futurum utique formæ optativæ nihilo rectius cum particula ἂν conjungitur, quam optanti tribuitur.” [M. C. iv. Ed. B. iv.]

2. The future infinitive, it has been already remarked, keeps no company with the particle αἰ. The aversion to πρίν preceding it in what is called *government*, seems pretty much the same. Mr. Elmsley (ad Iph. Aul. v. 1459.) has justly suggested, that πρὶν παραῖσθαι αἰεῖν, is a solonism. The basest usage of the aorist infinitive with αἰ or without it, affords no excuse for breaking down the narrow fence of its neighbour.

3. For the same reason, Mr. Elmsley, ad Iph. T. v. 987. appears to me justly to condemn ἀλυσθῆναι ὀμίσσειν as not legitimate Greek: while (ad Oed. R. v. 272.) he does not with equal decision second the Scholiast, who, in reference to εὐχόμεναι in v. 209, writes thus—φθαρήναι δὲ γράφειν, οὐ φθереῖσθαι.

The syntax of the line

Ἄλλ' ὥδε προέθηκεν ἐλευθερίας ἀπολαύσειν

is condemned by Dawes, on the very same principle. “Nec vero futurum verbi προέθηκεν immediatè subjungi potest.” [M. C. iii. Ed. B. iii.]

4. In the syntax of μέλλω, the infinitive mood following it most usually occurs in the future tense, but not universally. The

authority of Porson ad Orest. v. 929. on v. 1594. μέλλω καταεῖν, has pronounced, "aoristum recte postponi verbo μέλλειν." Mr. Elmsley ad Heraclid. v. 710. gives his sentence thus on the subject: "Ubiunque levi emendatione pro γράψαι restitui potest γράφειν aut γράψευ, restituendum mihi videtur."

## VI.

"Nos primi monemus, formæ verborum optativæ, cum certis voculis, ἵνα puta, ὅφρα, et μὴ, conjunctæ cum esse usum, ut verbis de tempore non nisi præterito usurpatis subjungatur, isti-que adeo Latinorum tempori AMAREM respondeat; subjunctivum contra verbis non nisi præsentis vel futuræ significationis subungi, atque alteri isti apud Romanos tempori AMEM respondere." [M. C. 82, 3. 272. 329 = 85. 268. 321.]

Generally speaking, where a purpose, end, result, is denoted by the help of the particles, ἵνα, ὅφρα, μὴ, &c.

I. If both the *action* and the *purpose* of it belong entirely to time past, the *purpose* is denoted by the optative mood only.

II. If the *action* belong to time present or future, the *purpose* is denoted by the subjunctive and not otherwise.

This is remarkably well illustrated by Dawes out of Homer and Plato. In the Iliad E. 127, 8. we read,

Ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλκω, ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,  
ΟΦΡ' εὖ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΗΣ ἡμὲν θεὸν ἢ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

"I HAVE REMOVED the mist from thine eyes, that thou MAYST DISTINGUISH, &c."

In the second Alcibiades of Plato, *sub finem*: ὅσπερ τῷ Διομήδει φησὶ τὴν Ἀθήναι' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ΑΦΕΛΕΙΝ τὴν ἀχλὺν,

ΟΦΡ' εὖ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΟΙ ἡμὲν θεὸν ἢ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

"Homer tells us that Minerva REMOVED the mist from his eyes, that he MIGHT DISTINGUISH, &c."

Briefly, it is right to say, ἐπορεύθη, ἵνα μάθοι.

and πορεύεται or πορεύσεται, ἵνα μάθῃ.

Yet a few remarks may be useful, and even necessary, to assist the young scholar in discriminating betwixt real exceptions and



such only as appear so to be: for no one mistakes the following modes of syntax as legitimate.

φυλάττετε νῦν, ὅπως μὴ οἴχοιτο.

τότε γὰρ ἐφυλάττετε, ὅπως μὴ οἴχηται.

1. Since the Greek aorist, like the Latin preterite, is not only taken in the narrative way, as ἔγραψα, *I wrote*, but sometimes also in the use of our present perfect, *I have written*; it may in its latter usage be followed by the subjunctive. The remark is Dawes's, when speaking most exactly on the dramatic passage of Homer as varied in narration by Plato, *ubi supra*. Professor Monk, *ad Hippolyt.* v. 1294, has shown very clearly, under what circumstances this syntax is legitimate.

2. Since, in narrating past events, the Greek writers, particularly the Tragedians, often employ the present in one part, with the aorist in the other part of the sentence, [*vid. R. P. ad Hecub.* v. 21.] as well as *vice versa*, we are not to wonder, if a syntax like the following be sometimes presented, with ὅστις or with ἵνα.

*Phæn.* 47. κηρύσσει, [*revera, ἐκήρυξεν*]

ὅστις μάθοι. κ. τ. λ.

“*He proclaimed such a reward to any one, that SHOULD discover the meaning of the riddle.*”

3. If the verb denoting the principal act, while it is true of the present time, which it directly expresses, be virtually true of the past also in its beginning and continuance, the leading verb may stand in the present tense, and yet the purpose be denoted by the optative mood. In this way, I venture, though with some timidity, to translate the following passage of the *Ranæ*, vv. 21—24.

Εἴτ' οὐχ ὕβρις ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πολλή τρυφή,  
 Ὅτ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὦν Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμνίου,  
 Αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ, τοῦτον δ' ὀχῶ,  
 Ἴνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο, μῆδ' ἄχθος φέροι;

“*Is it not quite abominable, that I the mighty Bacchus HAVE BEEN trudging on foot, while I have had this fellow well mounted, that he MIGHT feel no fatigue?*”

To escape from the emendation of Brunck, and with a view to suggest an idea which may perhaps be supported ere long by better authority, I risk at all events a modest conjecture for the present.

4. In passages where either syntax would be legitimate in other respects, some peculiarity of the case determines the choice at once.

The following passage presents just such an instance :

Ἡ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεῖ πέδῳ,  
Ἄπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὄτλον,  
Ἐθρέψατ', οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους  
Πιστοὺς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.

Sept. c. Theb. vv. 17—20.

There is nothing in vv. 19, 20. to condemn the reading γένησθε. "*She HATH REARED, that you may become.*" But in vv. 17, 18, the decision lies. "*She REARED you in tender and helpless infancy, that you MIGHT become one day her loyal guards.*"

When Porson, ad Phœn. v. 68, writes thus: "Deinde *κραίνουσιν* pro *κραίνωσιν* edidit Brunckius, ex Dawesii præcepto, Misc. Crit. p. 82. Sed hanc regulam non videntur per omnia servasse Tragici. Confer Hec. 1128—1133." [1120—1126.] He refers to a passage singularly awkward, and if it be allowed to stand correctly at present, bidding more defiance to Dawes's Canon, than any other which it has yet fallen in my way to observe.

Ἐδείσα, μή σοι πολέμιος λειφθεὶς ὁ παῖς  
Τροίαν ἀθροίσῃ καὶ ξυνοικίσῃ πάλιν.  
Γνόντες δ' Ἀχαιοὶ ζῶντα Πριαμίδων τινα  
Φρυνγῶν ἐς αἶαν αὐθις αἴροισιν στόλον,  
Κάπειτα Θρηῆκης πεδία τρίβοισιν τάδε  
Λεηλατοῦντες· γείτοσιν δ' εἶη κακὸν  
Τρώων, ἐν ᾧπερ νῦν, ἄναξ, ἐκάμνομεν.

Had the irregularity lain on the other side, had he begun with the optative, and from inadvertence of mind been led by other thoughts to employ the subjunctive afterwards; the knot might then have had an easy solution.

As it is, Dr. Blomfield's ingenious and perhaps just mode of settling the point in other passages, can hardly be applied to this.

"Verum fac aliquandø subjunctivum de re præteritâ adhibuerint, nunquam tamen optativum de re præsentî usurparunt." *Ad Sept. c. Theb. ubi supra.*

III. A third syntax yet remains; which, though never, I believe, noticed by Dawes, deserves a place here.

Τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει  
 Ἐρρίψ' ἐμαυτὴν τῇσδ' ἀπὸ στήφλου πέτρας,  
 Ὅπως πέδω σκήψασα, τῶν πάντων πόνων  
 Ἀπηλλάγην; κρείσσον γὰρ εἰς ἀπαξ θανεῖν,  
 ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

Prom. Vinc. vv. 773—6.

I have selected this passage, for two reasons: it readily presents its own meaning, and shows the class of construction to which it belongs. But Heath wanted to alter it, from the confusion in his mind of the rules of Latin with those of Greek syntax; and his note affords a peculiar specimen of that influence operating in such matters, which I have mentioned in the few remarks prefixed to these Canons.

“Ut constet grammatica ratio, omnino legendum ἀπαλλαγείην, ejecta particula γὰρ, quæ paulo post sequitur, ne redundet metrum.” HEATH ad loc.

As every scholar possesses the Hippolytus [v. 643.] edited by Professor Monk, and the Œdipus Rex [v. 1389.] by Mr. Elmsley, it is unnecessary to give any particular explanation of what they have so well developed. Hermann also may be consulted with advantage, in his Annotationes, No. 446. on the Greek Idioms of Viger.

## VII.

“Exigit sermonis ratio, ut voculaὶ οὐ μὴ vel cum futuro Indicativo, vel cum Aoristo altero formæ subjunctivæ construantur.” [M. C. 222 = 221.]

“Legitime construitur vocula ὅπως, altera μὴ vel comite, vel absente, cum aoristo secundo formæ vel activæ vel mediæ, uti et cum aoristo primo passivæ.” [M. C. 228, 29, 30 = 227, 28.].

“Vocula οὐ cum verbo subjunctivæ formæ conjuncta alteram itidem μὴ comitem postulat.” [M. C. 240 = 231.].

According to Dawes, then, the following forms of Syntax, for instance, are correct:

1. ΟΥ ΜΗ δυσμενῆς ΕΣΗι φίλοις.
2. ΑΛΛ' ΟΥΠΟΤ' ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ ΜΗ ΜΑΘΗΗΣ τοῦτο.
3. Δέδοιχ' ὍΠΩΣ ΜΗ τεύξομαι κακοδαίμονος.
4. [σκεπτέον, ὅπως τοῦτο μάθῃ.]

5. [σκεπτέον, ὅπως μὴ αἰσθωνται ταῦτα.]

6. [φύλαξαι, ὅπως μὴ τυφθῇς.]

And the following forms amongst others are not legitimate:—

7. Οὐ μὴ ληρήσης. Read. Οὐ μὴ ΛΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ.

8. Ὅπως δὲ τοῦτο μὴ διδάξῃς μηδὲνα. Read, ὅπως μὴ διδάξεις.

9. Ἀλλ' οὐτι μ' ἐκφύγητε λαιψηρῶ ποδί. [Hecub. 1038 = 1030.]. Read, Ἀλλ' οὐτι ΜΗ' ΚΦΥΓΗΤΕ. “Dawesius sagaciter, licet minus recte.” R. P. With the great critic himself, therefore, read Ἀλλ' οὐτι μὴ φύγητε λαιψηρῶ ποδί.

A. Under the head of No. 8, which is a case of elliptic construction, may commodiously be classed a most ingenious recovery of error, and a most happy defence of the true but suspected lection.

Reiske, offended at the awkwardness, which nobody can deny, of Hecuba, v. 402, corrected the verse as follows:

ὅμοια, κισσὸς δρυὸς ὅπως, τῇσδ' ἔξομαι.

And Porson, in his first edition of the Hecuba, adopted the correction, with this remark—

“ὅμοια, emendatio est Reiskii pro ὅποῖα, quod habent Aldus et MSS.”

In his second edition he restores the genuine reading:

ὅποῖα κισσὸς δρυὸς, ὅπως τῇσδ' ἔξομαι.

*As the ivy clings to the oak, let me cling to my daughter here.* The jingle of the Greek, which one wonders did not offend the nice ear of Euripides, disappears in the English translation.

Porson's note enlarged shall be given at full length.

“ὅμοια emendatio est Reiskii pro ὅποῖα, quod habent Aldus et MSS. a Brunckio et Beckio recepta. Pro ὅπως B. οὕτως. Sed re perpensa, huic emendationi diffidere eæpi, et vulgatum defendi posse hodie censeo. Plerumque quidem ὅπως vel ὅπως μὴ cum secunda persona, aliquando cum tertia constructur, rarius cum prima. Aristophanes Eccles. 296. Ὅπως δὲ τὸ σύμβολον λαβόντες ἔπειτα πλησίον καθεσθόμεθα. Plene dixit post paullo, Ὅρα δ' ὅπως ἀθήσομαι τοῦσδε τοὺς ἐξ ἄσπερος. Antiphanes Athenæi III. p. 123. B. Ὅπως εἴπω ἐν φόρτῳ μὴ ἐν ὄφρῳ. Retinenda etiam



videtur vulgata Troad. 147. lectio, frustra a Musgravio sollicitata. Μάτηρ δ' ὥς τις πτανοῖς κλαγγάν' Ὀρμισιν, ὅπως ἐξάρξω ἔγω Μολπῖάν."

The curious reader will do well to compare this note with the remark of Mr. Elmsley ad Acharn. 930. *Sub judice lis est.*

B. That οὐ does not precede a verb of the subjunctive mood unless accompanied by μή, is true enough as an Attic Canon. In the Ionic Greek of Homer, the other Syntax is perfectly right.

Iliad. A. 262. Οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας, οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι. And I only mention this now, to avoid the appearance which one might otherwise incur of appealing to Homer as an authority for Attic Syntax. Innumerable modes of speech, cultivated by the Poets, and even familiar to the Prose writers of Athens are drawn from Homer, the vast ocean of Grecian literature. But inasmuch as a great deal of the original diction of Homer had become obsolete in the age of Pericles, and a great deal of recent varnish was afterwards put on by the Scholars of Alexandria, let it be understood, that we borrow illustration from Homer only where he was copied or followed by the Attic writers; while against their demonstrated practice—in the present discussion—he affords no authority at all. [Iliad. φ. 195, &c.]

C. A very ingenious hint is started and ably defended by Mr. Elmsley in his Criticism on Gaisford's edition of Markland's Euripides [Quart. Review, June, 1812, pp. 453, 4.] ad Supp. v. 1066; that "when οὐ μή is prefixed to the future, a note of interrogation ought to be added." And Mr. Monk, approving the idea, edits the *Hippolytus* accordingly. Vid. vv. 213, 602.

On the particles οὐκ οὐν a similar hint is advanced by Mr. Elmsley, ad Œd. R. v. 312, and pursued ad Heraclid. v. 256.

## VIII.

"Nec verbum activum μεθήμι cum Genitivo, nec medium μεθίεμαι cum Accusativo recte conjungitur," sed vice versa. [M. C. 238=236.] Vid. et R. P. ad Med. v. 734.

This one instance, acutely observed, belongs to that nice analogy by which several other verbs in their active and middle uses are always distinguished. In the translation which I shall venture to give, let not the fastidious reader find cause of displeasure. Where the analysis of language descends to its last stage, the words by

which the attempt is made to develope it, if they do trip a little, may expect to be forgiven.

1. μεθίημι σέ.—μεθίεμαι σοῦ.
  2. ἀφίημι σέ.—ἀφίεμαι σοῦ.
  3. ἔλαβον σέ.—ἐλαβόμην σοῦ.
  4. σίγα δ' ἔξομεν στόμα.—βρετέων ἔχεσθαι.
  5. βρόχους ἄπτειν.—ἄψει πέπλων.
  6. ὥρεξε τὴν κύλικα.—οὐ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο.
- 1, 2. *I quit, or part.—myself from you.*
  3. *I caught—myself at you.*
  4. *To hold—ourselves by the statues.*
  5. *You will fasten—yourself on my robes.*
  6. *He stretched—himself for his Son.*

In translating, at once exactly, and with variety if it be not distinction, lies the difficulty; otherwise the task would be easy enough. A Scholar understands the whole without any help of translation.

## IX.

“Si mulier de se loquens pluralem adhibet numerum genus etiam adhibet masculinum;

“Si masculinum adhibet genus, numerum etiam adhibet pluralem. R. P. ad Hec. 515.” [M. C. 317 = 310.]

In Porson's Letter to Dalzel, Mus. Crit. p. 335, it is said, “There is a stronger exception against Dawes's rule in Hipp. 1120. [Ed. Monk. 1107.] that can be brought, I believe, from any other quarter.”

Whoever will take the trouble of turning to the passage itself and the note upon it in Mr. Monk's edition, will find that it is all a mere inadvertence of the Poet, who either mistook himself at the moment for the Coryphæa, or hastily transferred from his *loci communes* a fine train of reflection, without considering in whose character it must be uttered.

Read that charming Scolium in the Medea, Σκαιὸς δὲ λέγων—vv. 192—206, or that Δειρὰ τυράννων—119—130: and say, who

but Euripides could have given sentiments so beautiful, so just, so profound, to the person of an illiterate nurse?

## X.

“Loci istius [Iliad.] Z. 479.

Καί ποτέ τις εἴποι ‘πατὴρ δ’ ὄγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων’  
Ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα—

“fefellit omnes, quantum sciam, syntaxis. Nempe interpretantur ac si verbum ἰδὲν vel simile non incommode subaudiri posset: quo referretur accusativus ἀνιόντα: *et olim quis dicet ‘patre vero hic multo est fortior’ ex pugna redeuntem conspicatus.* Frustra. Nam plena atque integra est oratio, ista autem constructio: Καί ποτέ τις ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα εἴποι—*et olim quis de eo ex pugna redeunte [vel reverso] dicat.*”—Adjiciam et illud Aristoph. Nub. 1132.

Καί μοι ΤΟΝ ὝΙΟΝ, εἰ μεμάθηκε τὸν λόγον  
Ἐκεῖνον ΕἰΦ’, ὃν ἀρτιῶς εἰσήγαγες.

*Et mihi de filio dic, utrum didiceret.*—Quem ad locum υἱόν esse accusativum more Atticorum pro nominativo positum frustra monet Cl. Küsterus.” [M. C. 147, 8 = 149.]

1. This remark on what for distinction’s sake should be called the *Accusativus de quo*, has a range of great usefulness, especially in the Attic Poets.

The following in Homer, Iliad Z. 239. is rather unique:

The wives and daughters of the Trojan soldiers crowded about Hector:—

Εἰρόμεναι παῖδ’ αὖ τε, κασιγνήτους τε, ἕτας τε,  
Καὶ πόσι’ αἶ. “h. e. περὶ παίδων.” Heyne.

The Attics generally use the *Accusativus de quo*, with what is technically called an *indefinite sentence* after it, as in the passage quoted above from Aristophanes.

2. But another Syntax less noticed, may commodiously be mentioned here, the *Accusativus rei vel facti*, where the governing verb would otherwise require the genitive case.

Μεῖζόν τι χροῖς, παῖδας ἢ σεσωσμένους; Phœn. 1226.  
 ————ἐὰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους  
 Πύθιοις———Sept. c. Theb. 228, 9.

*Do you desire a greater blessing, than that your Sons should be alive?—If you hear that any of ours are dying or wounded.* Perhaps it may add some illustration to a matter not commonly remarked, if I refer to a correspondent class of expressions in the Latin language.

Spretæque injuria formæ. Æn. i.

Ob iram interfecti ab eo domini. Livy, xxi. §. 2.

Injuria τοῦ formam spretam fuisse.

Iram ἐνεκα τοῦ interfectum fuisse ab eo dominum.

That is, not *injuria formæ*, not *iram domini*; which words taken alone would convey ideas very different from those intended by Virgil and Livy.

3. Nor has it been duly noticed, that the neuter pronouns in Greek are favourable to a government in the Accusative case, where the masculine or feminine would require the Genitive.

μεῖζόν τι χροῖς; affords an instance immediately of what I wish to suggest; the intelligent reader will need no farther explanation.

## XI.

Φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιός ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής.

“Locutio ista ἀγαθῶν ἄξιός ὑμῖν quo valeat, exponat velim qui in telligere sibi videtur. Interim vero contemplare, si vacat, quid inter eam et veram (ni male auguror) Aristophanis manum intersit: Φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής.” [M. C. 257 = 254.] And he goes on to defend his emendation by what is plausible enough in the context of the passage, and by showing that such a Syntax of αἴτιος is familiar to Aristophanes.

1. A very useful article might be formed under the name of *Errores Dawesiani*. I could not say of Dawes, what some one pointedly said of our great Aristarchus, but too bitterly against the “learned Theban” of Emmanuel,—“One may learn more from Bentley when he is wrong, than from Barnes when he is



right." And yet beyond a doubt, the detection of ingenious error in clever men affords instruction as well as amusement, if properly considered. The quick may learn modesty, and the slow may derive encouragement, from the very same lesson.

Ἡμῖν δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄξιος τιμῆς, γύναι,  
Θανὼν ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ. Hecub. 313.

"Verte, *Dignus Achilles, qui a nobis honorem accipiat.*"  
Vide R. P. ad locum: et Elmsleium ad Acharn. 633.

—— ἄροισθε  
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις. Sept. c. Theb. 304, 5.

Such is the happy and certain emendation of Dr. Blomfield, who thus supports it: "Constructio verbi ἄροισθε, quæ e rarioribus est, scribas fefellit. Æschylus Homerum pro more respicit. Iliad. Δ. 94.

Τλαίης κεν Μενελάω ἐπιπροέμεν ταχὺν ἰόν·  
Πᾶσι δέ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο."

A similar passage occurs in the Iliad, 1. 303. vid. Heyn. in loc.

2. For the benefit of those young scholars to whom this Syntax may perhaps seem strange, I shall collect instances in number and variety sufficient to render it at once familiar and clear.

1. ὥς ἄξιος εἶη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. Xenoph. Mem. ad init.

2. ἔργῳ μὲν ἡμῖν οἷδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.  
Funeral Oration of Plato, ad init.

3. Τρωσὶν δ' αὖ μετόπισθε γερούσιον ὄρκον ἔλωμαι. Iliad. X. 119.

4. Δέξατό οἱ σκῆπτρον πατρώϊον ἄφθιτον αἰεῖ. Ibid. B. 186.

5. Πόσον πρίωμαί σοι τὰ χοιρίδια; λέγε. Acharn. 777.

6. Ὠνήσομαί σοι. Ibid. 780.

7. Κλῦθί μοι, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἀτρυτώνη. Iliad. E. 115.

8. Χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Αἴδαο δόμοισι. Ibid. Ψ. 179.

9. ὦ Πελίου θύγατερ,  
 Χαίρουσά μοι ἐν Αἴδα δόμοισι  
 Τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον οἰκητέυοις. *Alcest.* 437—9.

I would translate the last two passages thus: *Take my blessing, and farewell.* In the other instances, the proper rendering will be, *at me, of me, at my hands.*

It is a mode of speaking, to which the old English and the modern Scottish afford parallels in plenty.

1. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? *Job* ii. 10.

2. Ask at Moses and the Prophets. *Logan, Sermons.*

3. Blithe would I battle, for the right  
 To ask one question at the sprite.

*Sir Walter Scott, Marmion.*

Before concluding, let me be allowed to suggest, that from what has been stated above, Brunck's translation of the passage in the *Electra* of Sophocles may derive some colour and countenance of support. I am inclined to adopt it as right.

Τίνι γάρ ποτ' ἂν, ὦ φιλία γενέθλα,  
 πρόσφορον ἀκούσαιμ' ἔπος,  
 τίνι χρονοῦντι καίρια;

*A Quo enim unquam, cara progenies, audire possim aliquod  
 conveniens mihi?* *Mus. Crit.* No. IV, pp. 519—535.

## 1. Articulus cum propriis nominibus.

Articulum raro propriis nominibus præfigunt Tragicæ nisi propter emphasin quandam, aut initio sententiæ, ubi particula inseritur, ut infra 522, Suppl. 129. In Sophoclis Phil. 1357. πῶς τῷ παυόλει παυδὶ τοῦ Λαερτίου; Aldus et MSS. recte τῷ.—Ib. 677. Τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων ποτέ τοῦ Διός.—Omittunt τοῦ Ald. et MSS. Lege τῶν. Raro, dicebam, non enim nunquam, ut statuere videtur Valckenærius ad hunc locum.—Porson. ad Phœn. 145.

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## 2. Neutra pluralia cum verbo plurali.

Quantum equidem judicare possum, veteres Attici hanc licentiam, si scilicet licentia appellanda est, ut plurale verbum neutri plurali subjicerent, nunquam usurpabant, nisi ubi de animantibus ageretur. Porson. ad Hec. 1141.

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## 3. Verba duo diversos casus regentia.

Græci scilicet, cum verba duo, diversos casus regentia, ad idem nomen reque referantur, ne nomen proprium aut pronomen minus iterum repetatur, in utrovis regimine semel ponunt, altero omisso. Porson. ad Med. 731.

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## 4. Verba quorum futura sunt formæ mediæ

Ἄ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε, θαυμάσει κλύων.

Θαυμάσης E. Θαυμάσεις P. Lasc. Med. Θαυμάζω futurum habet θαυμάσεται, non θαυμάσει. Multa sunt verba, quæ futura formæ mediæ, nusquam autem activæ, apud Atticos saltem, adsciscant: quod ut exemplis confirmem, verbis ἀκούω, παύω, σιωπῶ, ἄνω, βῶω, ἀναστάναι, θνήσκειν, μένειν, κλέω, γνέω, futura

sunt ἀκούσομαι, σιγήσομαι, σιωπήσομαι, ἴσομαι, βοήσομαι, ἀμαρτήσομαι, θανοῦμαι, πεσοῦμαι, κλαύσομαι, πλεύσομαι, πνέυσομαι. Alia hujusmodi non pauca reperies, quibus futurum formæ activæ aut nunquam aut rarissime tribuebant Attici.

Monk. ad Alcest. v. 158.

—A verbo utique ὀμνύμι formæ activæ futurum apud Atticos nullum est. Sic medio duntaxat utebantur, crasin itidem summa adhibentes ὀμοῦμαι.

Dawes. Misc. Crit. p. 578.

### 5. Formæ futurorum passive significantium.

Notandum tironibus, quatuor esse apud Græcos formas futurorum passive significantium. Exempla rem apertam facient.

Primi igitur generis esse ponamus τιμήσομαι, στυγήσομαι, λέξομαι:

Secundi, quod Paulo post Futuri nomine distinguunt Grammatici, βεβλήσομαι, γεγράψομαι:

Tertii, βληθήσομαι, ἀπαλλαχθήσομαι:

Quarti, quod apud Tragicos rarius est, ἀπαλλαγήσομαι, φανήσομαι.

Primæ formæ, cui Futuri medii titulum dederunt Grammatici, usus passivus Atticis maxime placuit. Vide Hemsterhusium ad Thom. Mag. p. 852. Exempla horum futurorum passive significantium, quæ inter Tragicorum lectionem enotavi, exscribam. Λέξομαι. Hec. 901. Alc. 332. Iph. T. 1047. Herc. F. 852. Soph. Œd. C. 1186.

Τιμήσομαι. Frag. Eur. Erechth. l. 54. Soph. Antig. 210. Æsch. Agam. 590.

Στερήσομαι. Eur. Electr. 310. Hipp. 1453. Soph. Elect. 1210. Antig. 890.

Κηρύξομαι. Phœn. 1646.

Ἀλώσομαι. Andr. 190. Soph. Œd. T. 576. Œd. Col. 1034. Ant. 46.

Ἑάσομαι. Iph. A. 331.



Μισήσομαι. Tr. 663. Ion. 623.

Στυγήσομαι. Soph. Œd. T. 672.

Δηλώσομαι. Soph. Œd. C. 581.

Βουλεύσομαι. Æsch. Theb. 204.

Ἐνέξομαι. Orest. 509.

Ἄρξομαι. Æsch. Pers. 591.

Διδάξομαι. Helen. 1446. Soph. Ant. 726.

Ἐπιτάξομαι. Supp. 521. (531).

Καλῶμαι. Soph. El. 971.

Ὀνειδιῶμαι. Œd. T. 1500.

In Heracl. 335. *μνημονεύσεται χάρις* reposuit Elmsleius. Alia quædam hujusmodi in Tragicorum reliquiis deprehendit lector. Apud ceteros Atticos frequentissima sunt. Vid. Pierson. ad Mœrin. pp. 13, 367. Monk. ad Hippol. v. 1458.

## 6. Ἴνα, ὥς, ὅφρα cum indicativo conjuncta.

Satis notum est particulas Ἴνα, ὥς, ὅπως, ὅφρα cum indicativi temporibus præteritis aliquando conjungi. Hujus vero constructionis rationem in gratiam tironum explicabo. Quum significare vellent Græci aliquid *futurum fuisse*, si *alia quædam res contigisset*, tum conjunctiones istas præfigebant *indicativi temporibus*, prout res postularet, imperfecto, aoristis, plusquam perfecto. Et hæc sane structura ab usibus particularum ὥς, Ἴνα, &c. cum *subjunctivo* et *optativo* prorsus distinguenda est. Dixissent quidem,

Χρὴ πρόσπολον οὐ περᾶν—ἵν' ἔχωσι μήτε, κ. τ. λ.

—*that they might be able neither, &c.*

Dixissent etiam,

Οὐκ εἶων πρόσπολον περᾶν—ἵν' ἔχοιεν μήτε, κ. τ. λ.

—*that they might be able neither, &c.*

Diversa autem ratio est sententiæ,

Χρὴν πρόσπολον οὐ περᾶν—ἵν' εἶχον μήτε, κ. τ. λ.

—*in which case they would be able neither, &c.*

Exempla quædam apponam, quibus hæc syntaxis, Atticorum fere propria, melius percipiatur.

——— Ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς ἀκουούσης ἔτ' ἦν  
Πηγῆς δι' ὧτων φραγμός, οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην  
Τὸ μὴ 'ποκλείσαι τοῦ μὲν ἄθλιον δέμας,  
'Ιν' ἣ τυφλός τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν. Æd. Tyr. 1386.

Εἰ γάρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν, νέρθεν θ' Λῖδου  
Τοῦ νεκροδέγμονος, εἰς ἀπέραντον  
Τάρταρον ἦκεν, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις  
Ἀγρίοις πελάσας, ὡς μήτε θεός,  
Μήτε τίς ἄλλος τοῖσδ' ἐγεγήθει. Monk. Hippol. v. 613.

'Ιν' ἣ τυφλός τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν.—

Sensus est: *Utinam aurium sensum occludere possem, ut etiam surdus essem.* Qua significatione recte dicitur ἴν' ἣ τυφλός τε. Quoties enim prior sententiæ pars non quid factum sit, sed quid fieri oportuerit, designat, particulæ ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως indicativum post se adsciscunt, modo de re præsentī aut præterita sermo sit. Nam de re futura adhibetur subjunctivus aut optativus.

Elmsley in *Ædip. Tyr.* v. 1389.

7. Ὡς, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅφρα, μὴ cum optativo et subjunctivo conjuncta.

Notissima quidem Dawesii regula est, *Mis. Crit.* p. 85, *optativum* cum particulis ὥς, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅφρα, μὴ, verbis non nisi *præteritæ* significationis; *subjunctivum* verbis non nisi *præsentis* vel *futuræ* significationis subungi. Observavit autem Porsonus ad *Phæn.* 68, hanc regulam non videri per omnia servasse Tragicos; conferens *Hec.* 1128—1133. Nonnunquam sane, licet præcedat verbum *præteriti* temporis, effectus tamen, qui petebatur, aut *præsens* est aut *futurus*; ideoque verbum *subjunctivum* postulatur. Cum igitur nondum mortuus esset Hippolytus, dixit Diana

——— ὥς ὑπ' εὐκλείας θάνῃ,  
—*that he may die with a good reputation.*

Alterum ὥς...θάνατοι vertendum esset, *that he might die, &c.*

Monk. Hippol. 1294.

8. Οὐ μὴ cum futuro prohibendi significatione.

Οὐ μὴ φλυναρήσεις ἔχων, ὦ Ξανθία. Ran. 525.

Ratio hujus constructionis talis esse videtur. Nemo nescit οὐ μενεῖς cum interrogatione idem significare quod μένε vel μεῖνον. Nostra etiam lingua eo sensu dicitur, *Will you not stay?* Græce vero non solum οὐ μενεῖς dicitur, sed etiam οὐ μὴ μενεῖς contrario sensu. Hoc enim μὴ μένε vel μὴ μεῖνης significat. Hunc quidem futuri usum nostra lingua nescit. Non enim dicere licet, *Will you not not stay?* Hoc exemplo tamen facile intelligitur, qua ratione Græci, qui particulas οὐ et μὴ sæpe ita conjungunt, ut altera alterius vim non tollat, οὐ μὴ μενεῖς eodem sensu dixerint, quo οὐκ ἄπει, *non abibis?* Μὴ μένειν enim valet ἀπιέναι.

Simili ratione Jasonis verba,

——Οὐ μὴ δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις; κ. τ. λ.

accipienda sunt quasi dixerit οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις. A particula negativa μὴ non pendent nisi tria verba δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις: ab οὐ vero tota sententia, quam interrogationis nota primus terminavi. Caveant autem tirones ne Dawesium, Brunckium, aliosque secuti, οὐ μὴ μενεῖς cum οὐ μὴ μεῖνης confundant. Illud μὴ μένε vel μὴ μεῖνης significat, ut modo dixi, hoc οὐ μενεῖς.

Elmsley in Medeam, v. 1120—4.

*Exigit sermonis ratio ut vocolæ οὐ μὴ vel cum futuro indicativo, vel cum aoristo altero formæ subjunctivæ construantur.* Dawesius, Mis. Crit. p. 222.

Hæc ille. Mirarer equidem, si bene Græcum esset οὐ μὴ μάθης, solæcum vero οὐ μὴ διδάξης. Miror etiam Dawesium non vidisse, exemplum quod dedit primum longe diversum esse a secundo. In verbis,

Οὐ μὴ σ' περιόψομ' ἀπελθόντ'. Ran. 509.

Particula μὴ omnino πλεονάζει. In illis vero apud Medeam 1151,

Οὐ μὴ δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις,

sensus non est οὐκ ἔσει, sed μὴ ἴσθι. Meam de hac quæstione sententiam sæpius exposui. Vide in primis Censuræ Trim. t. vii. p. 454. Οὐ μὴ cum futuro vetantis est, cum subjunctivo vero negantis. Οὐ μὴ γράφεις igitur valet μὴ γράφε aut μὴ γράφης, οὐ μὴ γράφης vero οὐ γράφεις. Elmsley in Œd. Col. v. 177.

## 9. Οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐπεύζονται.

Οὐ μὴ quod sæpe observavimus, cum futuro indicativo formæ activæ vel mediæ construitur. Ib. 1024.

## 10. Εἰ μὴ—ἐάν μὴ.

Ἐπειτ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δειν' ἐπηπείλῃς ἔπη,  
Εἰ μὴ φανείην πᾶν τὸ συντυχὸν πάθος.

Mr. Porson (ad Hec. 842) says of this passage: *Facillimam emendationem φανείη pro φανείην prætervidere viri docti, quam tamen adsumere potuerat e MS. Brunck. Φανείην contra linguam et metrum est, φανοίην contra linguam. Brunck, who first admitted φανοίην into the text, believed it to be the optative of the second aorist ἔφανον. In this acceptance, φανοίην is certainly contra linguam. The second aorist ἔφανον does not exist; and if it existed, its optative would be φάνοιμι. But if we agree with Butmann, as quoted by Erfurdt, in considering φανοίην as the optative of the contracted future φανῶ, it may safely be pronounced a legitimate Greek word. We prefer φανοίην to φανείην for the following reason—the difference between εἰ μὴ φανοίην, and εἰ μὴ φανείην is the same as the difference between εἰ μὴ φανῶ, and ἐάν μὴ φανῇ. Εἰ μὴ φανοίην has the same relation to εἰ μὴ φανῶ, as εἰ μὴ φανείην has to ἐάν μὴ φανῇ. Now it appears to us, that the active future is rather more proper in this place than the passive subjunctive. We would rather say,*

*I will burn your house if you do not put ten pounds in a certain place, than*

*I will burn your house unless ten pounds are put in a certain place. Elmsley ad Sophocl. Aj. v. 312. Mus. Crit. No. III.*

## 11. Ὅπως vel ὅπως μὴ.

Plerumque quidem ὅπως vel ὅπως μὴ cum secunda persona, aliquando cum tertia construitur, rarius cum prima.

Porson, ad Hec. 398



12. Imperativus aoristi post *μή* non solet adhiberi.

—— Μὴδὲ τοῖς σαντοῦ κακοῖς  
Τὸ θῆλυ συνθεῖς ὧδε πᾶν μέμψη γένος.

Recte dicitur *μή μέμψου*, *μή μέμψη*, non recte dicitur *μή μέμψη*. Jam *μέμψαι*, non est illud quidem prorsus solæcum, sed adeo rarum, ut similia ex paucis tantum locis, eaque ut singularia, enotarint Grammatici. Porson. in Hec. v. 1165.

13. Πρὶν cum subjunctivo omisso *ἂν*.

Δίκη γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ὀφθαλμοῖς βροτῶν,  
"Οστις, πρὶν ἀνδρὸς σπλάγχχνον ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς,  
Στυγεῖ δεδορκῶς———

Sæpe enim *πρὶν* cum subjunctivo jungunt Tragici, omisso *ἂν*, quod in sermone familiari semper requiritur. Porson. ad Med. 222.—Subjunctivum non usurpant Tragici, nisi in priori membro, quod hic est *ὅστις στυγεῖ δεδορκῶς*, adsit negandi aut prohibendi significatio. Ita noster, v. 277.

—— Κούκ ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους πάλιν,  
Πρὶν ἂν σε γαίας τερμόνων ἔξω βάλω.

Idem de optativo statuendum est.

"Εδοξέ μοι μή σίγα, πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι,  
Τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι, προστυχόντι τῶν ἴσων. Phil. 551.

Interdum abest particula negativa, sed ita tamen ut maneat sensus negativus.

Ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν  
Ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν  
Ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβῆς φανῇ. Ant. 175.

Idem ac si dixisset *οὐκ ἂν ἐκμάθοις*. Negativam particulam in adjectivo *ἀμήχανον* includi vix opus est ut moneam.

—Minime autem prætermittendum est, pro subjunctivo haud raro usurpari infinitivum, licet subjunctivus pro infinitivo nunquam, quod sciam, usurpetur. Noster, v. 92.

Οὐδὲ παύσεται  
Χόλου, σάφ' οἶδα, πρὶν κατασκήψαι τινα.

Elmsley in Euripidis Medeam. v. 221. Mus. Crit. No. V. p. 11.

14. Ἄν neque cum præsenti neque perfecto indicativo conjungitur.

—— Οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ πείσαιμί σε,

certum equidem habeo, veteres particulam ἂν neque cum præsenti neque perfecto indicativo conjunxisse: et olim legendum conjiciebam,

Οὐκ οἶδά γ' εἰ π. σ.

Hodie vero retinendum puto vulgatum et hic et in Medea (v. 937), et construendum, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα εἰ πείσαιμι ἂν σε, quod, utcunque durum, defendere videtur locus Aristoph. Av. 1017, ab Elmsleio in egregiâ ipsius annotatione in Medæ versum Mus. Crit. Tom. II. Part. I. Monk. Alcestis, v. 48.

15. Μὰ Δία, οὐ μὰ Δία, νὴ Δία.

Post jusjurandum, qualia sunt, νὴ Δία, νὴ τὸν Δία, μὰ Δία, οὐ μὰ Δία, νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, et cetera hujusmodi, nunquam sequitur particula ΓΕ, nisi alio vocabulo interposito.

Aristophan. Plut. 134. 144.

Καὶ νὴ Δί' εὐχονται γε πλουτεῖν ἄντικρυς.

Καὶ νὴ Δί', εἴ τί γ' ἐστὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ καλόν.

Porson. Adversaria, p. 33.

16. Πρὸς σ' ὅτι σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι. Œd. Col. v. 250.

Observe syntaxin. Græcis solenne est in juramento aliquid inter Præpositionem et Casum ejus interponere. Sic Euripides in Hippol. v. 605.

Ναὶ πρὸς σέ [ἴμο πρὸς σε] τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς εὐωλένου.

Atque eorum imitatione dixit Virgilius Æn. lib. iv. v. 314.

—— Per ego has lacrymas, dextramque tuam, te.

Elmsley ad Œd. Col. Addend. p. 361.

17. Μενέλαε, σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω, δράσω τε πρὸς. Orest. 614.

Cum subito sermonem ad alium ab alio convertimus, primo nomen ponimus, deinde pronomen, deinde particulam.

Porson. ad. l. c.

## 18. Copula enclitica.

Copula enclitica nunquam apud veteres Græcos, opinor, præpositionem sequitur, nisi ea sententiæ membrum inchoat. Potuit igitur Atheniensis dicere, ἐν τε πόλεος ἀρχαῖς vel ἐν πόλεος τε ἀρχαῖς, non πόλεος ἐν τ' ἀρχαῖς. Ib. 887.

## 19. Δέ—γε.

Ubi persona secunda prioris sententiam auget aut corrigit, post δέ, modo interposito, modo non interposito alio verbo, sequitur particula γε. Ib. 1234.

## 20. Καὶ—δὲ.

Conjunctiones istas in eodem sententiæ membro haud credo occurrere apud istius ævi (sc. Tragicorum) scriptores, nisi per librariorum errores. Porson. ad Orest. 614.

## 21. Γέ τε—τε γε—γε μὲν—ἀλλὰ μὴν.

Γέ τε nunquam conjungunt Attici. Porson. ad Med. 863.

Τε, vel γε nunquam secunda pedis trisyllabi syllaba esse potest. Porson. Præf. ad Hec. xv.

## 22. Οὐ μὴν ἐλίξας γ' ἀμφὶ σὸν χεῖρας γόνυ.

sæpe additur γε in eadem sententia cum ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ μὴν, οὐδὲ μὴν, οὐ μὴν, sed nunquam, nisi interposito alio verbo, ut breviter monui ad Hec. 403. Porson. ad Phœniss. v. 1638.

## 23. ποῖ—ποῦ—πᾶ—πῇ γῆς—ὅπη γῆς.

Ποῦ quietem notat; ποῖ motum; πᾶ in utramvis partem sumitur, ut monuit Scholiastes ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 447.

Porson. ad Hec. 1062.

## Πέμπων ὅποι γῆς πυνθάνοιθ' ἰδρυμένους.

Ὅποι γῆς P. E. Πῇ γῆς et ὅπη γῆς ex Atticorum scriptis prorsus ejicienda esse censeo. Apud Æsch. *Prom.* 566. ubi vulgo legitur ὅπη γῆς, ὅποι γῆς præbet cod. Medicæus. Nostro loco ὅποι accipiendum quasi esset ἐκεῖσε ὅπου, ut verbis utar Porsoni ad Hec. 1062.

AN  
INTRODUCTION  
TO THE PRINCIPAL  
GREEK TRAGIC AND COMIC METRES  
IN  
SCANSION, STRUCTURE, AND ICTUS;  
By JAMES TATE, M.A.



THE Introduction here offered to the use of young Students may claim one merit at least, that of being unquestionably the first attempt of the kind. If, with great truth, it be added that on the compilation and composition of the work a large measure of time and painful thought has been bestowed, that will be a farther plea for its candid and liberal reception with all intelligent readers.

The Author is duly aware, that in the plan here (generally) adopted of stating the approved results of the inquiries of others, he has foregone several opportunities to recommend favorite researches and remarks of his own. Plain practical utility has been his leading object: he might else, in developing the present state of metrical knowledge, have interspersed some instructive and even amusing facts in its history and progress up to the present time.

Many things now familiar to young Academics (thanks to the labors of Dawes and Burney and Parr and Porson and Elmsley) were utterly unknown to scholars like Bentley and to Scaliger before him: and though it might seem an ungracious task, it would not be void either of pleasure or of profit to give select specimens of errors in metre and syntax committed by those illustrious men.

If Attic literature is even now in the process of being delivered from one of its greatest pests, the *emendandi scabies*, nothing could better illustrate the value of those critical labors by which the deliverance has been so far achieved, than to exhibit scholars, otherwise so justly eminent, wasting their fine talents and erudition on emendations crude and unprofitable, which in the present day could not possibly be hazarded.

AN

## INTRODUCTION

TO THE PRINCIPAL

## GREEK TRAGIC AND COMIC METRES

IN SCANSION, STRUCTURE, AND ICTUS.

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THE principal verses of a regular kind are Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapestic.

The Scansion in all of them is by dipodias or sets of two feet. Each set is called a Metre.

The structure of verse is such a division of each line by the words composing it as forms a movement most agreeable to the ear.

The metrical ictus, occurring twice in each dipodia, seems to have struck the ear in pairs, being more strongly marked in the one place than in the other. Accordingly, each pair was once marked by the percussion of the musician's foot. *Pede ter percusso* is Horace's phrase when speaking of what is called Iambic Trimeter.

Those syllables which have the metrical ictus are said also to be in *arsi*, and those which have it not, in *thesi*, from the terms ἄρσις and θέσις: the latter is sometimes called the *debilis positio*.

### I.—*The Tragic Trimeter.*

1. The Iambic Trimeter Acatalectic, (i. e. consisting of three entire Metres,) as used by the Tragic writers, may have in every place an Iambus, or, as equivalent, a Tribrach in every place but the last: in the odd places, 1st, 3d, and 5th, it may have a Spondee, or, as equivalent, in the 1st and 3d a Dactyl, in the 1st only it may have an Anapest.

This initial Anapest of the Trimeter is hardly perceptible in its effect on the verse: in the short Anacreontic,

Μεσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὦραις  
Στρέφεται ὅτ' Ἄρκτος ἤδη, κ. τ. λ.

it evidently produces a livelier movement.

### *A Table of the Tragic Trimeter.*

1	2	3	4	5	6
υ	—	υ	—	υ	—
υ	υ	υ	υ	υ	υ
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	υ	—	υ	—	—
υ	υ	—	—	—	—

Verses containing pure Iambi (*a*), Tribrachs in 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th places (*b, c, d, e, f*), Spondees in 1st, 3d, and 5th (*g*), Dactyls in 1st and 3d (*h, i*), Anapest in 1st (*j*), are given by Gaisford in his *Hephæstion*, p. 241, or may be read in the following lines of the *Œdipus Rex*:

- a.* 8. ὁ παᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.  
*b.* 112. πότερα δ' ἐν οἴκοις ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς ὁ Λαῖος.  
*c.* 26. φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις, τόκοισί τε.  
*d.* 568. πῶς οὖν τόθ' οὗτος ὁ σοφὸς οὐκ ἦντα τάδε;  
*e.* 826. μητρὸς ζυγῆναι, καὶ πατέρα κατακτανεῖν.  
*f.* 1496. τί γὰρ κακῶν ἄπεστι; τὸν πατέρα πατήρ.  
*g.* 30. Ἄιδης στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζειται.  
*h.* 270. μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἀνιέναι τινά.  
*i.* 257. ἀνδρός γ' ἀρίστου βασιλέως τ' ὀλωλότος.  
*j.* 18. ἱερῆς· ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός· οἶδε τ' ἠθέων . . .

2. The last syllable in each verse appears to be indifferently short or long: and even where one line ends with a short vowel, a vowel is often found at the beginning of the next, as in *Œd. R.* vv. 2, 3; 6, 7; 7, 8.

Sometimes, however, one verse with its final vowel elided passes by scansion into the next, as *Œd. Col.* vv. 1164, 5.

σοὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν μολόντ'  
αἰτεῖν, ἀπελθεῖν τ' ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δεῦρ' ὁδοῦ.

The case is thus restricted by Porson, ad Med. 510. *Vocalis in fine versus elidi non potest, nisi syllaba longa præcedat.* (On this curious subject consult Hermann's *Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ*, Lips. 1816. Glasg. 1817. pp. 36 = 22, 3.)

3. Besides the initial Anapest (restricted, however, as below <sup>1</sup>) in common words, in certain proper names, which could not else be introduced, the Anapest is admitted also into the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th places of the verse.

(2d.) Iph. A. 416. ἦν Ἰφιγένειαν ὠνόμαζες ἐν δόμοις.

(3d.) Œd. Col. 1317. τέταρτον Ἴππομέδοντ' ἀπέστειλεν πατήρ.

(4th.) Œd. R. 285. μάλιστα Φοῖβῳ Τειρεσίαν, παρ' οὗ τις ἄν.

(5th.) Antig. 11. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων.

In all these the two short syllables of the Anapest are inclosed betwixt two longs in the same word, and show the strongest as well as the most frequent case for the admission of such a licence. (The nature of this licence will be considered in a note (C) ch. xvii. on the admission of Anapests into the Iambic verse of Comedy.)

In the few instances where the proper name begins with an Anapest, as *Μενέλαος*, *Πριάμῳ*, &c. those names might easily by a different position come into the verse like other words similarly constituted. Elmsley, in his celebrated critique on Porson's *Hecuba*, ed. 1808, considers all such cases as corrupt. (Vid. *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. xix. p. 69.) Porson's judgment seems to lean the other way.—At all events, the whole Anapest must be contained in the same word. (Vide *Hecub.* Porsoni, London, 1808. p. xxiii. = p. 18. Euripid. Porsoni a Scholefield, Cantabr. 1826. To these editions only any references hereafter will be regularly made.)

## II.—*The Comic Trimeter,*

besides the initial Anapest which it takes with less restriction, admits the Anapest of common words in all the other places but the last: it admits also the Dactyl in 5th.

Vesp. 979. κατὰβα, κατὰβα, | κατὰβα, κατὰβα, | καταβήσομαι.

Plut. 55. πυθοίμεθ' ἄν | τὸν χρησμὸν ἢ μῶν ὅτι νοεῖ.

1. This Anapest in the Tragic is generally included in the same word; except where the line begins either with an article or with a preposition followed immediately by its case. Monk, *Mus. Crit.* I. p. 63.

Philoct. 754. τὸν ἴσον χρόνον . . .

Orest. 888. ἐπὶ τῷδε δ' ἡγόρεον . .

Iph. A. 646. παρ' ἐμοὶ . . .



In the resolved or trisyllabic feet one limitation obtains: the concurrence of — ∪ ∪ or ∪ ∪ ∪ and ∪ ∪ — in that order never takes place. The necessity for this will hereafter be seen, note (A), Ch. xv.

*A Table of Scansion for the Trimeter both  
Tragic and Comic.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	
∪ —	∪ —	∪ —	∪ —	∪ —	∪ ∪	
∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪		
— —		— —		— —		
— ∪ ∪		— ∪ ∪				
∪ ∪ —						
Proprii	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	Nominis.	
Apud				— ∪ ∪	Comicos.	
	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —		

*III.—The Structure of the Iambic Trimeter*

is decidedly Trochaic.

1. The two principal divisions of this verse, which give the Trochaic movement to the ear, and continue it more or less to the close, take place after two feet and a half (M), or after three feet and a half (N), with the technical name of *Cæsura*. One or other of these divisions may be considered as generally necessary to the just constitution of the verse, the form M however being more frequent than the form N, nearly as four to one:

(M.) Œd. R. 2. *τίνος ποθ' ἔδρας | τάσδε μοι θοάζετε,*

(N.) ——— 3. *ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν | ἐξεστεμμένοι;*

The four cases of the *Cæsura* (M) and the eight cases of the *Cæsura* (N), as exemplified by Porson, are given below from the *Suppl. ad Præfat.* pp. xxvi. xxvii. = 21, 22<sup>1</sup>.

1. Nunc de cæsuris videamus. Senarius, ut notum est, duas præcipuas cæsuras habet, penthemimerim, et hepthemimerim, id est, alteram quam voco *A*, quæ tertium pedem, alteram, quæ quartum dividat. Prioris cæsurae quatuor sunt genera: primum est, quod in brevi syllaba fit; secundum, quod in brevi post elisionem; tertium in longa, quartum in longa post elisionem.

Hec. 5. (*A a*) *Κίνδυνος ἔσχε | ὁρὶ πεσεῖν Ἑλληνικῷ.*

11. (*A b*) *Πατήρ ἦν' εἴ ποτ' | Ἰλίου τεύχε' ἰέσοι.*

2. (*A c*) *Λιπὼν ἦν' Ἀιδης | χωρὶς ῥέκισται θεῶν.*

42. (*A d*) *Καὶ τεύχεται τοῦδ' | οὐδ' αἰδώρητος φίλων.*

Alterius cæsurae, quam voco *B*, plura sunt genera.

Primum.

2. The two minor divisions, which give or continue the Trochaic movement, frequently occur after the first foot and a half (L) of the verse, and before the last foot and a half (R), called the final Cretic (- ∪ -).

(L.) Œd. R. 120. τὸ ποῖον· | ἐν γὰρ πόλλ' ἂν ἐξέυροι μαθεῖν,

(R.) ——— 121. ἀρχὴν βραχεῖαν εἰ λάβοιμεν | ἐλπίδος.

The former of these divisions (L), though not necessary, is always agreeable. The latter (R), requiring ∪ - and rejecting - - in 5th, takes place not only in such a simple structure of words as that above given, but under circumstances more complex, which will be explained in note (B) ch. xvi., on the Cretic Termination. This delicacy of structure was discovered by Porson, who gave the name of *pausa* to it, p. xxxii. = 27.

The following lines may serve to exhibit all the divisions connected with the structure of the verse:

	(L)	(M)	(N)	(R)
Œd. R. 81.	σωτῆρι	βαίη	λαμπρὸς	ὥσπερ   ὄυματι.
Prom. V. 1005.	ἡ πατρὶ	φῦναι	Ζηνὶ	πιστὸν   ἄγγελον.

4. When the line is divided in medio versu with the elision of a short vowel in the same word, or in the little words added to it, such as δέ, μέ, σέ, γέ, τέ, that division is called by Porson the *quasi-cæsura*, p. xxvii. = 22.

Œd. R. 779. ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐν δειπνοῖς μ' | ὑπερπλησθεὶς μέθης.

Hecub. 355. γυναιξὶ παρθένοισ τ' | ἀπόβλεπτος μέτα.

Aj. Fl. 435. τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ | ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ.

Hecub. 387. κεντεύετε, μὴ φεῖδεσθ' | ἐγὼ "τεκον Πάριν.

Verses of this latter formation Elmsley ingeniously defends, by an hypothesis that the vowel causing the elision might be treated as

Primum, cum in fine disyllabi vel hyperdisyllabi occurrit sine elisione; secundum, post elisionem; tertium, cum brevis syllaba est enclitica vox; quartum, cum non est enclitica, sed talis quæ sententiam inchoare nequeat; quintum, cum vox ista ad præcedentia quidem refertur, potest vero inchoare sententiam; sextum, cum syllaba brevis post elisionem fit. Duo alia cæsurae hujus genera ceteris minus jucunda sunt, ubi sensus post tertium pedem suspenditur, et post distinctionem sequitur vox monosyllaba, vel sine elisione, vel per elisionem facta.

Hec. 1. (B a) Ἦκω νεκρῶν κενθμῶνα | καὶ σκότου πύλας.

— 246. (B b) Πολλῶν λόγων εὐρήμαθ' | ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν.

— 266. (B c) Κεῖνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν | εἰς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει.

— 319. (B d) Τύμβον δὲ βουλόμην ἂν | ἀξιούμενον.

Soph. El. 530. (B e) Ἐπεὶ πατὴρ οὔτος σὸς | ὃν θρηνεῖς αἰεί.

— Phil. 1304. (B f) Ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τὸδ' | ἐστὶν οὔτε σοί.

Æsch. Theb. 1055. (B g) Ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ | τημήσεις τάφω;

Soph. El. 1038. (B h) Ὅταν γὰρ εὖ φρονῇς, τὸδ' | ἡγήσει σὺ νῶν.

appertaining to the precedent word, and be so pronounced as to produce a kind of hepthemimeral cæsura (in this treatise marked by the letter N):

τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖα | ῥιστεύσας στρατοῦ.

Vid. Notes on the Ajax, Mus. Crit. I. p. 477.

5. Several instances, however, are found of the line divided in medio versu without any such elision, a worse structure still.

Aj. Fl. 1091. Μενέλαε, | μὴ γνώμας | ὑποστήσας | σοφάς.

Pers. 509 = 515. Θρήκην | περάσαντες | μόγισ | πολλῶ πόνῳ.

On this latter verse vid. the Note of Blomfield, and Hermann's remark in the work already quoted, p. 110 = 70.

6. But though the verse sometimes does occur with its 3d and 4th feet constructed as in the instances above, yet there is a structure of the words which the Tragic writers never admit; that structure which divides the line by the dipodias of scansion like the artificial verse preserved by Athenæus:

Σὲ τὸν βόλοισ | νιφοκτύποις | δυσχείμερον.

The following line, scarcely less objectionable as it stood in the former editions of Æschylus, Pers. 501 = 507,

Στρατὸς περᾶ | κρυσταλλοπήγα | διὰ πόρον,

has been corrected by an easy transposition:

Κρυσταλλοπήγα | διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περᾶ.

Vide Porson, u. s. pp. xxix, xxx. = 24, 25.

#### IV.—*The Structure of the Comic Trimeter*

1. frequently admits such lines as are divided in medio versu without the quasi-cæsura, and, though somewhat rarely, such also as divide the line by the dipodias of scansion.

Plutus, 68. ἀπολῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον | κάκιστα τουτονί.

Acharn. 183. σπονδὰς φέρεις | τῶν ἀμπέλων | τετμημένων;

2. It readily admits also a Spondee in the 5th foot without any regard to the law of Cretic termination, as

Plut. 2. Δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦντος | δεσπότην.

—— 29. Κακῶς ἔπραττον καὶ πένης ἦν. | Οἰδά τοι.

—— 63. Δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν | τοῦ θεοῦ.

3. And even when a Dactyl occupies the 5th foot, the modes of concluding the verse which usually occur are those most directly unlike to the Tragic conclusion: as

Plut. 55. *πυθοίμεθ' ἂν τὸν χρησμὸν ἡμῶν, | ὅ τι νοεῖ.*

while forms of this kind are comparatively rare:

Plut. 822. *Ἐνδον μένειν ἦν· ἔδακνε γάρ | τὰ βλέφαρά μου.*

—— 1148. *Ἐπειτ' ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς θεοὺς | ἐνθάδε μενεῖς;*

### V.—*The Iambic Tetrameter Catalectic,*

1. peculiar to Comedy, consists of eight feet all but a syllable; or may be considered as two dimeters, of which the first is complete in the technical measure, the second is one syllable short of it.

This tetrameter line, the most harmonious of Iambic verses, is said to have its second dimeter catalectic to its first: the same mode of speaking prevails as to Trochaic and Anapestic tetrameters.

The table of scansion below, exhibiting all the admissible feet, is drawn up in every point agreeably to Porson's account of the feet separately allowable; except that Elmsley's plea for the admission (but very rarely) of  $\cup\cup-$  of a common word in 4th is here received as legitimate. See his able argument on that question, *Edinb. Rev.* u. s. p. 84.

2. In the resolved or trisyllabic feet one restriction obtains; that the concurrence of the feet  $-\cup\cup$  or  $\cup\cup\cup$  and  $\cup\cup-$  in that order never takes place; a rule which even in the freer construction of the Trimeter (Ch. ii.) is always strictly observed from its essential necessity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$	$\cup$
$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$		
$\cup\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup\cup$						
$-\cup$	$-\cup$	$-\cup$	$-\cup$	$-\cup$	$-\cup$		
$-\cup\cup$		$-\cup\cup$		$-\cup\cup$			
$-\cup\cup\cup$							
$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$	$\cup\cup$		
$\cup\cup-$	$\cup\cup-$	(P. E. $\cup\cup-$ )	(recipit.)				
		Proprii $\cup\cup-$	Nominis.			$\cup\cup-$	



3. From the first appearance of the scansional table here exhibited, it might be supposed that the varieties of this verse would be exceedingly numerous. Two considerations, however, for which we are indebted to the acuteness and diligence of Elmsley, show sufficient cause why the actual number of those varieties is comparatively small:

“All the trisyllabic feet which are admissible into Comic Iambics are employed with much greater moderation in the catalectic tetrameters than in the common trimeters.” Edinb. Rev. u. s. p. 83.

“The Comic Poets admit Anapests more willingly and frequently into 1st, 3d, and 5th places, than into the 2d, 4th, and 6th of the tetrameter.” Edinb. Rev. u. s. p. 87.

4. In the verses quoted below from Porson (xlili. = 38) examples of the less usual feet will be found: of (a) ∪ ∪ ∪ in 4th, of (b) ∪ ∪ – in 6th, and of (c) and (d) ∪ ∪ – proprii nominis in 4th and 7th.

The ∪ ∪ – (e) of a common word in 4th is given in deference to the judgment of Elmsley (Nub. 1059.):

(a.) *πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα γε τινὰ καθείσεν ἐγκαλύψας.*

(b.) *οὐχ ἦττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦντες. ἡλίθιος γὰρ ἦσθα.*

(c.) *Ἀχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς.*

(d.) *ἐγένετο, Μεγαλίππας ποιῶν, Φαίδρας τε, Πηνελόπην δέ.*

(e.) *πολλοῖς· ὁ γοῦν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβεν διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν.*

5. The structure generally agrees with the scansion, and divides the verse into two dimeters. In the *Plutus*, those lines which have this division are to those lines which divide the verse in the middle of a word or after an article &c. nearly as four to one:

*Plut. 257. 8. οὐκ οὐν ὁρᾷς ὁρμωμένους | ἡμᾶς πάλαι προθύμως.*

*ὥς εἰκὸς ἔστιν ἀσθενεῖς | γέροντας ἀνδρας ἥδη;*

—— 284. 5. *ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' αἶν κρύψαιμι· τὸν | Πλούτον γὰρ.*

*ὦ ὕδρες, ἥκει*

*ἄγων ὁ δεσπότης, ὃς ὕμᾶς πλουσίους ποιήσει.*

And very often the verse is even so constructed as to give a succession of Iambic dipodias separately heard:

Plut. 253, 4. ὦ πολλὰ δὴ | τῷ δεσπότῃ | ταῦτόν θύμον | φα-  
γόντες,  
ἄνδρες φίλοι—καὶ δημόται | καὶ τοῦ πονεῖν | ἐρασ-  
ταί.

After these pleasing specimens of the long Iambic, it is proper to state that the comedy from which they are taken exhibits in all respects a smoothness and regularity of versification unknown to the earlier plays of Aristophanes. (Elmsley, u. s. p. 83.)

N. B. Of the nature of that licence which admits the Anapest, whether more or less frequently, into any placé of the comic verse but the last some account may be reasonably demanded. A probable solution of the difficulty will be offered in the note (C), ch. xvii., subjoined.

## VI.—*The Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic of Tragedy,*

1. consists of eight feet all but a syllable, or may be considered as made up of two dimeters, of which the second is catalectic (vide ch. v. §. 1.) to the first.

Its separate feet are shown in the scansional table below; and the Dactyl of a proper name, admissible only in certain places, is marked by the letters P. N.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪
	∪    ∪	∪    ∪	∪    ∪	∪    ∪	∪    ∪	∪    ∪	∪    ∪	∪    ∪
		—    —		—    —		—    —		—    —
		∪    —		∪    —		∪    —		∪    —
P. N.	—    ∪	—    ∪	—    ∪		—    ∪	—    ∪		

The Dactyl of a proper name is admitted chiefly where its two short syllables are inclosed between two longs in the same word; very rarely where the word begins with them; under other circumstances, never.

Iph. A. 882. εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης | νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος.

———— 1331. πάντες Ἕλληνες, στρατὸς δὲ | Μυρμιδόνων οὐ σοὶ  
παρήν;

Orest. 1549. Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμήν, Πυλάδην τε | τὸν τὰδε ξυν-  
δρῶντά μοι.

On the Dactyl or Anapest of proper names in the Trochaic or Iambic verse of Tragedy a suggestion will be offered in the note (C) ch. xvii.

In the two following lines will be found specimens of the pure Trochaic verse and of the Trochaic Spondee in all its places :

Phœn. 631. ἀντιτάξομαι κτενώων σε. | κάμ' ἐ τοῦδ' ἔρως ἔχει.

— 600. κομπῶς εἶ, σπονδαῖς πεποιθώς, | αἶ σε σῶζουσιν θα-  
ρεύειν.

2. As to scansion, one limitation only obtains, that — — (or — — —) in 6th never precedes — — — in the 7th. Even in comedy a verse like the following is exceedingly rare : (R. P. xlviii. = 43.)

Οὔτε γὰρ ναυαγός, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται | φερόμενος.

whereas of — — or — — — in 6th preceding — — — in 7th instances in Tragic verse are not at all uncommon. (The following line exhibits also — — — in 1st and 5th.)

Phœn. 618. Ἀνόσιος πέφυκας ἀλλ' οὐ πατρίδος, ὥς σὺ, | πολέ-  
μιος.

3. In structure, the most important point is this ; that the first dimeter must be divided from the second after some word which allows a pause in the sense ; not after a preposition, for instance, or article belonging in syntax to the second dimeter. (The following lines exhibit also — — — in 2nd and 6th.)

Orest. 787. ὥς νῦν ἱκετεύσω με σῶσαι. | τό γε δίκαιον ᾧδ' ἔχει.

Phœn. 621. καὶ σὺ, μῆτερ ; οὐ θέμις σοι | μητρὸς ὀνομάζειν κάρη.

4. If the first dipodia of the verse is contained in entire words, (and so as to be followed at least by a slight break of the sense,) the second foot is a Trochee (or may be a Tribrach) :

Phœn. 636. ὥς ἄτιμος, | οἰκτρὰ πάσχων, ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός.

Orest. 788. μητέρος δὲ | μηδ' ἴδοιμι μνήμα. πολεμία γὰρ ἦν.

Bacch. 585 = 629. καὶ ὁ Βρόμιος, | ὥς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, δόξαν  
λέγω.

This nicety of structure in the long Trochaic of Tragedy was first discovered by Professor Porson : not an idea of such a canon seems ever to have been hinted before. (Vid. Kidd's Tracts and Misc. Criticisms of Porson, p. 197.—Class. Journ. No. xlv. pp. 166, 7.—Maltby's Lexicon Græco-Prosodiacum, p. lxxvii.)

In the following lines, apparently exceptions to the rule, the true sense marks the true structure also :

Orest. 1523. πανταχοῦ | ζῆν ἡδὺ μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν τοῖς σώ-  
φροσιν.

Here πανταχοῦ belongs to the whole sentence, and not to ζῆν exclusively.

Iph. A. 1318. τόν γε τῆς θεᾶς παῖδα, | τέκνον, ᾧ γε δεῦρ'  
ἐλήλυθας.

Here no pause of sense takes place after θεᾶς, (which read as a monosyllable,) but the words from τόν to παῖδα are inclosed as it were in a vinculum of syntax.

The two following verses, the first with an enclitic after the four initial syllables, the second with such a word as is always subjoined to other words, have their natural division after the fifth syllable, and all is correct accordingly :

Iph. A. 1354. κατθανεῖν μέν μοι | ἐέδοκται· τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ βού-  
λομαι.

—— 897. ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γοῦν | ταλαίνης παρθένου φίλος  
πόσις.

Nor does the following verse,

Orest. 794. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο κτᾶσθ' ἐταίρους, μὴ τὸ συγγενὲς μόνον,  
contain any real exception to the canon: for the first dipodia does not end with a word marked by any pause of utterance. Quite the contrary indeed: for ἐκεῖνο is pronounced in immediate contact with κτᾶσθε :

τουτ' ἐκεινοκτᾶσθ' ἐταίρους, κ. τ. λ.

otherwise the 2nd foot would not be a spondee at all. (Something more on this head will be found in note (B), ch. xvi., where lines like the following are considered :

Hecub. 723. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐῶμεν, οὐδὲ ψεύομεν.)

5. If the verse is concluded by one word forming the Cretic termination (— ∪ —), or by more words than one to that amount united in meaning, so that after the sixth foot that portion of sense and sound is separately perceived, then the sixth foot is — ∪ or ∪ ∪ ∪, i. e. may not be — — or ∪ ∪ —.

Phœn. 616. ἐξελαυνόμεσθα πατρίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες | ἐξελῶν.

—— 643. ἐλπίδες δ' οὐπω καθεύδουσ', αἷς πέποιθα | σὺν θεοῖς.



Can it be necessary to remark, that in verses like that below the words at the close naturally go together, to form a quadrisyllabic ending, and have nothing to do with the rule here laid down?

Iph. A. 1349. σῶ πόσει· τὰ δ' ἀδύναθ' ἡμῖν καρτερεῖν | οὐ ῥᾷδιον.

The same is true of similar disyllabic, quinquesyllabic, and other endings: which, however, in Tragic verse rarely take place.

## VII.—In the Comic Tetrameter,

1. the *Scansion* agrees with the Tragic; except only that the the — in 6th sometimes, though very rarely, precedes the ∪ ∪ in 7th (ch. vi. §. 2.), as in the line from Philemon:

Οὐτε γὰρ ναυγός, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται φερόμενος.

The Comic like the Tragic Tetrameter admits the — ∪ ∪ only in the case of a proper name, and not otherwise.

2. But in respect of *Structure* the nice points of Tragic verse are freely neglected. Neither the great division in medio versu (ch. vi. §. 3.), nor the rules (ch. vi. §§. 4, 5.) concerning those divisions which sometimes take place after the first dipodia, or before the final Cretic, appear to have been regarded in the construction of comic verse. Lines like the following occur in great abundance:

Nubes, 599. πρῶτα μὲν χαίρειν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.

—— 580. ἄττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς | ἐξαμάρτητ', ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν.

—— 568. πλεῖστα γὰρ θεῶν ἀπάντων ὠφελοῦσαι | τὴν πόλιν.

## VIII.—Anapestic Verses.

1. The Anapestic Dimeter of Tragedy is so named from the striking predominance of the Anapestic foot, though it frequently admits the Dactylic dipodia. In a regular System it consists of Dimeters with a Monometer (or *Anapestic base*) sometimes interposed, and is concluded by a Dimeter Catalectic, technically called the *Premiac* verse.

The separate feet of the Dimeter Acatalectic are shown in the scansional table below:

	∪ ∪	—	∪ ∪	—		∪ ∪	—	∪ ∪	—	
	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	
	—	∪ ∪	—	∪ ∪		—	∪ ∪	—	∪ ∪	

2. In the predominant or Anapestic dipodia the Anapest and Spondee are combined without any restriction:

Prom. V. 93, 4, 5. δέρχθηθ' οἴαις | αἰκίαισιν |  
 διακναιόμενος | τὸν μυριετῇ |  
 χρόνον ἀθλεύσω. |

3. In the occasional or Dactylic dipodia the Dactyl most usually precedes its own Spondee, as in three instances which the following verses contain :

Prom. V. 292—5. ἦκω δολιχῆς | τέρμα κελεύθου |  
 διαμειψάμενος | πρὸς σέ, Προμηθεῦ, |  
 τὸν πτερυγικῇ | τόνδ' οἰωνόν |  
 γνώμη στομίῳ | ἄτερ εὐθύνων. |

4. Sometimes the Dactyl is paired with itself:

Med. 161, 2. ὦ μεγάλα Θεμι | καὶ πότνι Ἄρτεμι, |  
 λεύσσεθ' ἃ πάσχω. |  
 — 167, 8. ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις, | ὦν ἀπενάσθη  
 αἰσχροῦς τὸν ἐμὸν | κτείνασα κάσιν. |

(Dactyli sæpissime substituuntur Anapæstis, nec tantum unus aliquis, sed sæpe etiam plures continui. Quinque continuavit Æschylus in Agam. 1561 = 1529.

τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν,  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων.

Septem Euripides in Hippolyt. 1361 = 1358.

πρόσφορά μ' αἵρετε, σύντονα δ' ἔλκετε  
 τὸν κακοδαίμονα, καὶ κατάρατον  
 πατρὸς ἀμπλακίαις. Herman. p. 377 = 240.)

5. Very rarely, and perhaps not agreeably, in the Dactylic dipodia the Spondee is found to precede the Dactyl: of the two following instances, the first presents the more objectionable form; the second, succeeded by a Dactyl and Spondee, can hardly be said to offend at all:

Androm. 1228 = 1204. δαίμων ὅδε τις, | λευκὴν αἰθέρα  
 πορθμεύόμενος, | .....

Iph. A. 161 = 159. θνητῶν δ' ὄλβιος | εἰς τέλος οὐδέις.

On this curious subject, in all its minutiae, vide the acute and diligent Elmsley, ad Med. 1050. note g, and Œd. Colon. 1766.

6. The Dactyl, when in any way it precedes the Anapest, appears to be considered by metrical scholars as a case of great

awkwardness and difficulty. The following statement, reprinted with a few verbal alterations from the *Museum Criticum* (Vol. 1. p. 333.), may suffice perhaps for all practical purposes.

The concurrence of Dactyl with Anapest in that order is not very often found betwixt one dimeter and another.

Electr. Eurip. 1320, 1. ξύγγονε φίλτατε  
διὰ γὰρ ζευγνῦσ' ἡμᾶς πατρίων.

(vid. S. Theb. vv. 827, 8. 865, 6. for two more instances.)

The combination is very rare where one dipodia closes with a Dactyl and the next begins with an Anapest, thus:

Electr. Eurip. 1317. θάρσει Παλλάδος | όσίαν ἤξεις  
πόλιν· ἀλλ' ἀνέχου.

Hecub. 144. ἴζ' Ἀγαμέμνονος | ἰκέτις γονάτων.

Within the same dipodia we may venture to assert that such a combination never takes place.

7. Thus far of the Anapestic Dimeter, when the first dipodia, as most usually it does, ends with a word.

This, however, is not always the case; and of such verses as want that division those are the most frequent, and the most pleasing also, which have the first dipodia after an Anapest (sometimes after a Spondee) overflowing into the second, with the movement Anapestic throughout.

Agam. 52. πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν | ἐρεσσόμενοι.

—— 794 = 766. καὶ ξυχαίρουσιν | όμοιοπρεπεῖς.

(vide Gaisford, *Hephæst.* pp. 279, 80. *Maltby, Lex. Græco-Pro.* pp. xxviii, xxix. for a large collection of miscellaneous examples.)

The following rare, perhaps singular, instance,

Prom. V. 172 = 179. καί μ' οὔτε | μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς,

comes recommended at least by the uniform movement: whereas this line, if the reading be correct, from the *Hippolytus*,

v. 1376 = 1357. τίς ἐφέστηκ' ἐνδεξία πλευροῖς;

within the same word, ἐνδεξία, suffers the transition from Anapestic movement to Dactylic; a transition perhaps not entirely illegitimate, but one of very rare occurrence.

In the second line of those quoted below the structure, though exceedingly rare, is recommended by the continuity of Dactylic feet before and after it:

Agam. 1557 = 1504. ....τὴν πολυκλαύτην  
 Ἰφιγένειαν | ἄναξια δράσας,  
 ἄξια πάσχω, κ. τ. λ.

8. The *synaphea*, (or *συνάφεια*,) that property of the Anapestic System which Bentley first demonstrated, is neither more nor less than *continuous scansion*: that is, scansion continued with strict exactness from the first syllable to the very last, but not including the last itself, as that syllable, and only that in the whole System, may be long or short indifferently.

In this species of verse one hiatus alone is permitted, in the case of a final diphthong or long vowel so placed as to form a short syllable. The following instances may serve (Hermann, p. 373 = 237):

Pers. 39. καὶ ἐλειοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται.  
 — 548. ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν.  
 — 60. οἷχεται ἀνδρῶν.  
 Hecub. 123. τὰ Θησείδα δ', ὅζω Ἀθηνῶν.

With this point of prosody premised, two passages may suffice to exemplify the *Synaphea*:

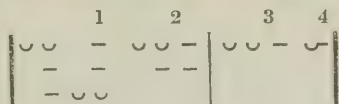
Prom. V. 199, 200. εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα  
 σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἤξει.

The last syllable of v. 199. becomes long from the short vowel *α* being united with the consonants *σπ* at the beginning of v. 200. Had a single consonant, or any pair of consonants like *κρ*, *πλ*, &c. followed in v. 200, the last syllable of v. 199. would have been short, in violation of the metre.

Again, Med. 161, 2. ὦ μεγάλη θέμι καὶ πότνι' Ἀρτεμι,  
 λεύσσεθ' ἂ πάσχω,.....

If after v. 161, ending with a short vowel, any vowel whatever had followed in v. 162, that would have violated the law of hiatus observed in these verses. And if a double consonant, or any pair of consonants like *κτ*, *σπ*, *δμ*, *μν*, &c. had followed in v. 162, Ἀρτεμι, necessarily combined with those consonants, would have formed the Pes Creticus, and not the Dactyl required. But λεύσσω follows with *λ* initial, and all is correct.

9. The Versus Paræmiacus hath its table of scansion as follows:





One limitation as to the concurring feet obtains, that — ∪ ∪ in 1st never precedes ∪ ∪ — in 2nd.

10. In the common dimeter, as must have already appeared, those dipodias form the most pleasing verse which end in entire words: but this law does not equally obtain in the Paremiac, which then comes most agreeably to the ear when it forms the latter hemistich of the dactylic hexameter,

— — — — — | ∪ ∪ — ∪  
∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — |

whether with the first dipodia distinctly marked, as

Prom. V. 127. πᾶν μοι φοβερὸν | τὸ προσέρπον,

or with any other variety of structure, as

Prom. V. 146. φρουρὰν ἄζηλον ὀχήσω.

———— 164. ἐχθροῖς ἐπὶ χάρτα πέπονθα.

———— 1106. τῇσδ', ἥντιν' ἀπέπτυσα μᾶλλον.

———— 305. φίλος ἐστὶ βεβαιότερός σοι.

Sometimes, however, the Paremiac is differently formed, admitting (with restriction §. 9.) the Dactyl in 1st:

Med. 1085. οὐκ ἀπόμουσον τὸ γυναικῶν.

(Vide Museum Criticum, Vol. i. pp. 328, 9. 332, 3.)

11. The following may serve as a short specimen of an Anapestic System with all its usual parts:

Med. 757. 761. Ἀλλὰ σ' ὁ Μαίᾱς πομπαῖος ἀναξ

πελάσσειε δόμοις,

ὦν τ' ἐπίνοϊαν σπεύδεις κατέχων,

πράξιαις, ἐπεὶ γενναῖος ἀνὴρ,

Αἰγέῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δεδόκησαι.

## IX. *The Anapestic Tetrameter Catalectic,*

1. peculiar to comedy, consists of eight feet all but a syllable; or may be considered as made up of two dimeters, of which the second is catalectic to the first. Its scansional table is given below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪ ∪ —	∪
— ∪ —	— ∪ —	— ∪ —	— ∪ —	— ∪ —	— ∪ —	— ∪ —	—
— ∪ ∪	— ∪ ∪	— ∪ ∪	— ∪ ∪	— ∪ ∪	— ∪ ∪	— ∪ ∪	—

One restriction as to the feet separately admissible obtains,

that the two feet — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —, in that order, nowhere concur in the long Anapestic.

2. In the long as in the short Anapestic verse Dactyls are admitted much more sparingly into the second than into the first place of the dipodia. (Elmsley, p. 93.)

3. In the 1200 (or more) Tetrameter Anapestics of Aristophanes only 19 examples occur of a Dactyl in 2nd, the only *second* place of a dipodia which it can occupy.

In 13 of those verses the preceding foot is also a Dactyl, as in Nub. 399.

οὐδὲ Κλεώνυμον, οὐδὲ Θέωρον; | καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἶς' ἐπίορκοι.

In the remaining 6 of those verses 4 have the Dactyl after a Spondee, as Nub. 408.

ὤπτων γαστέρα τοῖς συγγενέσιν, | κἄτ' οὐκ ἔσχων ἀμελήσας.

The other 2 have the Dactyl after an Anapest, as Nub. 350.

τί γάρ, ἦν ἄρπαγα τῶν δημοσίων | κατ' ἰδῶσι Σίμωνα, τί δρῶσιν;  
(Elmsley, p. 93.)

4. The last quoted verse exhibits the transition (in long Anapestics) from Anapestic movement to Dactylic in separate words. The following verses show within the same word the transition from Dactylic movement to Anapestic. Both cases are very rare.

Vesp. 706. εἰ γὰρ ἐβουλοντο βίον πορίσαι | τῷ δῆμῳ, ράδιον ἦν ἄν.

Ran. 1042. Οὐκ οἶδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρῶσαν | πωποτ' ἐποίησα γυναῖκα.

5. Of all those nineteen Tetrameters described in §. 3. one only is destitute of the division (or *cæsure* technically so called) after the first dipodia :

Nubes 352. ταῦτ' ἄρα, ταῦτα Κλε|ώνυμον αὐται|τὸν ῥίψασπιν  
χθρὲς ἰδοῦσαι. (Elmsley, p. 94.)

6. This division after the first dipodia is indispensable, if the 2nd foot be a Dactyl and the 3rd a Spondee: therefore the last syllable of the Dactyl may not begin an Iambic or (∪ — —) Bacchean word.

The following verses, faulty on that account,

Eecl. 518. ζυμβούλοισιν ἀπάσαις | ὑμῖν χρήσωμαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεί μοι.

Equit. 505. ἠνάγκαζεν ἔπη | λέξοντάς γ' ἐς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι.

have been corrected, the one by Brunck, the other by Porson, and by both from the same delicacy of ear, thus :

ξυμβούλοισιν | πάσαις ὑμῖν | χρήσωμαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοι.  
 ἡνάγκαζεν λέξοντας ἔπη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι.

(vide Porson, lix, lx. = 53, 54.)

7. The division after the first dimeter is as strictly observed in the long Anapestic as in the long Trochaic verse (ch. vi. §. 3.); and, as in that, cannot take place after a preposition merely or article belonging in Syntax to the second dimeter.

Plut. 487, 8. ἀλλ' ἥδη χρῆν | τι λέγειν ὑμᾶς | σοφόν, ᾧ νικήσετε  
 τῆνδ',

ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις | ἀντιλέγοντες· | μαλακὸν δ' ἐνδῶσσετε μηδέν.

These lines exhibit, beside the one necessary division after the first dimeter, that after the first dipodia also, which always gives the most agreeable finish to the verse.

8. It has been remarked on the authority of Elmsley (vide ch. v. §. 5.), that the Plutus was written after the versification of the comic stage had assumed an appearance of smoothness and regularity quite unknown before.

The following Analysis of 110 long Anapestic verses from v. 486. of the Plutus to v. 597. (there being no v. 566. in Dobree's edition) may very happily illustrate the truth of that remark.

In 104 of those lines, that which is here regarded as the most harmonious structure of the verse uniformly prevails.

Of the six which remain, three verses (517. 555. 586.) differ only by having the Dactyl in quinto:

555. ὡς μακαρίτην, | ὦ Δάματερ, | τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ κατέλεξας.

And the other three verses (519. 570. 584.), though wanting the division after the first dipodia, yet present the continuous flow of Anapestic movement throughout.

570. ἐπιβουλεύουσί τε τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολεμοῦσιν.

N. B. In the Tetrameter Anapestic the very same hiatus of a long vowel or diphthong sometimes occurs as in the Dimeter. (Vide ch. viii. §. 8.)

For instance,

Plutus 528. Οὗτ' ἐν δάπισιν· τίς γὰρ ὑφαίνειν ἐθελήσει, χρυσίου  
 ὄντος;

— 549. Οὐκοῦν δήπου τῆς Πτωχείας Πενίαν φημὲν εἶναι ἀτελ-  
 φήν;

X.—*The Ictus Metricus of Anapestic Verse.*

1. The metrical ictus has been briefly explained at the beginning of this Introduction. Its application to the dipodias of Anapestic verse is quite clear and perspicuous: the ictus falls on the last syllable of the  $\cup \cup -$  and its companion  $- -$ , and on the first of the  $- \cup \cup$  and its accompanying  $- -$ .

First, in a line of pure Anapests, all but one Spondee in 5th, which there seems to predominate:

Aves 503.    οβολον̄ κατεβροχθισα, κατα κερων τον θυλακον οικαὺ  
                                |  
                                αφειλκον.

Secondly, in a line of Anapests and Spondees :

Plutus 536. και παιδαριων ὑποπεινωντων και γρᾱιδῶν κολοσυρτον;

Thirdly, in a line with Dactyls and Spondees in the first dimeter:

Plutus 575. ἀλλὰ φλῦναι·εῖς καὶ πτερυγί·ζεις. καὶ πῶς φευγού·σι σε  
παν·τες ;

Fourthly, in lines of mixed movement Anapestic and Dactylic:

Ibid. 508. ἐνο πρεσβυτα ξυνθιασωτα του ληρειν και παραπαιειν.

529. οὐτε μυροισιν μυρισαι στακτοῖς, ὅποταν νυμφὴν ἀγα-  
γησθον.

2. After this, the ictuation of the short Anapestic of Tragedy is very simple.

Med. 129, 30. <sup>1</sup>μειζους δ' <sup>1</sup>ατας, <sup>1</sup>οταν <sup>1</sup>οργισθη  
<sup>1</sup>δαιμων, <sup>1</sup>οικοις <sup>1</sup>απεδωκεν.

Ibid. 1080-85. (with  $- \cup \cup$  in first of the Paremiac).

. . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 μούσα καὶ ἡμῖν, ἣ προσομιλεῖ  
 σοφίας ἐνεκεν· πασαισι μὲν οὐ·  
 παυρὸν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐν πολλαῖς  
 εὖροις ἀνίσως  
 οὐκ ἀπομονοῦσιν τὸ γυναικῶν.





5. Of all the resolved feet, the Tribrach in Trochaic verse with its ictus on the first syllable  $\cup \cup \cup$  is most readily recognised by the ear as equivalent to the Trochee.

Phœn. 618.  $\text{ανοσιος} \text{ πεφουκας. } \text{αλλ' ου πατριδος ως συ πολεμιος.}$

6. What the Tribrach is to the Trochee, the *nominal* Anapest is to the Trochaic Spondee, as its equivalent or substitute; and this Anapest of course has its ictus on the first syllable  $\cup \cup -$ .

Orest. 1540.  $\text{αλλα μεταβουλευσομεσθα. τουτο δ' ου καλως λεγεις.}$

— 1529.  $\text{ου γαρ, ητις Έλλαδ' αυτοις Φρυξι διελυμηνατο.}$

7. The following lines, formed artificially, (like Bentley's *Commodavi*, &c. in his metres of Terence,) are calculated merely to afford an easy praxis for the ictuation of Trochaic verse:

$\text{ηλθεν ουτος ηλθεν ουτος | ηλθεν ουτος ηλθε δη.}$   
 $\text{αδικος ηλθεν αδικος ελθων | αδικος ηλθεν ηλθε δη.}$   
 $\text{ηλθεν αδικος ηλθεν αδικων | ηλθεν αδικος ηλθε δη.}$   
 $\text{ποτερα δεδιδε, ποτερα δεδιδε, | ποτερα δεδιδε δεδιδετα;}$

8. Instances frequently occurring of words like those now given, *αδικος*, *αδικων*, &c. ictuated on the antepenult, may be considered, if not as positively agreeable to the ear, yet at any rate as passing without objection or offence.

But where the penult of words like *αμφοτερα* or *θορυβος* is marked with the ictus, something awkward and hard, or so fancied at least, has even led to violations of the genuine text under pretence of improving the metre.

For example, the following genuine verse, Iph. A. 875 = 886,

$\text{ω θυγατερ, ηκεις επ' ολεθρω και συ και μητηρ σεθεν,}$

has on that very plea been disfigured (vid. ch. vi. §. 4.) by this alteration:

$\text{θυγατερ, ηκεις | επ' ολεθρω σω και συ και μητηρ σεθεν.}$

In v. 1324 = 1345. the word *θυγατερ* occurs with the more usual, and it may be the pleasanter, ictuation:

$\text{ω γυναι ταλαινα, Ληδας θυγατερ. ου ψευδη θροεις.}$

A similar difference is found in the ictus of Ἀρτεμιδι.

Iph. A. 872 = 883.

παντ' ἐχ<sup>||</sup>εις. Ἀρτεμιδι θ<sup>||</sup>υσειν παιδα σ<sup>||</sup>ην μελλ<sup>||</sup>ει πατηρ.  
348 = 359. Ἀρτεμιδι, και π<sup>||</sup>λουν εσεσθ<sup>||</sup>αι Δαναϊδ<sup>||</sup>αις, ἡσθ<sup>||</sup>εις φρενα<sup>||</sup>ς.

The two following lines from the Persæ also exhibit that peculiar ictus:

739. ω μελε<sup>||</sup>ος, ο<sup>||</sup>ιαν αρ' ἡβ<sup>||</sup>ην ξυμμαχ<sup>||</sup>ων απωλεσε<sup>||</sup>.

176. τουδε μοι γε<sup>||</sup>νεσθε, Περσων γ<sup>||</sup>ηραλεα πιστω<sup>||</sup>ματα.

Other varieties, and not of very rare occurrence, may be remarked in these lines:

Agam. 1644. δεχομε<sup>||</sup>νοις λεγ<sup>||</sup>εις θα<sup>||</sup>ρειν σε· τη<sup>||</sup>ν τυχη<sup>||</sup>ν δ' ερω<sup>||</sup>μεθα.

Iph. A. 852 = 863. ω<sup>||</sup>ς μονο<sup>||</sup>ις λεγ<sup>||</sup>οις αν, ε<sup>||</sup>ξω δ' ελθε βασι<sup>||</sup>λικων  
δομ<sup>||</sup>ων.

————900 = 911. ουκ ε<sup>||</sup>χω β<sup>||</sup>ωμον καταφυγει<sup>||</sup>ν αλλ<sup>||</sup>ον η το σ<sup>||</sup>ον  
γ<sup>||</sup>ονυ.

## XII.—The Ictus of Iambic Verse in Tragedy.

9. In the Iambic dipodia (supra 4.) the Iambus and the Spondee have the ictus on the second syllable. When the Tribrach stands in the place of the Iambus, and the *nominal* Dactyl in that of the Spondee, each of those feet has the ictus on the middle syllable, ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪.

The ictuation therefore of Iambic verse in its resolved feet may be readily shown:

Æd. R. 112. πο<sup>||</sup>τερα δ' εν οικ<sup>||</sup>οις η' ν αγ<sup>||</sup>ροις ο Λα<sup>||</sup>ϊος.

———— 26. φθ<sup>||</sup>ινουσα δ' αγ<sup>||</sup>ελαις β<sup>||</sup>ουννομο<sup>||</sup>ις τοκο<sup>||</sup>ισι τε.

———— 568. π<sup>||</sup>ως ου<sup>||</sup>ν τοθ' ου<sup>||</sup>τος ο σο<sup>||</sup>φος ουκ η<sup>||</sup>νδα ταδε;

Med. 1173. ει<sup>||</sup>τ' αν<sup>||</sup>τιμολ<sup>||</sup>πον η<sup>||</sup>κεν ολο<sup>||</sup>νυγ<sup>||</sup>ης με<sup>||</sup>γαν.

Æd. R. 719. ε<sup>||</sup>ρριψ<sup>||</sup>εν αλλ<sup>||</sup>ων χ<sup>||</sup>ερσιν ει<sup>||</sup>ς αβα<sup>||</sup>τον ο<sup>||</sup>ρος.

Phæn. 40. ω ξε<sup>||</sup>ρε, τυ<sup>||</sup>ραννο<sup>||</sup>ις εκ<sup>||</sup>ποδ<sup>||</sup>ων με<sup>||</sup>θισ<sup>||</sup>τασο.

Æd. R. 257. αν<sup>||</sup>δ<sup>||</sup>ρος τ' αρι<sup>||</sup>στου βα<sup>||</sup>σιλε<sup>||</sup>ως τ' ολω<sup>||</sup>λο<sup>||</sup>τος.

Orest. 288. και ν<sup>||</sup>υν ανα<sup>||</sup>καλυ<sup>||</sup>πτ', ω κα<sup>||</sup>σιγ<sup>||</sup>ρη<sup>||</sup>τον κα<sup>||</sup>ρα.

10. It has been truly asserted (ch. iii.), that the structure of the Iambic Trimeter is decidedly Trochaic. And though every principal point in the constitution of that verse has been here separately stated and explained, yet the correspondency betwixt the Iambic Trimeter and a certain portion of the Trochaic Tetrameter (as hinted above, §. 4.) may be advantageously employed to illustrate the common properties of both. With this view, then, to any Trimeter (except only those very few with Anapests initial) let the Cretic beginning *δηλαδὴ* or *ἀλλὰ νῦν* be prefixed, and every nicety of ictuation, more clear as it is and more easily apprehended in Trochaic verse, will be immediately identified in Iambic.

For instance, the lines already quoted, *Æd. R. 112. Orest. 288. Æd. R. 719.* with the Cretic prefixed, become long Trochaics, and admit the Trochaic analysis :

δηλαδὴ. ποτέρα δ' ἐν οἰκοῖς ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς ὁ Λαῖος.  
 δηλαδὴ. καὶ νῦν ἀνακαλυπτ', ὦ κασιγνήτον καρά.  
 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐρριψεν ἀλλαῖς χερσὶν εἰς ἀβατον ὄρος.

By a similar process, the identity of the Cretic termination in both verses (ch. iii. §. 2. *R.* and ch. vi. §. 5.) as subject to the same canon is instantly discovered :

*Orest. 762.* *δεινὸν οἱ πολλοί, κακουργοὺς* | *ὅταν ἔχωσι* | *προστάτας.*  
 — 541. .... *ἀπελθέτω* *ἢ τοῖς λόγοισιν* | *ἐκποδών.*  
*Ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀπελθέτω* *ἢ* | *τοῖς λόγοισιν* | *ἐκποδών.*

The correspondency, however, of the Iambic Trimeter with that portion of the Trochaic Tetrameter is then only quite perfect when the former verse has the predominant division, *M*, (ch. iii. §. 1.) as in the *Senarius* quoted above.

### XIII.—*The Ictus of the long Trochaic of Comedy.*

11. The scansion of the Comic Tetrameter agrees with that of the Tragic, except in one point, that it admits, though very rarely, the — in 6th before the ∪ ∪ ∪ in 7th; and the ictuation is the very same in both verses. Of that exception the line already quoted may afford a sufficient example :

οὐτε γὰρ ναναγος, ἀν' μη γῆς λαβηταὶ φερομένοις.



#### XIV.--*The Ictus of Iambic Verse in Comedy.*

12. The Comic Trimeter in Scansion differs from the Tragic by admitting the — ∪ ∪ in 5th, and the ∪ ∪ — in 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th.

The Dactyl in 5th of the Comic has the same ictus — ∪ ∪ as it has in 1st and 3d of the Tragic Senarius, thus:

Plut. 55. <sup>|</sup>πυ<sup>||</sup>θοι<sup>|</sup>μεθ' <sup>|</sup>αν <sup>|</sup>τον <sup>|</sup>χρη<sup>||</sup>σμον <sup>|</sup>ἡ<sup>||</sup>μων, <sup>|</sup>ὅ<sup>|</sup>τι νο<sup>||</sup>ει.  
 — 1148. <sup>|</sup>επει<sup>||</sup>τ' <sup>|</sup>απο<sup>||</sup>λι<sup>|</sup>πων <sup>|</sup>τους <sup>|</sup>θε<sup>||</sup>ους <sup>|</sup>εν<sup>|</sup>θα<sup>||</sup>δε <sup>|</sup>με<sup>||</sup>νεις.

Whatever be the real nature of that licence which admits the Anapest so freely into Comic verse, no doubt can exist as to the place of its ictus on the last syllable ∪ ∪ —; and the following lines may serve as examples:

Nub. 2. ω <sup>|</sup>Ζευ <sup>|</sup>βα<sup>||</sup>σι<sup>|</sup>λε<sup>||</sup>υ, <sup>|</sup>το <sup>|</sup>χρη<sup>||</sup>μα <sup>|</sup>των <sup>|</sup>νυ<sup>||</sup>κτων <sup>|</sup>ὅ<sup>|</sup>σον.  
 — 24. <sup>|</sup>εἰθ' <sup>|</sup>εξ<sup>||</sup>ε<sup>|</sup>κο<sup>||</sup>πη<sup>|</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>προ<sup>||</sup>τε<sup>|</sup>ρον <sup>|</sup>τον <sup>|</sup>οφ<sup>||</sup>θα<sup>||</sup>λμο<sup>|</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>λι<sup>||</sup>θω.  
 — 20. <sup>|</sup>ὅ<sup>|</sup>πο<sup>||</sup>σο<sup>|</sup>ις <sup>|</sup>οφ<sup>||</sup>ει<sup>||</sup>λω, <sup>|</sup>και <sup>|</sup>λο<sup>||</sup>γι<sup>||</sup>σω<sup>|</sup>μαι <sup>|</sup>τους <sup>|</sup>το<sup>||</sup>κου<sup>||</sup>ς.  
 — 11. <sup>|</sup>αλλ' <sup>|</sup>ει <sup>|</sup>δο<sup>||</sup>κει, <sup>|</sup>ρε<sup>||</sup>γκω<sup>||</sup>με<sup>|</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>εγ<sup>||</sup>κε<sup>||</sup>α<sup>||</sup>λυ<sup>||</sup>με<sup>||</sup>νοι.

13. The Tetrameter of Comedy admits no feet but those which are found, and with more frequency, in the Trimeter. The ictuation on the feet in each verse is the very same, as the following lines may serve to exemplify: (Porson, xli. = 38.)

Plut. 253. ω <sup>|</sup>πο<sup>||</sup>λλα <sup>|</sup>δη <sup>|</sup>τω <sup>|</sup>δε<sup>||</sup>σπο<sup>||</sup>τη <sup>|</sup>τα<sup>||</sup>ντο<sup>||</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>θυ<sup>||</sup>μο<sup>||</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>φα<sup>||</sup>γο<sup>||</sup>ν<sup>|</sup>τες.  
 Ranæ 909. <sup>|</sup>πρω<sup>||</sup>τι<sup>||</sup>στα <sup>|</sup>με<sup>||</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>γα<sup>||</sup>ρ <sup>|</sup>ε<sup>||</sup>να <sup>|</sup>γε <sup>|</sup>τι<sup>||</sup>να <sup>|</sup>κα<sup>||</sup>θει<sup>||</sup>σεν <sup>|</sup>εγ<sup>||</sup>κα<sup>||</sup>λυ<sup>||</sup>π<sup>||</sup>ας.  
 — 915. <sup>|</sup>ου<sup>||</sup>χ <sup>|</sup>ἡ<sup>||</sup>ττο<sup>||</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>η <sup>|</sup>νυν <sup>|</sup>οἱ <sup>|</sup>λα<sup>||</sup>λου<sup>||</sup>ν<sup>|</sup>τες. <sup>|</sup>η<sup>||</sup>λι<sup>||</sup>θιος <sup>|</sup>γα<sup>||</sup>ρ <sup>|</sup>ἡ<sup>||</sup>σθα.  
 Thesm. 547. <sup>|</sup>εγε<sup>||</sup>ρε<sup>||</sup>το <sup>|</sup>Με<sup>||</sup>λανι<sup>||</sup>π<sup>||</sup>πας <sup>|</sup>ποι<sup>||</sup>ων <sup>|</sup>Φαι<sup>||</sup>δ<sup>||</sup>ρας <sup>|</sup>τε <sup>|</sup>Πη<sup>||</sup>νε<sup>||</sup>λο<sup>||</sup>πη<sup>||</sup>ν <sup>|</sup>δε.

In this verse, generally, the Iambic structure so clearly predominates, that little advantage can be gained by submitting it to the Trochaic analysis; as, against the judgment of Bentley, has been lately recommended by Ilgenius, (Vide Maltby, Lex. Gr. Pros. p. xxxvi.)

And yet in some cases, perhaps, of resolved feet, and in verses too wanting the regular caesura, the law of ictuation may be more correctly apprehended by applying the Trochaic scale than otherwise.

It is worth the while to observe, that of 37 Tetrameters in the *Plutus*, vv. 253—289, containing only two resolved feet, one a Tribrach and one a Dactyl, (vid. Elmsley, u. s. p. 83.) the versification is remarkably smooth; and if those lines be read with the proper ictus, the Iambic movement cannot fail to be pleasantly and distinctly felt on the ear.

### XV.—Note A. *On the Concurrences.*

In ch. ii., where the concurrence of  $\cup\cup\cup$  or  $-\cup\cup$  before  $\cup\cup-$  in the Trimeter of Comedy is condemned, a promise is given, that the necessity for that limitation should be made to appear.

The true constitution of the Comic Senarius (in all its bearings) was first discerned by Dawes. In his *Emendations on the Acharnians* (*Mis. Crit.* 253 = 463, &c.) at v. 144.

*Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι,*

he condemns as unlawful the concurrence of feet above-mentioned; and claims the credit not only of discovering that canon, but of assigning the true reason also as derived from the laws of Iambic ictuation.

As the verse stands at present, he says,

*Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι,*

you have, with gross offence to the ear, the interval of four syllables from ictus to ictus, when the lawful extent of that interval can only be three. His emendation, demanded no less by the syntax of the whole passage than by the metre of that line, has since been sanctioned by the authority of the Ravenna MS.

*Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφ', Αθηναιοι καλοι.*

On the Trochaic scale of Scansion, it is obvious to remark, that the redundancy of a syllable in the vulgar text would be instantly detected:

*αλλα νυν εν | τοισι τοιχοις | εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι.*

One illustration more, from a false reading in Tragedy, may not be deemed superfluous.

In the *Orestes* 499 = 505. the text of the old editions stands thus:

*αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα κτανών.*

which in the Iambic Scansion presents the concurrence of the  $- \cup \cup$  and the  $\cup \cup -$ . Here again the Trochaic scale affords the ready test; it instantly detects the redundant syllable:

αλλα νυν αυτος κακιων | εγενετο μητε|ρα κτανων.

The just and simple emendation of Porson need hardly be given:

αυτος κακιων μητέρ' εγενετο κτανών.

## XVI.—Note B. *On the Pause or Cretic Termination.* (Vide ch. iii. §. 2. ch. vi. §. 5.)

1. In the Iambic Trimeter, if the slightest pause or break in the sense cause the word or words which give to the verse a Cretic ending ( $- \cup -$ ) to be separately uttered, then the 5th foot may not be  $--$ , but must be  $\cup -$ , or  $\cup \cup \cup$ .

The different modes of concluding the line which reject the  $--$  in 5th shall be first exhibited.

a. The simplest structure which rejects the  $--$  there is the following, when the Cretic consists of a single detached word:

Hecub. 343. κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον | ἔμπαλιν.

Ion 1. Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκέοισιν | οὐρανόν.

which lines in the old editions stand thus:

Κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον | τοῦμπαλιν.  
Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις | οὐρανόν.

(Vide Porson, xxx. = 27.)

β. In the next case the Cretic consists of  $- \cup$  and a syllable, thus:

Orest. 1079. κῆδος δὲ τούμὸν καὶ σὸν οὐκέτ' | ἐστὶ | δῆ.

—— 1081. χαῖρ' οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο, | σοί γε | μῆν.

or the Cretic consists of an article or preposition ( $-$ ) attached (in syntax or collocation) to the subsequent word:

Hecub. 382. καλῶς μὲν εἶπας, θύγατερ, ἀλλὰ | τῷ καλῷ.

—— 379. δεινὸς χαρακτῆρ, κάπῖσημος | ἐν βροτοῖς.

Under this head of monosyllables are embraced τίς, πῶς, when interrogative, with ὡς, οὐ, καὶ, and the like. (Vide Porson, xxxi. = 27.)

2. Many semblances of the Cretic termination occur to which the Canon bears no application. Those cases, admitting the — in 5th, may be commodiously classed under the following heads :

Where a monosyllabic word before the final Iambus belongs by collocation to the preceding word ; as in enclitics :

Hec. 505. σπεύδωμεν, ἐγκονῶμεν· ἡγοῦ μοι, | γέρον.

Prom. V. 669. τί παρθενεύει δαρὸν, ἐξόν σοι | γάμον.

Agam. 1019. ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν | λόγῳ.

Rhes. 717. βίον δ' ἐπαιτῶν εἶρπ' ἀγύρτης τις | λάτρης.

Philoct. 801. ἔμπρησον, ὦ γενναῖε· κάγώ τοι | ποτέ.

or in such words, not enclitic, as cannot begin a sentence or a verse :

Prom. V. 107. οἶόν τε μοι τάσδ' ἐστί· θνητοῖς γὰρ | γέρα.

Trach. 718. πῶς οὐκ ὀλεῖ καὶ τόνδε ; δόξη γοῦν | ἐμῇ

Prom. V. 846. λέγ'· εἰ δὲ πάντ' εἴρηκας, ἡμῖν αὖ | χάριν.

Œd. T. 142. ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα παῖδες, ὑμεῖς μὲν | βάθρων.

Soph. Electr. 413. εἴ μοι λέγοις τὴν ὄψιν, εἵποim' αὖ | τότε.

In the numerous instances of αὖ so posited it deserves remark, that αὖ is always subjoined to its verb, and that with elision as in the line quoted. (Vide Porson, xxxi. = 28.)

3. Where words like οὐδεῖς and μηδεῖς so given ought in Attic orthography to be written thus : οὐδ' εἰς and μηδ' εἰς :

Phœn. 759. ἀμφοτέρων· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν θάτερον.

Alc. 687. ἦν δ' ἐγγὺς ἔλθῃ θάνατος, οὐδ' εἰς βούλεται.

(Vide Porson, xxxiv. v. = 31.)

4. And where, in the Plays of Sophocles, the dative cases plural of ἐγὼ and σὺ are exhibited as Spondees, thus, ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, when that Tragedian, however strange it may appear, employed those pronouns in his verse actually as Trochees. In that pronunciation, they are by some Grammarians written, ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, but ἡμιν, ὑμιν, more generally :

Electr. 1328. ἦ νοῦς ἐνεστί· οὐτίς ὑμιν ἐγγενής ;

Œd. Col. 25. πᾶς γὰρ τις ἡῦτα τοῦτό γ' ἡμιν ἐμπόρων.

In which two lines ὑμῖν and ἡμῖν would vitiate the metre.

(Vide Porson, xxxv. = 32.)



5. One particular case seems to have created a very needless perplexity; namely, where the verse is concluded by a trisyllabic word with certain consonants initial which do not permit the short vowel precedent to form a short syllable. (Vide Porson, xxxviii. = 34, 5.)

The following verses, as being supposed to labor under the vicious termination, are recommended by the Professor to the sagacity of young Scholars for correction:

Hecub. 717. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐῶμεν, οὐδὲ ψάυομεν.

Androm. 347. φεύγει τὸ ταύτης σῶφρον· ἀλλὰ ψεύσεται.

Iph. A. 531. καὶ μ' ὥς ὑπέστην θῦμα, κᾶτα ψεύδομαι.

(In these verses also from Euripides the very same difficulty, if it be one, is involved:)

Bacchæ 1284. Ὠμωγμένον γε πρόσθεν ἢ σε γνωρίσαι.

Electr. 850. τλήμων Ὀρέστης· ἀλλὰ μὴ με κτείνετε.)

Here the word preceding the final Cretic must be either a Trochee or a Spondee. If it is a Trochee, all is well: nothing more need be said. If it is not a Trochee, but a Spondee, what causes it to be so? Evidently the final short vowel of each word being touched in utterance by the initial π of ψ, or πσ, with which the next word commences.

Then, so far from any pause or break of the sense intervening, on which condition alone the Canon operates, there is an absolute continuity of sound and sense together; and the verse ends with a quinesyllabic termination, as complete as in Phœniss. 32. 53. where ἐξανδρούμενος and συγκοιμωμένη terminate the line: even so, οὐδέψαύομεν, ἀλλὰπσεύσεται, κᾶταπσεύδομαι. (This was stated so long ago as 1802. Vide Dalzel, Collect. Græc. Maj. T. II. Nott. p. 164.)

6. Several modifications of the line, according to the connexion of the words by which it is concluded, come next to be considered. Some of these cases, when the words are duly separated, present a dissyllabic, some a quadrisyllabic ending: in others the combination is such as to exhibit a collective termination of five syllables, or more:

a. Œd. R. 435. ἡμεῖς τοιοῖδ' ἔφυμεν, ὥς μὲν σοι δοκεῖ.

This line, even so read, would not violate the Canon; for it does not present a Cretic separately pronounced. But it stands far more correctly thus in Elmsley's Edition,—ὥς σοὶ μὲν | ὀκεῖ, with an ending clearly dissyllabic.

β. The following line again as clearly presents a termination of four syllables:

Æd. R. 1157. ἔδωκ' ὀλέσθαι δ' ὥφελον | τῇδ' ἡμέρα.

The three following instances are taken from Elmsley, ad Æd. Col. 115.

γ. Iph. A. 858. δοῦλος, οὐχ ἀβρύνομαι τῷδ' ἡ τύχη γὰρ  
μ' οὐκ ἔῃ.

Here the ending is not trisyllabic; for μ' οὐκ go together, and the enclitic μὲ hangs upon γάρ: and as γάρ in collocation is attached to the precedent ἡ τύχη, the accumulation of syllables in continuity amounts to seven.

δ. Ion. 808. δέσποινα, προδεδόμεσθα· σὺν γὰρ σοὶ νοσῶ.

Here the words σὺν γὰρ σοὶ, being under the vinculum of Syntax, cannot be disjoined. And σὺν σοὶ γάρ, if so read, from the law of collocation in words like γάρ, must go together. Either way the structure of the verse is legitimate, with a dissyllabic ending.

ε. Eur. Electr. 275. ἥρου τόδ'; αἰσχρόν γ' εἶπας· οὐ γὰρ  
νῦν ἀκμή.

Here οὐ negatives νῦν, and of course must be uttered in the same breath with it,——οὐ γὰρ νῦν | ἀκμή.

Elmsley himself (ad. Æd. Col. 115.) on the two following lines,

ζ. Æd. Col. 265. ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε,

η. Electr. 432. τύμβω προσάψῃς μηδέν· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ θέμις,

justly remarks, that neither line contains any thing wrong: for the words σοὶ and δὴ, the one enclitic, the other by collocation attached to the word precedent, make a slight dissyllabic ending, as far as any separate termination exists.

7. The following line may serve to represent several others of similar construction:

Aj. Fl. 1101 ἔξεστ' ἀνάσσειν, ὦν ὁδ' ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν.

(Vide Elmsley, Mus. Crit. Vol. I. pp. 476—480. et ad Heracl. 371. 530.)

“If we suppose the first syllable of οἴκοθεν to be attracted by the elision to the preceding word, the verse will cease to be an exception to Porson's Canon.” At the same time, he frankly confesses, that he is not satisfied with this solution of the difficulty, and goes on with great acuteness to state his objections to it.

Now, on the other hand, we are told of Hegelochus, who acted the part of Orestes in the play so named, that when he came to v. 273. ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐ γαλήν' ὀρώ, wanting breath to pronounce γαλήν' ὀρώ with the delicate synalepha required, he stopped between the words, and uttered these sounds instead, γαλήν ὀρώ. (Vide Porson, ad Orest. 273.)

From this anecdote have we any right to conclude, that in cases like that of . . . ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν, at the close of the verse, the first syllable of οἴκοθεν was by the elision attracted to the preceding word ἡγεῖτο? and in all similar cases may we suppose the two words to have been so closely connected in sound as to leave no perceptible suspension of the sense whatsoever?

It is enough perhaps to have thrown out the suggestion; and there let the matter rest for the present.

## XVII.—Note C. *On the Anapest Proprii Nominis in the Tragic Senarius, and on other licences of a similar description.*

Before we engage in the direct discussion of the point here proposed, let a few remarks be premised.

1. In the first place, there is a well-known distinction in music betwixt common time and triple time. To this musical distinction there exists something confessedly analogous in the difference betwixt the time of Anapestic and Dactylic verse, and that of Iambic and Trochaic.

Agreeably then to this analogy, we may be allowed for the sake of illustration to use the terms common and triple time in the pages which follow.

2. In the next place, the terms Anapest and Dactyl have been already used on two occasions palpably different.

First, as the names of the natural feet in the triple time of Anapestic and Dactylic verse, with their ictus thus,  $\cup \cup -$ ,  $- \cup \cup$ .

Med. 167, 8.  $\omega \text{ πατερ}, \omega \text{ πολις}, \omega \nu \text{ απενασθην}$

$\text{αισχρως τον εμον κτεινασα κασιν.}$

Secondly, as the names of two short syllables before or after a long one, in the common time of Trochaic or Iambic verse, with a different ictus, thus,  $\cup \cup -$ ,  $- \cup \cup$ .

Æd. R. 257.  $\alpha \nu \delta \rho \omicron \varsigma \gamma' \alpha \rho \iota \sigma \tau \omicron \nu \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \omega \varsigma \tau' \omicron \lambda \omega \lambda \omicron \tau \omicron \varsigma.$

Phœn. 621.  $\kappa \alpha \iota \sigma \upsilon \mu \eta \tau \epsilon \rho; \omicron \upsilon \theta \epsilon \mu \iota \varsigma \sigma \omicron \iota \mu \eta \tau \rho \omicron \varsigma \omicron \nu \omicron \mu \alpha \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu \kappa \alpha \rho \alpha.$

In future, it may be safe and useful to call the first of these the *natural*, and the second the *nominal*, Dactyl and Anapest.

3. Thirdly, the terms Anapest and Dactyl have a different use still, to denote certain feet admissible in certain kinds of Iambic and Trochaic verse, as equivalent to the proper feet of each metre, being admitted not only into the Spondaic places of the dipodia, but into the Iambic and Trochaic likewise.

In the pronunciation of those peculiar feet, it is probable there was something correspondent to the slurring, so called, of musical notes; and, since necessity demands a third name for a third character, it may justify our adoption of *slurred* Anapest and *slurred* Dactyl, as terms not inappropriate for that purpose.

Let the marks then,  $\cup (\cup) -$  and  $- (\cup) \cup$ , be permitted to represent each of those peculiarities, when each requires to be separately represented. But for reasons of convenience, which will be found very striking when we come to the practical part of the subject, we beg leave to introduce a more comprehensive method, equally suited to Iambic and Trochaic verse; and that is, to make  $- \cup \cup -$  the sign of the apparent syllables involved in the discussion, and  $- (\cup) \cup -$  or  $- \cup -$  the sign of the real sounds as they are supposed to have been uttered.

Nubes 131.  $\lambda \omicron \gamma \omega \nu \acute{\alpha} \kappa \rho \iota \beta \omega \nu \sigma \chi \iota \nu \delta \alpha \lambda \acute{\alpha} \mu \omicron \upsilon \varsigma \mu \alpha \theta \acute{\eta} \sigma \omicron \mu \alpha \iota;$

Iph. A. 882.  $\epsilon \iota \varsigma \acute{\alpha} \rho' \text{ 'Ιφ ι γ έ ν ε ι α ν 'Ε λ έ ν η \varsigma ρ ό σ τ ο \varsigma ή ν π ε π ρ ω μέ ν ο \varsigma ;}$



4. Whatever truth or probability may be found in the following attempt to account for the — ∪ ∪ — Proprii Nominis in the Trochaic or Iambic verse of Tragedy, (and for the admission of that licence with common words also into the Iambics of Comedy,) the whole merit of the discovery, if any, is due to S. Clarke, whose suggestion (ad Il. B. v. 811.) is here pursued, enforced, and developed.

Clarke, after quoting instances of ∪ ∪ — Proprii Nominis, but only in the 4th foot of the Trimeter, proceeds to argue thus. If the Iambic verse of Tragedy, under other circumstances, rejects in 4th the ∪ ∪ — as equal in time to — —, and admits only the ∪ — or equivalent ∪ ∪ ∪, then it is clear that the proper names which exhibit ∪ ∪ — to the eye could never have been pronounced at full length in three distinct syllables, but must have been hurried in utterance, so as to carry only ∪ — to the ear.

And since long proper names (as Clarke justly observes) are from their nature liable to be rapidly spoken; in the following verses.

Phœn. 764 = 769. γάμους ὦ ἀδελφῆς Ἀντιγόνης παιδός τε σοῦ,  
Androm. 14. τῷ νησιώτῃ Νουπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας,

and in that above,

εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος;

naturally enough the names Ἀντιγόνης and Νουπτολέμῳ and Ἰφιγένειαν might be slurred into something like Ἀντ'γόνης, Νουπτ'λέμῳ, Ἰφ'γένειαν: the ear of course would find no cause of offence, and the eye takes no cognizance of the matter.

5. If this mode of solution be allowed as probable at least in the department of proper names in Tragic verse to which it bears direct application, by parity of argument perhaps it may be extended to the similar case of common words used in Comic verse also.

Take for instance the line above quoted;

λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμους μαθήσομαι;

What was the objection to the old and vulgar reading, σκινδάλ-μους? Clearly this: that it placed a — — in 4th. What then does σχινδαλάμους place there? Either ∪ ∪ — is pronounced as three distinct syllables, in what is called triple time, while the

metre itself is in common, or by rapid utterance  $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  comes to the ear, and so the verse proceeds with its own regular movement.

Briefly, we have either  $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , a molossus, — — —, which murders the metre entirely;

or  $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , a full sounded choriambus, —  $\cup \cup$  —, which contrary to the law of the verse mingles triple with common time;

or  $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\delta(\alpha)\acute{\lambda}\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , i. e. in effect, the pes creticus, —  $\cup$  —, that very quantum of sound which the metre requires.

P. S. It may be necessary to remark, that Clarke's reasoning about the  $\cup \cup$  — *Proprii Nominis* in 4th is just as applicable to the 2d place also with that foot as to the 4th. And if his argument, as here stated, be sufficient to account for the licence in the 2d and 4th places, of course, where the same licence occurs in the 3d and 5th, its admission there also must be considered in the very same light.

For examples of the  $\cup \cup$  — (or —  $\cup \cup$  —) *Proprii Nominis* in all the four places, see ch. i. §. 3.

6. Before advancing a step farther, it is but right to avow, that all which we at present propose, is to set this question fairly agoing on its apparently reasonable and very probable ground.

High probability then favors the idea, that the Anapests (and Choriambi) of Greek Comedy (under all combinations of words and syllables) were passed lightly over the tongue without trespassing on the time allowed betwixt ictus and ictus in verses not containing those feet, i. e. in metres of common time.

Any thing like a perfect enumeration of particulars commodiously classed would be found to demand a serious sacrifice of leisure and labor. The classes which are here given in specimen only, while they undoubtedly embrace a very great majority of the facts, may serve to show the nature of that extensive survey which would be necessary to make the induction complete.

7. Instances like  $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , it might *a priori* be calculated, are not likely to be very numerous; hardly 10 in every 100 of the Comic Trimeters: nor do all the words of similar dimensions with  $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  present a choriambus so readily obedient to our organs at least for running four syllables into three.

Nubes 16.  $\acute{o}\nu\mid\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota \mid \theta' \acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \cdot \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \delta' \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota,$

Plutus 25.  $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\omega}\nu \sigma\omicron\iota \mid \pi\upsilon\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \mid \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon \sigma\phi\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha.$

Besides the instances of — ∪ ∪ — in one word, which afford the strongest case for the admission of the licence, some other principal modes in which that apparent foot is made up may be classed under four heads.

A. Where a long monosyllable, from its nature more or less adhering to the word which it precedes, may be supposed to form a coalescence of this kind, | — | ∪ ∪ — |.

Plutus 45. εἶτ' οὐ ζυγίης | τὴν ἐπίνοι|αν τοῦ θεοῦ;

Acharn. 52. σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι | πρὸς Λακεδαι|μονίους μόνῳ.

Nubes 12. ἀλλ' | οὐ δύναμαι | δεῖλαιος εὐδεῖν δακνόμενος.

B. Where either a monosyllable precedes, having from the law of collocation less adherence to what follows; or some longer word precedes, not particularly attached to the word which follows, or by syntax united to it:

Plut. 56. ἄγε | δὴ πρότερον | σὺ σαντὸν, ὅστις εἶ, φράσον.

Nub. 25. Φίλ|ων, ἀδικεῖς' | ἔλαυνε τὸν σαντοῦ δρόμον.

Plut. 148. δοῦλ|ος γεγένη|μαι διὰ τὸ μὴ πλουτεῖν ἴσως.

C. Where, after an elision, concurrences of this kind take place:

Plut. 12. μελαγχολῶντ' ἀπέπεμ|ψέ μου τὸν δεσπότην.

—— 16. οὐ<sup>1</sup>|τος δ' ἀκολουθεῖ, καμὲ προσβιάζεται.

—— 196. καὶν | ταῦθ' ἀνύση|ται, τετταράκοντα βούλεται.

D. Where a monosyllable by its natural position follows a longer word:

Plut. 688. τὸ γράδιον δ' ὡς | ἥσθετο δὴ | μου τὸν ψόφον.

—— 942. καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ μέτωπον | αὐτίκα δὴ | μάλα.

N.B. From the very close connexion of the article with its noun, τὸ μέτωπον may be fairly taken as one word; and so, in the following line, we may consider τὰ νοσήματα:

Plut. 708. δέσας· ἐκείνος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ νοσήματα.

Thus v. 942. will become referrible to the class A, and v. 708. to the class B, along with many combinations of the very same kind.

8. If the idea of this inquiry had struck the mind of Elmsley as worthy at all of his careful research, little or nothing would have been afterwards left for investigation. The topic was not

without interest to him as an Editor of Aristophanes: and on the Acharnians, ad v. 178. and in reference to v. 505.,

Τί ἐστίν; ἐγὼ μὲν δευρό σοι σπονδὰς φέρων—  
 "Ἡστραπτει, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα—

in a note of great and successful acuteness, he examines and settles a curious point in the main subject itself.

"178. Hodie hic τί ἐστ' malim, et ἡστραπτ', v. 505. Nam longe rarius, quam putaram, anapæstum in hoc metri genere inchoat ultima vocis syllaba." The whole note will amply repay the trouble of perusal.

9. And now, at the close of this article, we may safely allude to the similar, though far from identical, question of comic licence in Terence's Plays, so well illustrated by the labors of Hare and of Bentley. Great accession of probability, no doubt, may be derived from whatever is received as satisfactory in Terence to whatever wants elucidation in Aristophanes. And in the slurring of short syllables especially, which forms the principal point of agreement in versification betwixt those two writers, whatever is acknowledged as any thing like demonstration in the Latin Poet may be considered as *a fortiori* credible of the lighter and more volent speech of the Athenian.

With great caution, however, let the young Student proceed to investigate the metres of Terence in comparison with those of Aristophanes; or he may find himself sadly confused by their diversity, instead of being at all instructed by their similitude; notwithstanding the general agreement of both in the cause of so much apparent licence, namely, in the approach which Comedy always must make to the familiarity of common discourse.



## APPENDIX.

### *On Syllabic Quantity, and on its Differences in Heroic and Dramatic Verse.*

1. By *syllabic quantity* is here meant the quantity of a syllable under these circumstances: the vowel, being unquestionably short, precedes a pair of consonants of such a nature that it may anywhere be pronounced either distinctly apart from them, or in combination with the first of the two.

If the vowel be pronounced apart from those consonants, as in  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , that syllable is said to be *short by nature*.

If the vowel be pronounced in combination with the first of those consonants, as in  $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , the syllable then is said to be *long by position*.

2. The subjoined list comprises all the pairs of consonants which may *begin* a word, and also *permit* a short vowel within the same word to form a short syllable.

i.  $\pi\rho, \kappa\rho, \tau\rho: \phi\rho, \chi\rho, \theta\rho: \beta\rho, \gamma\rho, \delta\rho$ .

ii.  $\pi\lambda, \kappa\lambda, \tau\lambda: \phi\lambda, \chi\lambda, \theta\lambda$ .—iii.  $\pi\nu, \kappa\nu: \chi\nu, \theta\nu$ .—iv.  $\tau\mu$ .

The only remaining pairs,  $\beta\lambda, \gamma\lambda: \delta\mu$ : and  $\mu\nu$ , which are at once *initial* and in a very few cases *permissive*, may, on account of that rarity, be passed over for the present. But the following pairs,  $\kappa\mu: \chi\mu, \theta\mu: \tau\nu: \phi\nu$ , though not *initial*, yet within the same word *permissive*, deserve to be stated here, as they will afterwards be noticed.

3. More than twenty other combinations of consonants, (along with  $\psi, \xi, \zeta$ .) though qualified to be *initial*, are of course foreign to the purpose, as never being *permissive* also; at least in the practice of those authors to whom these remarks are confined.

The combinations last mentioned it may be allowed in future to call *non-permissive*; and for this reason, that neither within the same word, nor between one word and another, (of verse

at least,) do they permit a preceding short vowel to be pronounced distinctly apart: it seems to be coupled with them always by an irresistible attraction.

In turning from the Comic trimeter of Aristophanes to the stately hexameter of Homer, the difference of syllabic quantity must be strikingly felt: and that contrast is here purposely taken, to show the more clearly in what the great difference consists betwixt the prosody of heroic and that of dramatic verse.

4. Homer seldom allows a short vowel to form a short syllable before any of those *permissive* pairs lately detailed, and only before some few of them. The following cases occur betwixt one word and another: such corruptions within the same word are yet more uncommon.

- Α. 113. Οἵκοι ἔχειν· καὶ γάρ ρα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα.  
— 263. Οἶον Πειρίθουόν τε, Δρύαντά τε, ποιμένα λαῶν.  
— 528. Ἦ, καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρυσιν νεύσει Κρονίων.  
— 609. Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λόχος ἦν Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητής.

5. Aristophanes (with very few exceptions in Anapestic verse, pointed out by Porson, pp. lx. lxi. = p. 54.) never allows a short vowel *cum ictu* to form a long syllable with any permissive pair, even within the same word.

Plut. 449. ποιιοισιν οπ-λοισ ἢ δυνάμει πεποιθότες;

Such was, indeed, the vulgar reading, till Dawes, (M. C. p. 196.) anticipating, as usual, the Ravenna MS., gave the true text :

Ποιῖς ὁ-πλοισιν ἢ δυνάμει πεποιθότες :

6. Homer, on the other hand, not only in the same word *cum ictu*, but in the same word *extra ictum*, and even between two words in the same *debilis positio*, makes the syllable long.

- Α. 13. Λυσόμενός τε θυγατ-ρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.  
 — 77. Ἡ μέν μοι πρόφ-ρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν.  
 — 345. Ὡς φάτο· Πατ-ροκ-λος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἐταίρῳ.  
 Δ. 57. ἀλλαχ-ρη καὶ ἐμὸν θέμεναι πόνον οὐκ ἀτέλεστον.  
 Η. 189. γνω δεκ-ληρου σῆμα ιδὼν, γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ.

7. The only possible case in which Aristophanes might prolong such a syllable would be in the use of verbs like these, ἐκ-λύω, ἐκ-μαίνω, ἐκ-νεύω, ἐκ-ρέω, if compounds of that kind ever occur; because, from the very nature of the compound, ἐκ must always be pronounced distinct from the initial consonant of the verb.

8. In Homer, on the contrary, even the loose vowel of augment (ε) or reduplication, when it precedes πλ, κλ, κρ, τρ, &c. initial of the verb, not only *cum ictu*, but even *extra ictum*, is made to form a long syllable.

A. 46. ἐκ-λαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἴστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωρόμενοιο.

— 309. Ἐς δ' ἐρετας ἐκ-ρinen ἐείκοσιν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην.

Ξ. 176. Πεξαμένη, χερσὶ πλοκαμους ἐπ-λεξε φαεινούς.

N. 542. Λαιμόν τύψ', ἐπὶ οἱ τετ-ραμμένον, ὅξ' ἔϊ δουρί.

9. In Homer no dissyllabic word like πατρός, τέκνον, ὄφρα, &c. which can have the first syllable long, is ever found with it otherwise: in Aristophanes those first syllables are constantly shortened.

10. Briefly then it may be said, that, in Homer, whatever can be long is very seldom (and under very nice circumstances) ever short: in Aristophanes, whatever can be short is never found long.

To complete the purpose of this little sketch, the tragic prosody also, (of Euripides, for instance,) in a few correspondent points, may as well be presented.

11. Aristophanes, even in the same word, and where the *ictus* might be available, (§. 5.) never makes a long syllable: Euripides, who excludes the prolongation even *cum ictu* betwixt one word and another,

(Orest. 64. παρθένον, ἐμῇ τε μητρὶ παρεδωκεν τρέφειν.

i. e. not παρεδωκετ-ρεφειν.)

within the same word readily allows it:

Med. 4. τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μήδ' ἐρετ-μωσαι χέρας.

— 17. προδούς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τεκ-ρα, δεσπότιν τ' ἐμήν.

— 25. τὸν πάντα συντήκουσα δακ-ρυσιν χρόνον.

12. In Euripides, even those dissyllabic words, (alluded to §. 9.) wherever, from its position, the syllable is decisively long or short, exhibit that syllable *thrice short to one case of long*. Consequently, in certain positions (unictuated) of Iambic or Trochaic verse which indifferently admit either quantity, there can be no reasonable ground for supposing that syllable to be lengthened: of course, therefore, the following lines are thus read:

Med. 226. *πι-κρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ὕπο.*

Iph. A. 891. *ἐπὶ τίνος σπουδαστέον μοι μᾶλλον, ἢ τε-κνου πέρι;*

13. In cases where the augment falls as in *ἐπέκλωσεν* or *κεκλήσθαι*, or where, as in *πολύχρυσος* and *ἀπότροποι*, the short vowel closes the first part of a composite word, the prolongation of that syllable in Euripides, though not altogether avoided, is yet exceedingly rare. (R. P. ad Orest. 64.)

14. One great cause of the many mistakes about syllabic quantity should seem to be involved in that false position of S. Clarke's, (ad Il. B. 537.) that a short vowel preceding *any* two consonants with which a syllable can be commenced may form a short syllable. Nothing was ever more unluckily asserted, or more pregnant with confusion and error.

15. To the perspicacity and acuteness of Dawes (M. C. pp. 90, 1. 196. 146, 7.) we are indebted for the first clear statement of the principal points in this department of prosody: to the deliberate and masterly judgment of Porson (ad Orest. 64. and elsewhere) we owe whatever else is correctly and certainly known.

16. Some little things, however, may serve to show, that an English ear, especially on a sudden appeal, is no very competent judge of *Attic correptions*, so called.

For instance, in the following lines,

Phœn. 1444. *ἐν τῷδε μήτηρ ἡ τάλαινα προσπίτνει,*

Alc. 434. *ἐπίσταμαί γε, κοῦκ ἄφνω κακὸν τόδε,*

it is not from any practice of our own, certainly, that we should pronounce the words *προσπί-τνει*, and *ἄ-φνω*, with precision and facility in that very way.

17. So, too, if *ἀκμῇ* and *ἔσμεν* were on a sudden proposed as to the shortening of the first syllable in each, it might seem



to an English ear just as improbable in the noun as in the verb; although in Athenian utterance we know very well the fact was quite otherwise.

That eminently learned and powerful scholar, Toup, (vid. Emendd. Vol. I. 114, §. IV. 441.) stoutly maintained in his day (what is now called) the *permissiveness* of  $\sigma\mu$ ; and actually on that ground suggested the following as an emendation of a passage in Sophocles, for  $\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  or  $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ :

Elect. 21, 2. ....ὥς ἐνταῦθ' ἐ- $\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  
 $\iota\nu'$  οὐκέτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή.

(where ἀκμή) of course is right enough, being pronounced ἀ-κμή.) Since Porson's delicate correction of that error (u. s. p. 441.) no argument has been advanced in its defence. And yet, *a priori*, why should not  $\sigma\mu$  be *permissive*, as well as  $\theta\mu$ , for instance? "The consonants  $\sigma\mu$  can begin a word: why not commence a separate syllable? How can  $\theta\mu$  commence a syllable, when notoriously it cannot begin a word?" *Honesta oratio est.*

18. The plain truth however stands thus: that  $\kappa\mu$  and  $\theta\mu$ , (with  $\chi\mu$ ,  $\phi\nu$ ,  $\tau\nu$ ,) though never used as *initial* to any word, yet within the same words are found *permissive* much too often to admit the shadow of a doubt on that head.

Phœn. 551. Καὶ γὰρ μέτρ' ἀνθρώποισι καὶ μέρη στα- $\theta\mu\omega\nu$   
 may be taken for one undisputed example: there is no want of more.

19. How far in the different pairs of consonants which have been defined as *non-permissive* (§. 3.) a physical necessity was the obstacle, in some at least, if not in others, might be a question for anatomy rather than for criticism.

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## EXTRACTS FROM ELMSLEYS REVIEW OF PORSON'S HECUBA.

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(*EDINBURGH REVIEW*, 1811. p. 64—95.)

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Our readers will recollect that the Preface to the *Hecuba* originally appeared in the year 1797; and that the Supplement, the length of which is four times that of the original preface, was added in the edition of 1802. The principal hero of the piece, although, after the example of the heroes of many Tragedies, he is not produced upon the Stage until the second act, is the learned Godofred Hermann; whom, for some reason or other, Mr. Porson appears to have considered rather as a personal enemy than as a literary antagonist. Almost every line of Mr. Porson's Supplement contains an allusion to some blunder committed by the above-mentioned learned personage, in one or other of the two following works: *Godofredi Hermannii de Metris*.—*Euripidis Hecuba*. *Godofredi Hermannii ad eam et ad R. Porsoni Notas Animadversiones*.

Whoever wishes thoroughly to understand the Preface to Mr. Porson's edition of the *Hecuba*, ought "to devote his days and nights" to the study of Mr. Hermann's edition of the same Tragedy. Those persons who possess both editions, will do well in binding them in one volume; adding, if they think proper, the *Diatribæ extemporalis* of the vehement and injudicious Wakefield, and the excellent strictures on Mr. Porson's *Hecuba* and Mr. Wakefield's *Diatribæ*, which appeared in the *Monthly Review* for 1799, and which are well known to be written by a gentleman to whom Greek literature is more indebted than to any other living scholar.

The greater part of the original Preface relates to the use of anapests in tragic *senarii*. Should any scholar of the nineteenth century venture to maintain the admissibility of an anapest, not included in a proper name, into any place of a Greek tragic *senarius*, except the first foot, he would assuredly be ranked with those persons, if any such persons remain, who deny the motion of the earth, or the circulation of the blood. Before the appearance of the preface to the *Hecuba*, critics were divided into two sects upon this subject; the more rigid of which excluded anapests from all the even places; whereas the other admitted them promiscuously into any place except the last. Mr. Porson (p. 6.) with his usual strictness in attributing the merit of discoveries and improvements to the right owners, mentions an obscure hint of the true doctrine which is contained in the preface to Morell's *Thesaurus Græcæ Poëseos*. By how little effect that hint was followed, may be judged from the following words of the learned Hermann (*Metr.* p. 150).

“A trisyllabis pedibus Tragici Græci maxime abstinuerunt, quanquam etiam in pari sede, sed admodum raro, anapæstus invenitur. Idque et Hephæstio notavit, et nuper Brunckius defendit ad Soph. *Œd.* Col. 371. 1169. *Philoct.* 491. Vide *Æschyli Prom.* 353. 354.”

The lines of *Æschylus* quoted in this antediluvian passage, are commonly read as follows:

Ἑκατοντακάρηνον πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον,  
Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς.

According to Brunck, in his note on v. 265. *In priori scribere potuisset poëta ἑκατοντάρηνον vel ἑκατοντάκρανον: in altero πᾶς pro πᾶσιν.* The reading *ἑκατοντάκρανον* receives some support from a similar variation in Eurip. *Herc.* 611. Καὶ θῆρα γ' εἰς φῶς τὸν τρίκρανον ἤγαγον. The editions, from Aldus to Barnes inclusive, read *τρικάρηνον*. But the Attics always wrote *ἑκατοντάλαντος*, *ἑκατόμυιος*, *ἑκατόζυγος*, *ἑκατόστομος*, &c. without the additional syllable. The Glasgow edition of *Æschylus* reads *ἑκατογκάρηνον*, which Dr. Blomfield has properly altered to *ἑκατογκάρανον*. In Dr. Blomfield's edition, the following verse is thus represented:

Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> A tragic *senarius*, according to Mr. Porson (p. 20), admits an iambus into any place; a tribrach into any place except the sixth; a spondee into the first, third, and fifth; a dactyl into the first and third; and an anapest into the first alone. So that the first foot of the *senarius* is capable of five different forms; the third of four; the fifth of three; the second and fourth of two; and the sixth of only one. Two hundred and forty different varieties of the *senarius* may be produced, without employing any combination of feet unauthorized by Mr. Porson's rule. The Tragic Poets, however, do not often admit more than two trisyllabic feet into the same verse; and never, if our observation be accurate, more than three. The admission of anapests into the second, third, fourth, and fifth places, and of dactyls into the fifth place, increases the varieties of the Comic *senarius* to seven hundred and ten. The number would be eleven hundred and twenty-five, if four hundred and fifteen combinations were not rejected, because they exhibit a tribrach or a dactyl immediately before an anapest.

No regular tragic *senarius*, of whatsoever feet it is composed, can possibly exhibit two short syllables enclosed between two long ones, or more than three long syllables without the intervention of a short one. A moment's consideration will satisfy the reader, that all such combinations of syllables are absolutely incompatible with the structure of the verse. The inability to employ four or more long syllables together, is productive of so little practical inconvenience, that the Tragedians appear to have acquiesced in it without difficulty. The inadmissibility of two short syllables enclosed between two long ones, is a much more serious grievance. Many persons of great eminence have had the misfortune to bear names constituted in that unaccommodating form. Such were Ægialeus, Andromache, Andromeda, Antigone, Antiope, Bellephontes, Hermione, Hippodamia, Hypsipyle, Iphigenia, Laodamia, Laomedon, Penelope, Protesilaus, Tiresias, and a great many more of equal fame. Although all these persons were admirably qualified by their names, as well as by their actions, to shine in epic poetry, unhappily not one of them is capable of being mentioned by name in a Tragic *senarius* composed in the regular manner. There is also another class of persons not altogether so unfortunate, whose names are excluded only in some of



the oblique cases: as Hippolytus, Neoptolemus, Œnomaus, Talthibius, &c. In favour of all such persons, and perhaps of the names of places which are formed in the same manner, the Tragic poets occasionally transgress the ordinary rules of their versification. Proper names which cannot enter the *senarius* in the regular way, are admitted into it in two different manners: the first, of which Mr. Porson has not spoken, consists in substituting a choriambus in the place of the first *dipodia* of the verse. This practice has been adopted by Æschylus in two well-known instances:

Ἰππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος. Theb. 494.

Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ. Ibid. 553.

The only other instance of this licence with which we are acquainted, is produced from a play of Sophocles by Priscian (p. 1328).

Ἀλφεισίβοιαν, ἣν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ.

The second and more usual way of introducing proper names of this form into the verse, consists in admitting the two short syllables, and the following long syllable of the proper name, as one foot, into the second, third, fourth, or fifth place of the verse. We have not observed more than one instance of this practice in the surviving plays of Æschylus.

Ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον, μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν (pronounced Ἀμφιάρω.) Theb. 575.

Sophocles and Euripides, however, will furnish examples in great abundance. In the *Orestes* of Euripides, the name of Hermione occurs in a *senarius* ten times. In nine of these instances, the anapest occupies the fourth place in the verse. This last circumstance is in a great measure the natural consequence of the predilection of the Tragic Poets for the penthemimeral *cæsuræ*.

<sup>1</sup> We have some doubts whether the Tragedians ever extended this license to patronymics. We are not at present able to recollect any authority for the following emendation proposed by Mr. Porson (p. 38).

Ἀσκληπιάδων δὲ τοῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐντυχών. Soph. Phil. 1333.

We read

Καὶ τοῖν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

A few *senarii* may be found, which contain anapests in some of the four middle places, composed of the first three syllables of a proper name. Most of the following instances are borrowed from Mr. Porson (p. 25, 35), and their number is so small, that we do not hesitate to consider them as corrupt, although we do not pretend to correct them.

Ἡ που Τελάμων, ὁ σὸς πατήρ, ἐμὸς θ' ἅμα. Soph. Aj. 1008.

The reading of this verse is, as Mr. Porson observes, uncertain. The different readings, with the authorities on which they depend, may be seen in Brunck's note. The anapest may be avoided, by adopting the emendation of Toup. Ἡ πού με Τελάμων, σὸς πατήρ.

ὦ διπλοῖ στρατηλάται,

Ἀγάμεμνον, ὦ Μενέλαε, πῶς ἂν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ. Phil. 793.

Mr. Hermann reads (Hec. p. lxii), πῶς ἂν, Ἀγάμεμνον καὶ Μενέλεως ἀντ' ἐμοῦ. In all probability, Mr. Hermann has long been convinced that the first and fifth feet of this verse are such as Sophocles never exhibited. The Poet might have written if he had thought proper to do so,

Μενέλαος, Ἀγαμέμνων τε, πῶς ἂν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ.

Ἀπωλόμην, Μενέλαε. Τυνδάρεως ὄδε

Στείχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Eurip. Or. 459.

If the fault is not in the word Μενέλαε, perhaps we ought to read Μενέλα', ἀπωλόμεσθα.

Ἐλένην Μενέλαος ἵνα λάβῃ. καλὸν γένος. Iph. Aul. 1168.

Μενέλεως is an obvious correction; but we suspect that Euripides wrote,

Μενέλαος Ἐλένην ἵνα λάβῃ. καλὸν γ' ἔθος

Κακῆς γυναικὸς μισθὸν ἀποτίσαι τέκνα.

The intermediate step between γ' ἔθος and γένος is γ' ἔθνος. Γένους for ἔθους occurs in Athenæus, (p. 297, D.) The modern editions of Euripides read καλὸν γε, νῶ, &c.; which reading we do not presume lightly to abrogate.

We form the same judgment of those verses, in which the three last syllables of a proper name of four or five syllables are used as an anapest without necessity :

Σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', Ἴόνιος κεκληῖσεται. Æsch. Prom. 839.

This is not a real instance, as we believe the first syllable of Ἴόνιος to be short. It is, indeed, sometimes made long for the convenience of the metre, like the first syllable of Ἰταλία or ἰσόθεος. It is short, however, in the Phœnissæ of Euripides, v. 216, where the words Ἴόνιον κατὰ, correspond with ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι in the antistrophe. In most of the editions, the first syllable of ἴσα is improperly circumflexed.

Ὅς δ' οἶεται Νεοπτόλεμος γαμῆν νιν, οὐ γαμῆι ποτε<sup>1</sup>.

Eur. Or. 1654.

The word Νεοπτόλεμος is commonly read in the Tragedies as if it were written Νουπτόλεμος. In the present verse, however, if the common reading be correct, the contraction of the first two syllables does not take place. We suspect that one long syllable, or two short syllables, have been omitted after Νεοπτόλεμος.

Ἐκτήσαθ' Ἴπποδάμειαν, Οἰνόμαον κτανών. Iph. Taur. 825.

Read, Οἰνόμαον ἐλὼν, from Pindar, Olymp. i. 142.

The following verses may also be considered as in some degree licentious :

Ἀργεῖον Ἀμφιτρύων, ὃν Ἀλκαῖός ποτε. Eurip. Herc. 2.

Εἰς καιρὸν οἴκων Ἀμφιτρύων ἔξω περᾷ. Ib. 701.

The second syllable of Ἀμφιτρύων is not necessarily short, and is lengthened more than once in the same play.

As the Tragic trimeter iambic admits anapests when they are contained in proper names, so it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Tragic tetrameter trochaic admits dactyls in similar circumstances, and for the same reason. The thirty-two Tragedies, however, afford only two examples of this practice, both of which are probably corrupt.

Εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος. Iph. Aul. 882.

Πάντες Ἕλληνες στρατὸς δέ Μυρμιδόνων οὐ σοι παρήν. Ib. 1352.

1. Νεοπτόλεμος γαμῆν νιν, οὐ γαμῆι ποτέ. R. P. v. 1671.

Read στρατός δέ Μυρμιδών. With regard to unnecessary dactyls in this metre, it may be observed, that they are liable to the same objections as unnecessary anapests in iambic verses, together with the additional objection that they are divided between two words. Mr. Porson (p. 25) produces three examples of this kind, of which the first alone deserves much consideration.

Εἰ γὰρ Ἀργείους ἐπάξει τοῖσδε δώμασιν λαβὼν,  
 Τὸν Ἑλένης φόνον διώκων, κάμῃ μὴ σώζειν θέλει,  
 Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμήν, Πυλάδην τε, τὸν τάδε ξυνδρῶντά μοι,  
 Παρθένον τε καὶ δάμαρτα δύο νεκρῷ κατόψεται.

Eur. Or. 1533.

The obnoxious verse is thus corrected by the learned Hermann (Hec. p. lxiv.):

Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμήν τάδε Πυλάδην τε τὸν ξυνδρῶντά μοι.

In this verse, the rhythm is violated by the tribrach, which begins on the last syllable of a word of more than one syllable. We suspect that the word Πυλάδην has crept into the text from an interlinear gloss, and that the poet wrote,

Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμήν, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τάδε ξυνδρῶντά μοι.

This use of τρίτος is not rare. So Eurip. Hippol. 1404.

Πατέρα τε, καὶ σέ, καὶ τρίτην ξυνάορον.

Every person conversant with Greek MSS. is aware how often proper names supplant the words which are intended to represent them. See, for instance, Eurip. Med. 58, where Mr. Porson has restored δεσποίνης instead of Μηδείας; and Aristoph. Plut. 1173, where all the editions read Πλοῦτος instead of θεός.

Mr. Porson's second instance of a divided dactyl is,

Οὐ, πρὶν ἂν δείξω Δαναοῖσι πᾶσι (Δαναοῖσι ἅπασι. Ald.)  
 τὰγγεγραμμένα.

Iph. Aul. 324.

The true reading, δείξω γε Δαναοῖς πᾶσι, which is exhibited in one MS., and is mentioned with approbation by Mr. Porson, has lately been admitted into the text by Mr. Gaisford. The suppression of the verb after οὐ renders the introduction of γε almost indispensably necessary. The third instance is from the same play.



Ὦς δ' ἀνολβον εἶχες ὄμμα, σύγχυσίν τε, μὴ νεῶν  
Χιλίων ἄρχων, Πριάμου τε πεδῖον ἐμπλήσας δορός. v. 354.

The meaning of these lines appears to be : *Do you remember how unhappy you were, because you were not able to land your army at Troy, although you had a thousand ships under your command?* If this interpretation be correct, the conjunction in the second verse must necessarily be expunged. If we read τὸ Πριάμου πεδῖον, the dactyl will disappear. According to Mr. Porson (p. 26), the Poets of the sock agree with their brethren of the buskin, in excluding dactyls from trochaic verses, except in case of proper names. In the eleven Comedies of Aristophanes, we have not discovered any genuine instance of a dactyl in a verse of this measure. We have observed, however, three verses, which appear to have deserved greater attention than they have received.

Καὶ παλαιῷ Λακρατίδῃ τὸ σκέλος βαρύνεται. Ach. 214. (ed. Bekker.)

Πρῶτος ὢν; ὁ δ' Ἴπποδάμου λείβεται θεώμενος. Eq. 327.

Μυρρίνας αἵτησον ἐξ Αἰσχινάδου τῶν καρπίμων. Pac. 1120.

It is almost superfluous to observe, that the two middle syllables of these first three proper names are necessarily short. Ἴπποδάμος, in particular, cannot reasonably be supposed to be a Doric compound of ἵππος and δῆμος. We perceive, therefore, that in order to introduce those refractory names into tetrameter trochaics, Aristophanes has twice used a choriambus, and once an ionic *a minore*, in the place of the regular trochaic *dipodia*.

<sup>1</sup>—We now return to the Tragic *senarius*, respecting which we find two very important canons in the preface to the Hecuba, besides those which relate to the use of anapests. The first of these canons is, that the third and fourth feet must not be included in the same word, as in the following verse of Castorio the Solian, produced by Mr. Porson from Athenæus (p. 454. F.) :

Σὲ τὸν βόλοις νιφοκτύποις δυσχέιμερον.

*Hoc si fieri posset*, says Mr. Porson (p. 28), *omnis rhythmus, omnes numeri funditus everterentur*. This expression has, in some instances, been construed rather too strictly, as if it were necessary that a Tragic *senarius*, which has neither the penthi-

mimera] nor the hepthimimera *cæsura*, should at least have a pause after the third foot, like the following verses of Sophocles :

Λέγω σ' ἐγὼ δόλω Φιλοκλήτην λαβεῖν. Phil. 101.

Σὺ δὲ, τέκνον, ποίαν μ' ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς. Ib. 276.

Ἔα κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι κακοῦς. Ib. 1369.

Such verses are indeed sufficiently common ; but a certain number may also be produced, which have no regular pause at all in the two middle feet.

Κακὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γνοίης μιᾷ. Œd. Tyr. 615.

Κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισί μου καθίκετο. Ib. 809.

Ἄλλ' ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλίαν. Ant. 95.

Οὗτος, σὲ τὸν τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας χέρας. Aj. 71.

Ἐγὼ δ' ὀρώσ' ἡ δύσμορος κατὰ στέγας. El. 282.

To our ears, most of the preceding verses appear to be as destitute of *cæsura*, as if the third and fourth feet of each were comprehended in the same word. Mr. Porson has collected three apparent instances of the violation of his canon from Æschylus, two from Euripides, and one from Neophro.

Εἰσηλθε τοῖν τρισαθλίῳν ἕρις κακῇ. Œd. Col. 372.

Mr. Porson reads, *τρίς ἀθλίῳν divisim*.

Πῶς δῆτα τοῦδ' ἐπεγγελῶεν ἂν κάτα; Aj. 969.

As the Tragedians do not say *ἐπεγγελᾶν κατὰ τινος*, Mr. Porson reads *τοῦδ' γ' ἐγγελῶεν ἂν κάτα*. Perhaps, however, the true reading is *τοῦδ' ἂν ἐγγελῶεν ἂν κάτα*.

Ἀτὰρ τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρομαι, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσίν. Androm. 397.

Καὶ πρὸς τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρομαι, ψυχὴν ἐμήν.

Neoph. ap. Stob. x. x. x. p. 107. Ed. Grot.

Mr. Porson reads *ταῦτα ὀύρομαι* in both passages.

The only tragic verse of any metre, to the best of our knowledge, in which *ὀδύρομαι* cannot be changed into *δύρομαι* by a similar alteration, occurs in a suspicious passage of Euripides.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί ταῦτα θρηνῶ καὶ μάτην ὀδύρομαι. Phœn. 1750.

Mr. Porson's second instance from Euripides is Iph. Aul. 1586. which we omit, as he has taught us that the whole conclusion of

that Play, after the last song of the Chorus, was fabricated many centuries after the death of the Poet. The three examples from Æschylus cause a little more hesitation.

Στρατὸς περᾶ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον. Pers. 501.

Mr. Porson reads,

Κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περᾶ.

Ἡ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις χρησμῶν ἐμῶν. Agam. 1261.

Mr. Porson reads,

Ἡ κάρτα χρησμῶν ἄρ' ἐμῶν παρεσκόπεις.

Καὶ τᾶλλα πόλλ' ἐπείκασαι δίκαιον ἦν,

Εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν. Suppl. 252.

Mr. Porson reads,

Καὶ πολλά γ' ἦν δίκαιον ἄλλ' ἐπείκασαι.

The following emendation adheres more closely to the common reading:

Καὶ πολλά γ' ἄλλα μ' (vel. ἄλλ' ἂν) εἰκάσαι δίκαιον ἦν.

Upon the whole, when we consider how frequently the first and second, the second and third, the fourth and fifth, and the fifth and sixth feet of the *senarius* are included in the same word, we cannot agree with the learned Hermann (Hec. p. 141), in attributing to chance the non-occurrence, or at least the extreme rarity, of verses which exhibit the two middle feet similarly conjoined.

Mr. Porson's second canon may be conveniently expressed in the following words: *The first syllable of the fifth foot of a Tragic trimeter iambic must be short, if it ends a word of two or more syllables, unless the second syllable of the same foot is a monosyllable which is incapable of beginning a verse.*

The monosyllables of most frequency which are incapable of beginning a verse, are ἄν, αὖ, γάρ, ἐέ, ἐή, μὲν, μήν, οὖν, together with all enclitics. Dissyllables, in which the vowel of the second syllable is elided, are considered as monosyllables. This canon was originally promulgated rather obscurely in a note on v. 343 of the Tragedy; which verse in most editions is thus represented:

Κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦμπαλιν.

The true reading, ἔμπαλιν, had already been received by Mr. King, on the authority of MSS: but it remained for

Mr. Porson to show that the common reading violates a very important law of Tragic versification. His words in the note in question are as follow :

“ Quid velim melius fortasse intelligetur, si dicam, paucissimos apud Tragicos versus occurrere similes Ionis initio, Ἀπλᾶς ὁ χαλκίοισι νώτοις οὐρανόν.”

In his note on v. 1464 of the Phœnissæ, Mr. Porson remarks, that the following verse, forged in the name of Euripides by Teles, is inartificially constructed :

Καὶ γῆς φίλης ὄχθοισι κρυφθῶ καὶ τάφῳ.

If Teles had written κρυφθῶ δὲ τάφῳ, he would not have offended against Mr. Porson's canon, as the particle δὲ cannot begin a verse, and therefore may be considered as in some degree adhering to the preceding word. Such verses, however, as we shall hereafter show, are not of very frequent occurrence. The following verse, quoted in the same note, is of a better and more usual form :

Ἐν γῆς φίλης μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν.

<sup>1</sup>—It may not be superfluous to mention, that we have discovered no instance of the violation of Mr. Porson's canon in the fragments of Simonides, of Amorgus, and the other early iambic Poets, from whom the Tragedians probably derived it. It is also strictly observed in the Alexandra of Lycophron.

Mr. Porson has omitted to mention, although it appears that he was aware of the fact, that his canon is as applicable to those verses, the first syllable of the fifth foot of which is a monosyllable which cannot begin a verse, as to those in which it terminates a word of two or more syllables. The instances to the contrary, which are to be found in the thirty-two Tragedies, for the most part admit of very easy and satisfactory emendations.

<sup>2</sup>—It may be laid down as a general rule, that the first syllable of the fifth foot must be short, if it is followed by the slightest pause or break of the sense.

Καλῶς ἂν ἡμῖν συμφέροι ταῦτ', ὦ τέκνα. Æsch. Supp. 761.

Setting aside all considerations of the preceding observation, we do not hesitate to change ταῦτ' into τὰδ', and τοῦτ' into τόδ',



whenever they occur in this situation. Soph. El. 409. is the only other instance which we have observed.

Τούκειθεν ἄλσους, ὧ ξένη, τοῦδ'· ἦν δέ του. Œd. Col. 505.

The whole passage is thus to be read :

Ἄλλ' εἰμ' ἐγὼ τελοῦσα· τὸν τόπον δ' ἵνα  
Χρὴ στέμμ' ἐφευρεῖν, τοῦτο βούλομαι μαθεῖν.  
Τούκειθεν ἄλσος, ὧ ξένη, τόδ'· ἦν δέ του  
Σπάνιν τίν' ἴσχης, ἔστ' ἐπιοικος, ὃς φράσει.

Ἄλσος is the accusative, with κατὰ understood.

Ἐγὼ δέ βούλομαι τὰ σὰ στέρν', ὧ πάτερ. Iph. Aul. 635.

This verse, with several others in the same passage, is rejected by Mr. Porson as spurious.

<sup>1</sup>—It appears from what has been said, that the fifth foot of a Tragic *senarius* cannot be a spondee, except in three cases. The first case, the occurrence of which is by far the most frequent, is when both syllables of the fifth foot are contained in the same word. The second case is when the first syllable of the fifth foot is a monosyllable which is not capable of beginning a verse, and which is not disjoined from the following syllable by any pause in the sense. The third case is when the second syllable of the fifth foot is a monosyllable, which, by being incapable of beginning a verse or a sentence, is in some measure united to the preceding syllable. The Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles contains more than four hundred and twenty examples of the first case, more than fifty of the second, and only one of the third. We consider verses to which both the second and third cases apply, as belonging to the second. With this reservation, we doubt whether the thirty-two Tragedies will afford fifty genuine instances of the third case.

<sup>2</sup>Should the student be desirous of discovering the reasons which induced the Tragic Poets to observe the rules respecting the fifth foot of the *senarius*, which have been discovered and communicated to the world by Mr. Porson, we profess ourselves to be unable to give him better information than that which is delivered by the learned Hermann in the following words (Hec. p. 109):

“Causa autem quare ista vocabularum divisio displicere debet, hæc est. Quoniam in fine cujusque versus, ubi, exhaustis jam

propemodum pulmonibus, lenior pronuntiacionis decursus desideratur, asperiora omnia, quo difficilius pronuntiantur, eo magis etiam aures lædunt: propterea sedulo evitatur illa vocabulorum conditio, quæ ultimum versus ordinem longiore mora a præcedente disjungit, eaque re decursum numerorum impedit ac retardat."

To illustrate this doctrine, we may conveniently revert to the first verse of the *Ion*:

Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκίοισι νώτοις οὐρανόν.

It is by no means necessary to have enacted the part of Mercury in the *Ion* of Euripides, in order to be sensible of the relief which is afforded to the "exhausted lungs" of a corpulent performer, by that variation of the verse in question which we have already proposed:

Ἄτλας, ὁ νώτοις χαλκίοισιν οὐρανόν.

That the Comic Poets were not quite so considerate of the lungs of their actors, appears, as well by their neglect of this canon, as by the words of inordinate length which they sometimes employ; particularly by one of near eight syllables, which occurs towards the conclusion of the *Ecclesiæ* of Aristophanes. Hephæstion informs us, that the *μακρόν*, as it was called, of the comic *parabasis*, ought to be pronounced *ἀπνευστί*, without taking breath. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes, the *μακρόν* consists of thirteen and a half dimeter anapestics (v. 723—736), which contain a hundred and thirty-four syllables.—Upon the whole, it is not without reason that Mr. Hermann (Hec. p. 140) exults, in the following terms, over the inaptitude of his rival to investigate the causes of those facts which he had sufficient sagacity to discover.

"Id sponte animadvertisset vir eruditissimus, si non satis haberet observare, sed in caussas etiam earum rerum quas observavit, inquirendum, putaret."

We are afraid that we shall exhaust the patience of our readers, although perhaps not their lungs, by the length of our observations on the following passage in Mr. Porson's Preface (p. 43):

"Nunc iambicorum genus Comicis fere proprium leviter attingamus, quod vulgo vocatur tetrametrum catalecticum. Duabus rebus a Comico senario hoc differt; primo, quod quartus pes semper iambus aut tribrachys sit oportet; secundo, quod sextus

pes anapæstum etiam admittit. Sed pes catalecticam syllabam præcedens non iambus esse nequit: nisi in proprio nomine, ubi conceditur anapæstus. Quod de quarto etiam pede intelligi velim."

We have long suspected that Mr. Porson was mistaken in restricting to the case of proper names the use of anapests in the fourth place of the catalectic tetrameter iambs of the Comic Poets. The appearance of the third edition of the Preface to the *Hecuba*, without any modification of the doctrine proposed in the edition of 1802, has induced us to examine the question with considerable attention, and to present the result of our examinations to our readers.

We have to observe, in the first place, that all the trisyllabic feet which are admissible into comic iambs, are employed with much greater moderation in the catalectic tetrameters than in the comic trimeters. The *Plutus* of Aristophanes, for instance, commences with 252 trimeters, which are immediately followed by 37 tetrameters; after which the measure, although still iambic, becomes antistrophic. Nearly three-fifths of the trimeters contain one or more trisyllabic feet in each verse. The 37 tetrameters, on the contrary, exhibit only one tribrach and one dactyl, and not one anapest. In the earlier Plays of Aristophanes trisyllabic feet are used more unsparingly, both in trimeters and in tetrameters. But the comparative rarity of these feet in tetrameters is nearly as observable in the *Knights*, the earliest remaining Play of Aristophanes, which contains a considerable number of tetrameters, as in the *Plutus*, which was written after the versification of the comic stage had begun to assume an appearance of smoothness and regularity, which the contemporaries of the youth of Aristophanes were not desirous of exhibiting. In the second place, we must remark, that the eleven surviving Comedies of Aristophanes contain more than six hundred tetrameter iambs; in which number of verses, the edition of Brunck exhibits only seventy anapests which the most obstinate critic will venture to defend. These seventy anapests are found in the following fifty-nine verses: Eq. 343, 345, 351, 352, 357, 359, 360, 407, 414, 415, 422, 424, 428, 433, 884, 896, 902, 903, 908, 909, 910.

Nub. 1046, 1050, 1062, 1063, 1066, 1075, 1077, 1083, 1372, 1427.

Pac. 948.

Thesm. 543, 545, 546, 547, 550, 558, 560, 561, 562, 567, 568.

Ran. 910, 912, 915, 917, 918, 919, 920, 922, 932, 937, 939, 943, 948, 954, 962.

Eccl. 288.

If our seventy anapests were distributed equally among all the places of the verse except the seventh, which may be considered as out of the question, we should find eleven or twelve instances of an anapest in the fourth place. If, upon inspection, we discover only three or four such instances, we believe that every person acquainted with the nature of chances will allow us to attribute the smallness of the number to accident; unless it can be satisfactorily ascribed to some other cause. To exemplify the irregularities which so frequently disturb the calculations of the critical arithmetician, it will be sufficient to mention, that in the *Lysistrata*, which contains nearly seventy tetrameters, *Aristophanes* has not used a single anapest in a verse of that measure; and that in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, which *Play* was written nearly at the same time, he has introduced the anapest fifteen times in the forty-three tetrameters which the *Play* contains.

Before *Mr. Porson's* edition of the *Hecuba* appeared, the learned *Hermann* had taught the world, in his incomparable work on *Metres* (p. 176), that the fourth foot of a catalectic tetrameter iambic might be an iambus, a tribrach, an anapest, or a proceleusmatic. Of the last he produces only one instance—

Πολλοῖς ὃ γ' οὖν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβε δι | ἀ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν  
Nub. 1063.

Of the anapest he gives the nine following instances from *Aristophanes*:

Eq. 421, 836.

Nub. 1049, 1369, 1427.

Thesm. 560.

Ran. 930, 932, 937.

*Mr. Porson* (p. 43—46) has enabled us to increase the number of real and apparent instances to nineteen, including a few from other Poets.

A. Ω δεξιότατον κρέας, ὡς | σοφῶς γε προνοίσο. Eq. 421.

We heartily concur in *Mr. Porson's* omission of ὡς.



B. Ὡ τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισι φανείς | μέγιστον ὠφέλημα. Ib. 836.  
All the editions before Brunck read ἀνθρώποις.

C. Τονδὶ δ' ἄνευ χιτῶνος ὀρώων | ὄντα τηλικουτονί. Ib. 881.  
Read, with the Ravenna MS. and Brunck in his notes—

Τονδὶ δ' ὀρώων ἄνευ χιτῶ | νας ὄντα τηλικούτον,

D. Τοιουτονὶ Θεμιστηκλῆς | οὐπώποτ' ἐπενόησε. Ib. 884.

The common reading is Θεμιστοκλῆς, which ought not to be retained without necessity.

E. Καὶ τοῖσι νόμοις καὶ ταῖσι δίκαις | τάναντί' ἀντιλέξαι.  
Nub. 1040.

Read τοῖσιν νόμοις καὶ ταῖσι δίκαις.

F. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' Ἡρακλέους | βελτίον' ἄνδρα κρίνω.  
Ib. 1050.

G. Πολλοῖς. ὃ γ' οὖν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβεν | διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μά.  
χαιραν. Ib. 1063.

The common reading is ἔλαβε, which exhibits a tribrach before an anapest. Mr. Porson reads, we apprehend from conjecture, ἔλαβε δι' αὐτό. Διὰ τοῦτο appears to us to be preferable to δι' αὐτό.

H. Οὐ γὰρ τότ' εὐθύς χρῆν σ' ἄρα τύ | πτεσθαί τε καὶ πατεῖσθαι. Ib. 1359.

Read, with Bentley and Porson, χρῆν σε τύπτεσθαί τε.

I. Σκέψαι δὲ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυνόνας | καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ βοτὰ ταντί.  
Ib. 1427.

K. Οὐπώποτ' ἐποίησεν, ὅτι γυνή | σῶφρων ἔδοξεν εἶναι.  
Thesm. 548.

Mr. Porson reads ἐποίησ', the second syllable of which word is short.

L. Τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπην | Φαίδρας δ' ἀπαξιάσας.  
Ib. 530.

M. Οὐδ' ὥς τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει | γυνή κατεσπόδῃσεν.  
Ib. 560.

Mr. Porson reads—

Οὐδ' ὡς ἑτέρα τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ | πελέκει κατεσπόδῃσεν.

This lection appears to be derived from Suidas: Κατεσπόδῃσε, κατέκοψεν· ἑταίρα τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει κατεσπόδῃσε· καὶ κατεσποδώσεν ὁμοίως.

N. Ἀχιλλέα τίν', ἢ Νιόβην, | τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς.

Ran. 912

O. Ἄ συμβαλλειν οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν. | νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔγωγ' οὖν.

Ib. 930.

Mr. Porson reads οὐ ῥάδι' ἦν.

At present we have not time to examine whether the Comic Poets ever use the adjective ῥάδιος in any other manner than impersonally, in the neuter gender and singular number. At all events, if the verse requires emendation, we should prefer the omission of ἦν to the alteration of ῥάδιον. Οὐ ῥάδιον without the substantive verb occurs continually. If we retain the common reading, besides the anapest in the fourth place, to which we do not object, we shall have a division of the anapest similar to that in Ach. 107.

Εἰ προσδοκῶσι χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων: . -

This division is sparingly adopted in the common trimeters, a much more licentious species of metre; and we have observed no instance of it in tetrameters, except the verse now before us. At the same time, we do not pretend to determine whether the rarity of such anapests in tetrameters is to be attributed to accident or to design. Too few of these verses are preserved to enable us to decide with confidence on every question relating to their structure. If the Thesmophorizusæ of Aristophanes had been lost, no metrical writer would have hesitated in pronouncing that the catalectic *dipodia*, or κατακλείς of an iambic verse, must necessarily be a bacchiuss; as τραφῆναι, πολίτης, ποινηρῶν, παρήσω. A solitary instance of an ionic *a minore*, occurs in that Play, v. 547.

Ἐγένετο, Μελανίππας ποιῶν, | Φαίδρας τε, Πη | νελόπην δέ.

This deviation from the ordinary form of the verse is the more remarkable, as it is not caused by any necessity. The word Πενελόπην might occupy five different positions in the verse without producing any irregularity.

P. Τὸν ξουθὸν ἱππαλεκτρύονα | ζητῶν, τίς ἐστὶν ὄρνις.

Ran. 932.

Q. Οὐχ ἱππαλεκτρύονας, μὰ Δί', οὐ | δὲ τραγελάφους, ἄπερ  
σύν. Ib. 937.

We suspect the Poet wrote μὰ Δία, καὶ τραγελάφους. So in  
Soph. El. 689. some copies read—

Οὐκ οἶδα τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἔργα οὐδὲ κράτη,

instead of the common and true reading, ἔργα καὶ κράτη.

R. Ὑρισὺς δ' ἴδοις ἂν ινφομένους | σύκων ὁμοῦ τε μύρτων.

Aristoph. apud Athenæum, p. 372. B.

S. Καὶ δὴ κέκραται, τὸν λιβανῶ | τὸν ἐπιτιθεῖς εἶπε.

Plato Comicus. Ib. p. 665. C.

We suspect the true reading to be ἐπιτίθησιν ἢ παῖς.

T. Ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος, ὥσπερ πρόβατον, βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει.

Crat. ap. Suid. atque Etymol. v. βῆ.

Mr. Porson attributes this verse to the younger Cratinus. Eustathius simply says Κρατῖνος. Suidas and the Etymologist add the name of the play, Κρατῖνος Διονυσιαλεξάνδρῳ, which most probably was the work of the elder Cratinus. Mr. Porson reads ὡς προβάτιον. We have no objection to προβάτιον, but we cannot so readily consent to exchange ὥσπερ for ὡς. The comic poets almost always use ὥσπερ to express the sense of the English words, *as it were*. To our ears, ὡς appears to mean something more than mere comparison; as in the following lines of Aristophanes (apud Athen. p. 681. C.):

Οὐκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες, ὡς ἀπόρθητοί ποτε,

Νῦν δ' ὁμηρεύουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους.

At all events, if any alteration in the verse of Cratinus were necessary, we should prefer the following representation of it:—

Ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος, βῆ βῆ λέγων, ὥσπερ πρόβατον, βαδίζει.

But we are perfectly satisfied with the common reading.

Of the nineteen preceding verses, the anapest in the fourth foot of six, marked A, B, C, E, H, K, has been removed by corrections which may be considered as quite satisfactory. Four more, marked D, F, L, N, in which the anapest is contained in a proper name,

do not militate against Mr. Porson's canon. A sufficient proportion of the nine which remain appears to be placed beyond the reach of emendation, to convince us that the comic poets did not scruple to employ an anapest in the fourth place of a catalectic tetrameter iambic, whenever they found it convenient to do so. Mr. Porson (p. 46) adduces those five which are marked I, P, Q, R, S, without proposing any emendations of them.

In confirmation of our opinion, we will take the liberty of applying Mr. Porson's canon to the sixth place instead of the fourth. The instances of an anapest in the sixth place which we have been able to collect amount only to twelve. The reader will observe how great a reduction from this number may be made by emendations, not one of which can be called violent or very improbable.

A. Οὐδ' αὖ μ' ἐάσεις; οὐ μὰ Διὰ. | ναὶ μὰ Διὰ. μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ.  
Aristoph. Eq. 339.

In order to avoid the dactyl before the anapest, Mr. Hermann (Metr. p. 153) properly reads μὰ Διὰ instead of οὐ μὰ Διὰ, as in v. 336.

B. Ἦνεσχόμην ἐκ παιδίων, | μαχαιρίδιων τε πληγὰς. Ib. 412.

The true reading, μαχαιρίδων, is exhibited in the Ravenna MS. and by Julius Pollux, as Brunck observes in his notes.

C. Ἴδου δέχον κέρκον λαγῶ, | τῶφθαλμιδίῳ περιψῆν. Ib. 909.  
If necessary, we might read τῶφθαλμίδα.

D. Ἀπομυζάμενος, ὦ Δημ', ἐμοῦ | πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποψῶ.  
Ib. 910.

E. Εἴληφε διὰ πονηρίαν, | ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί', οὐ μάχαιραν.  
Nub. 1066.

We apprehend that the Poet wrote ἀλλ' οὐ, μὰ Δία, μάχαιραν.

F. Εἶεν. πάρειμ' ἐντεῦθεν εἰς | τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκας.  
Ib. 1075.

Read φύσεος, as in Vesp. 1282, 1458.

G. Καὶ μὴν ἰδού. καὶ μὴν ἰδού. | λαβὲ θοιμάτιον, Φιλίστη.  
Thesm. 568.

H. Τὸν σησαμοῦνθ', ὃν κατέφαγες, | τοῦτόν σε χεσεῖν ποιήσω.  
Ib. 570.

The pronoun was inserted by Brunck, without any reason, and against all authority.



I. Οὐχ ἦττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦν | τες. ἡλίθιος γὰρ ἦσθα.  
Ran. 919.

Perhaps we ought to read ἡλίθιος ἄρ' ἦσθα.

K. Ἑρμαῖος, ὃς βία ἑέρων | ῥῖνας γαλεοῦς τε πολεῖ.  
Archippus apud Athen. p. 227. A. 311. C.

L. Οὐκουν μεταστρέψας σεαυ | τὸν ἀλσὶ πάσεις ἀλείφων.  
Crates, ib. p. 267. E.

Until a probable emendation of this verse is proposed, we are fairly entitled to decline its authority.

M. Πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ἄδειν κακῶς | Συρακοσίων τράπεζαν.  
Arist. ib. p. 427. C.

It will appear, on examination, that three only of the preceding verses, marked D, G, K, decidedly forbid our application of Mr. Porson's canon to the sixth place instead of the fourth. The fact is, that in this kind of verse, the comic poets admit anapests more willingly and frequently into the first, third, and fifth places, than into the second, fourth, and sixth. Of the seventy anapests which we have observed in the eleven plays of Aristophanes, twenty-two, or nearly one-third, occur in the first place. The first place having almost double the number which would accrue to it from an equal distribution, some of the other places must necessarily exhibit fewer anapests than their fair proportion.

As it is probable that a more accurate examination than ours will discover anapests in Aristophanes which have escaped our observation, we think it necessary to state, that hitherto we have intentionally passed over in silence the following instances:—

Κρατῖνος, ἀεὶ κεκαρμένος | μοιχὸν μιᾷ μαχαίρα. Ach. 849.

This anapest would hardly be tolerable in a trimeter. The last editor of this play reads Κρατῖνος αὖ, comparing v. 854.

Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπίτηδές σε περιήμ | πισχέν γ', ἵνα σ' ἀποπνίξῃ.  
Eq. 893.

This disjointed verse may be conveniently read as follows:

Καὶ τοῦτο γ' ἐπίτηδές σε περι | ἡμπισχεν, ἵν' ἀποπνίξῃ.  
Τὸ καιοῦν πάρεστιν, ὅλως ἔχον | καὶ στέμμα, καὶ μάχαιραν.  
Pac. 948.

The Ravenna MS. reads πάρεστ'. The anapest in the first place is in our list.

Τὴν λαμπάδα θ' ἡμμένην ὅπως | πρῶτως ἐμοὶ προσοίσεις. Lys. 316.

Read, with the old editions, τὴν λαμπάδ' ἡμμένην.

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου | σοφώτερος ποιητής. Ib. 368.

The old editions read οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ. Perhaps, however, the true reading is οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρ', as in the *Knights*, v. 1079.

Οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδείς τοῦ Γλάνιδος σοφώτερος.

Τί δὲ δὴ σὺ πῦρ, ὦ τύμβ', ἔχων; | ὥς σταντὸν ἐμπυρεύσω; Lys. 372.

The δὴ was inserted by Brunck in order to sustain the metre.  
Read τὶ δαὶ σὺ πῦρ.

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes occasionally introduces a very elegant species of verse, which we are willing to mention in this place, because it differs from the tetrameter iambic, only in having a cretic or pæon in the room of the third *dipodia*, and because it is frequently corrupted into a tetrameter iambic by the insertion of a syllable after the first hemistich. In technical language, it is an asynartete, composed of a diameter iambic and an ithyphallic. It is called Εὐριπίδειον τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάσύλλαβον by Hephæstion (ch. 15), who has given the following specimen of it:

Ἐῶος ἀνίχ' ἱππότας | ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ.

Twenty-five of these verses occur together in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, beginning with v. 248. Two of them may be corrected as follows:

Κάρφος χαμάθεν νυν λαβὼν, | τὸν λύχνον πρόβυσον. v. 249.

The second syllable of χαμάθεν is long.

Φιλεῖ δ', ὅταν τοῦτ' ἦ, ποιεῖν | ὑετὸν μάλιστα. v. 268.

In v. 1212 of the *Clouds*, the Ravenna MS. rightly reads,

Ἄλλ' εἰσάγων σε βούλομαι | πρῶτον ἐστῆσαι.

The following verse of Telechides is adduced by Athenæus (p. 485. F.):

Καὶ μελιχρὸν οἶνον ἔλκειν ἐξ ἡδυνόου λεπαστῆς.

Schweighæuser has converted these words into the following tetrameter trochaic:

Καὶ μελιχρὸν οἶνον ἔλκειν ἐκ λεπαστῆς ἡδύνου.

As the second syllable of μελιχρόν ought to be short, perhaps the following asynartete, with a dactyl in the first place, may approach nearer to the true reading :

Καὶ μελιχρόν οἶνον εἶλκεν ἑξ | ἡδύπνου λεπαστῆς.

The measure of these verses resembles the Latin Saturnian, except that the first hemistich of the Saturnian is catalectic.

Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio poëtæ.

Ἐφῶς ἀνίχ' ἵππευς | ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ.

Respecting the dimeter iambics of the Comic Poets, Mr. Porson has said nothing ; and we have very little to add to what has been said by Mr. Gaisford, p. 224. With the exception of the catalectic *dipodia*, they appear to admit anapests into every place, but more frequently into the first and third, than into the second and fourth. Strictly speaking, indeed, there is no difference in this metre between the second and fourth feet, as a system or set of dimeter iambics is nothing more than one long verse divided for convenience of arrangement into portions, each containing four feet. That the quantity of the final syllable of each dimeter is not indifferent, has been remarked by Brunck, from whose hands we beg leave to rescue the following passage :

Παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικώτατα,  
Γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις  
Καὶ τοῖς κόλοις,  
Χῶπως κολᾷ τὸν ἄνδρα. Eq. 453.

This is the common reading. Brunck reads, *ee ingenio* :

Παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικώτατα, καὶ  
Γάστριζε καὶ τοῖσιν ἐντέροις, &c.

If this reading were found in all the MSS., we should think it our duty to submit to it ; but we cannot allow the division of the anapest which it exhibits to be introduced upon mere conjecture. We suspect that the poet wrote,

Παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικώτατ' εὖ  
Γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις, &c.

It is well known that A and EY are continually confounded in MSS. In our account of Dr. Blomfield's edition of the Prometheus, we had occasion to remark, that the Aldine edition of Æschylus reads ἀρῶν for εἰρῶν, v. 580. and ἀγμάτων for εὐγμάτων,

v. 586. In the same manner, the Ἰστροτεύτοι, a play of Eupolis mentioned by Hephæstion (ch. 15), is called Εὔστροτεύτοι in several MSS. The adverbs εὖ and ἀνδρικῶς are both applied to a verb signifying *to beat*, in the Wasps, v. 450.

Προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐξέδειρ' εὖ κἀνδρικῶς.

We conclude our observations on these verses by mentioning, that in v. 840 of the Knights, at the end of a system of them, we must read ἐπαποπινγείης instead of ἀποπινγείης, in order to prevent the lengthening of a short syllable before a mute and a liquid. The compound ἐπαποπινγείης may be compared with ἐπιδιάρραγῶ, v. 701.

An expression occurs in Mr. Porson's remarks on the trochaic metre, which appears to have deceived more than one respectable scholar. Mr. Porson observes (p. 46) that the catalectic tetrameter trochaic of the Tragic and Comic Poets may conveniently be considered as consisting of a cretic or pæon prefixed to a common trimeter iambic, in the following manner:

Μῆτερ οὐ | λόγων ἔθ' ἀγών, ἀλλ' ἀνήλωται χρόνος.  
 Ἀνόσιος | πέφυκας, ἀλλ' οὐ πατρίδος, ὡς σὺ, πολέμιος.  
 Ἀρτέμιδι, | καὶ πλοῦν ἔσεσθαι Δαναΐδαις, ἦσθεις φρένας.

Mr. Porson adds:

“Sed in hoc trochaico senario (liceat ita loqui) duo observanda sunt; nusquam anapæstum, ne in primo quidem loco, admitti; deinde necessario semper requiri cæsuram penthemimerim.”

The inadmissibility of anapests into the trochaic *senarius* may be exemplified by prefixing a cretic to the fifth verse of the Plutus of Aristophanes:

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ | μετέχειν ἀνάγκη τὸν θεράποντα τῶν κακῶν.

The dactyl in the second place vitiates the metre of this verse, considered as a tetrameter trochaic. Common readers will pardon us for explaining this passage in Mr. Porson's preface, when we show that it seems to have been misunderstood by so excellent a scholar as Mr. Burgess. In Mr. Porson's edition of the Phœnissæ, v. 616 has an anapest in the fourth place:

Ἐξελαννόμεσθαι πατρίδος· καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες ἐξελῶν.

In his note upon this verse, Mr. Burgess remarks, *Raro et fortasse nunquam in trochaicis Tragicis anapæstus occurrit.*



He proposes to read, either ἐξελαύνομαι χθονὸς γὰρ, or πατρίδος ἐξελαυνόμεσθα. It is somewhat remarkable, that an anapest in v. 621 of the same play has escaped Mr. Burgess's observation :

Καὶ σὺ, μῆτερ; οὐ θέμις σοι (f. οὐ θεμιστόν) μητρὸς ὀνομάζειν  
κάρα.

In Mr. Porson's edition of the *Orestes*, anapests occur in the five following trochaics, vss. 728, 776, 787, 1528, 1530. The *Iphigenia in Aulis* will supply nearly twenty examples, including a few in which the anapest is contained in a proper name.

It is almost unnecessary to mention that, in this metre, anapests are admissible only into the even places. It may, however, be not altogether superfluous to observe, that the Tragic Poets appear to have used anapests in the even places as willingly and frequently as tribrachs in any place, except the first and fifth. The thirty-two Tragedies exhibit about thirty-two instances of a tribrach in the second, third, fourth, sixth, or seventh place, several of which appear to be corrupt.

Both in Tragedy and in Comedy, the tetrameter trochaic is usually divided into two hemistichs by a *cæsura* after the fourth foot. The Tragedians, however, observe this rule much more strictly than the Comedians. Most of the instances to the contrary have been corrected in a satisfactory manner.

Ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμν' ἄφραστος ἐστὶν ἐν φρεσίν.

Æsch. Pers. 165.

The *cæsura* may be restored by removing διπλῇ to the end of the verse.

ᾧδε παμπήδην δὲ πᾶς λαὸς κατέφθαρται δορί. Ib. 731.

The true reading, λαὸς πῶς, has been restored by all the modern editors.

Εἰ δοκεῖ, στείχωμεν ὧ γενναῖον εἰρηκὼς ἔπος. Soph. Phil. 1402.

Mr. Porson's emendation, which, in our opinion, is more ingenious than satisfactory, may be seen in Mr. Gaisford's notes on *Hephæstion*.

Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοι λίαν γ' ἐμοί (οὐδὲ τι λίαν ἐμέ codd.) φιλοχρῆν  
χεῖν χρεών. Iph. Aul. 1385.

Μαρτυρεῖς σαυτῶν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γ' ἐκμαθὼν χρηστήρια.

Ion. 532.

We quote this verse as an instance of licentious emendation. Barnes reads silently τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθῶν. His motive for this alteration is unknown to us. We are unwilling to suppose that even the author of the sublime ode on

Λεόπολδος αὐτοκράτωρ  
Ὑπὸ Μαρλβόρου σωθεὶς,

objected to the contraction of θεοῦ into one syllable, an instance of which occurs only ten lines before the verse in question.

Mr. Porson remarks (p. 50), that in dimeter anapestics a dactyl is very seldom, *rarissime*, placed immediately before an anapest, so as to cause a concourse of four short syllables. Mr. Gaisford (p. 279) has collected several instances of this concourse, which we will lay before our readers, with some additional examples which have occurred to us.

Ὑμνον Ἐριννῶς ἰαχεῖν, Αἰὲα τ'. Æsch. Theb. 874.

Ἡ τὰδ' ἀκούετε, πόλεως φρούριον. Eum. 592.

Τὸν φυξάνορα γάμον Αἰγύπτου. Suppl. 9.

Τὴν βασιλίδα τὴν μούνην λοιπὴν. Soph. Ant. 941.

Νῦν γὰρ ὁ δεινὸς, ὁ μέγας, ὠμοκρατής. Aj. 205.

Read μέγας without the article.

Ἰζ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἰκέτις γονάτων. Euripid. Hec. 147.

Ὅδ' ὁ σωφροσύνη πάντας ὑπερέχων. Hippol. 1365.

Mr. Gaisford properly reads ὑπερσχών.

Ὅστις ἂν ἐνέποι πότερον φθιμένην. Alc. 81.

Μεταβαλλομένον δαίμονος ἀνέχον. Tro. 101.

Τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἐπακουσόμενα. Ib. 177.

Ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέκναψε βίου. Ib. 1255.

Mr. Gaisford, who omits this line, probably reads ἐν σοὶ with

Mr. Porson (ad Hec. 298).

Εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πέλανον πρὸ δόμων. Ion. 226.

Θάρσει. Παλλάδος ὁσίαν ἤξεις. El. 1319.

Καὶ πόθεν ἔμολον. Av. 404.

This little verse is not anapestic, as appears by the following words:

ἐπὶ τίνα τ' ἐπίνοιαν,

which Brunck has miserably corrupted, in order to accommodate them to his notions of the metre.

Τᾶντιον, ὁ κανὼν, οἱ καλαθίσκοι. Thesm. 822.

Λαμπάδας ἱεράς, χάμα προπέμπετε. Ran. 1525.

More examples may probably be detected by diligent search ; but those which we have produced are sufficient to prove that Mr. Porson's expression must be construed with some degree of latitude. According to Mr. Porson (p. 55) there is no genuine instance of this licence in tetrameter anapestics.

The anapestic *dipodia* may be composed of a tribrach and an anapest, for the purpose of admitting a proper name, which cannot otherwise be introduced into the verse.

—In both kinds of anapestic verse, dactyls are admitted with much greater moderation into the second than into the first place of the *dipodia*. The eleven comedies of Aristophanes contain more than twelve hundred tetrameter anapestics, in which number we have remarked only the nineteen following examples of a dactyl in an even place, which, in this kind of anapestic metre can only be the second foot of the verse, as Mr. Porson has observed (p. 51).

Eq. 524\*, 805, 1327.

Nub. 351\*, 353, 400, 409\*.

Vesp. 389, 551, 671, 673\*, 708\*, 1027.

Pac. 732.

Lys. 500.

Thesm. 790, 794.

Ran. 1055.

Eccl. 676\*.

In all these verses, except those six which are marked with an asterisk, the preceding foot is also a dactyl.

The same observations apply in a certain degree also to dimeter anapestics. When we find, therefore, in the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles (v. 1766),

Ταῦτ' οὖν ἔκλυε δαίμων ἡμῶν,

we do not hesitate to read ἔκλυεν. In the *Electra* (v. 96), where the MSS. and editions read,

Φοίνιος Ἄρης οὐκ ἐξείνισε,

Brunck has judiciously adopted the reading of the Scholiast οὐκ ἐξείνισεν. These trifling alterations require no authority to support them ; but we would not go so far as to change the order of the words for the purpose of removing a dactyl out of an even place.

Of the nineteen tetrameters mentioned in the preceding paragraph, only one is destitute of a *cæsura* after the first *dipodia*

Ταῦτ' ἄρα ταῦτα Κλε | ὠνυμον αὐται | τὸν ῥίψασπιν χθὲς ἰδούσαι.  
Nub. 353.

Similar instances are exceedingly rare in dimeters. Mr. Gaisford has collected more than fifty instances of the violation of the *cæsura* in dimeter anapestics, in six of which the foot which ought to be followed by the *cæsura* is a dactyl.

Ἄλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν Περσῶν. Æsch. Pers. 532.

The word Ἄλλ' appears to have been inserted by Turnebus for the purpose of completing the verse. Perhaps we ought to read,

ᾠ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν τῶν Περσῶν  
Τῶν μεγαλαύχων καὶ πολυάνδρων  
Στρατίαν ὀλέσας.

This emendation is corroborated by the first words of the play.

Τάδε τῶν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων, κ. τ. λ.

At the same time we are not free from suspicion that the poet wrote, νῦν αὖ Περσῶν, *now for the second time*.

<sup>1</sup>—Every person who has a tolerable ear, and is acquainted with the subject, will immediately perceive that the rhythm of the following verses is not quite perfect.

Τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον. Æsch. Prom. 1067.

Παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν. Choëph. 1068.

ᾠ τέκνον Αἰγέως, προσπίτνομέν σοι. Soph. Œd. Col. 1754.

ᾠ μεγάλα θέμι, καὶ πῶτιν' Ἄρτεμι. Eur. Med. 160.

Ἄλλ' ὅποσον γ' οὖν πάρα καὶ δύναμαι. Ib. 1408.

Καὶ μὴν θαλάμας τάσδ' ἐσορῶ δῆ. Suppl. 980.

Οὐκ ἄγαμαι ταῦτ' ἀνδρὸς ἀριστεύς. Iph. Aul. 28.

The rhythm of the first hemistich of the first, second, fourth, fifth, and seventh of these verses, and of the second hemistich of the third and sixth, is rather dactylic than anapestic. The same effect is always produced when the last three syllables of a word, which are capable of standing in the verse as an anapest, are divided, as in the preceding examples, between a dactyl and the following foot. In the Prometheus, Mr. Blomfield has judiciously adopted Bothe's emendation, τοὺς γὰρ προδότας.

In Comic anapests, such faults may generally be corrected with great ease.



Καὶ σέβομαί γ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι. Nub. 293.  
Read, Σέβομαι δῆτ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι.

'Αλλ' ἐνεκέν γε ψυχῆς στερῆρας. Ib. 420.  
Read, 'Αλλ' οὐνεκά γε————

'Οταν εἰσέλθῃς μεράκιόν σοι. Vesp. 687.  
Read, σοι μεράκιον.

'Αλλ' ὁπόταν μὲν δείσωσ' αὐτοί. Ib. 715.  
Read, ὁπότ' αὖ as two words.

Εἰς δεκάτην γὰρ ποτε παιδαρίου. Av. 494.  
Read, Εἰς γὰρ δεκάτην.

Ωἱ προτέρῳ δεῖ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ. Ib. 569.  
Read, Ωἱ δεῖ προτέρῳ.

'Εξ ἐρίων δὴ καὶ κλωστήρων. Lys. 571.  
Read, 'Εκ τῶν ἐρίων καὶ κλωστήρων.

Ναυσιμάχης μὲν (μὴν Brunck.) ἦττων ἐστίν.  
Thesm. 804.

Read, 'Ηττων μὲν Ναυσιμάχης ἐστίν.

Οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ δεινότερα σου. Eccl. 516.  
Read, Οὐδὲ μιᾷ γὰρ σου δεινότερα.

We shall now take our leave for the present of this great Critic, who, in the compass of a few pages, has thrown more light upon the subjects of his inquiry, than can be collected from all the numerous volumes of his predecessors. For ourselves, we have only to express a hope, that our strictures may contribute in some degree to the information of such younger students in Greek literature as are disposed to peruse the Preface to the *Hecuba* with that care and attention which it so eminently deserves, and without which its merits cannot be duly appreciated.

### 1. Vocalis brevis ante consonantes.

1. Vocalis brevis ante vel tenues, quas vocant, consonantes π, κ, τ, vel adspiratas φ, χ, θ, sequente quavis liquida; uti et ante medias β, γ, δ, sequente ρ; syllabam brevem perpetuo claudit.

2. Vocalis brevis ante consonantes medias β, γ, δ, sequente quavis liquida præter unicum ρ, syllabam brevem nunquam terminat, sed sequentium consonarum ope longam semper constituit.

Dawes. Misc. Crit. p. 353.

2. Syllabæ in quibus concurrunt consonantes βλ, γλ, γμ, γν, δμ, δν.

Κλύουσ' ἄ θρήνοὺς, οὐκ ἂν ἐκβάλαι δάκρυ;

Primo θρήνοις, deinde γλήνοὺς conjicit Musgravius. Nihil opus. Præterea γλήνοὺς metrum vitaret. Dawesius canonem paullo temerarius, ut solet, statuit, nullam syllabam a poëta scenico corripiri posse, in qua concurrant consonantes βλ, γλ, γμ, γν, δμ, δν. Hæc regula, plerumque vera, nonnunquam ab Æschylo, Sophocle, Aristophane, violatur, ab Euripide credo nunquam.

Porson. ad Hec. v. 298.

3. Παρθέιον, ἐμῇ τε μητρὶ παρέδωκεν τρέφειν.

cur N finalem in ἐπέκλωσεν, v. 12, et similibus addiderim, nemo nisi qui communi sensu plane careat, requiret. Sed erunt fortasse nonnulli, qui minus necessario hoc factum arbitraturi sint in παρέδωκεν. Rationes igitur semel exponam, nunquam posthac moniturus. Quanquam enim sæpe syllabas natura breves positione producunt Tragici, longe libentius corripiunt, adeo ut tria prope exempla correptarum invenias, ubi unum modo extet productarum. Sed hoc genus licentiæ, in verbis scilicet, cum compositis, qualia τέκνον, πάτρος, ceteris longe frequentius est. Rarius multo syllaba producitur in verbo composito, si in ipsam juncturam cadet, ut in πολύχρυσος Andr. 2. Eadem parsimonia in augmentis producendis utuntur, ut in ἐπέκλωσεν sup. 12. κεκλήσθαι Sophocl. Elect. 366. Rarior adhuc licentia, ubi præpositio verbo jungitur, ut in ἀπότροποι, Phœn. 595 (600). Sed ubi verbum in brevem vocalem desinit, eamque duæ consonantes excipiunt, quæ brevem manere patiantur, vix credo exempla indubiæ fidei inveniri posse, in quibus syllaba ista producat. Quod si ea, quæ disputavi, vera sunt, planum est, in fine vocis addendam esse literam, quam addidi. Porson. ad Orest. v. 64.

4. In Anapæsticis συναφεία.

Nempe dimetri cujuscunque generis continuo carmine per συναφείαν decurrunt, usque dum ad versum catalecticum, quo omne systema claudatur, deventum sit. Hanc συναφείαν in anapæsticis locum habere primus docuit, non jam, uti ipse ad Hor. Carm. iii.

12. 6. asseverat Cl. Bentleius; sed Terentianus. Is utique pag. 58 [l. 9.] hæc habet:

*Ἀπ' ελασσονος autem cui nomen indiderunt  
In nomine sic est διῶμῆδης: metron autem  
Non versibus istud numero aut pedum coarctant;  
Sed continuo carmine, quia pedes gemelli  
Urgent brevibus tot numero jugando longas:  
Idcirco vocari voluerunt συναφειαν.  
Anapæstica fiunt itidem per συναφειαν.*

Dawes. Misc. Crit. pp. 55, 56.

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5.

Tragici nunquam ita senarium disponunt, ut pedes tertius et quartus unam vocem efficiunt. Porson. ad Hec. 728.

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6. Περὶ ante vocalem.

Tragici nunquam in senarios, trochaicos, aut, puto, anapæstos legitimos, *περὶ* admittunt ante vocalem, sive in eadem, sive in diversis vocibus. Imo ne in melica quidem verbum vel substantivum hujusmodi compositionis intrare sinunt; raro admodum adjectivum vel adverbium.—Huc adde, quod Tragici, si vocem puram a *περὶ* compositum adhibent, huic vitio per tmesin medentur, ut Bacch. 619. Troad. 561. Porson. ad Med. 284.

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7. Τί δὲ πλέον; ἦλθον Ἀμφιάρεω γε πρὸς βίαν.

Eurip. Supp. v. 158.

Instead of *τί δὲ πλέον*, Mr. Porson (Præf. ad Hec. p. 40) silently reads *τί πλεῖον*, which reading Mr. Gaisford has admitted into the text. It is certain, that in Tragic iambs, a monosyllable which is incapable of beginning a verse, as *ἄν, γάρ, ἐέ, μέν, τε, τις*, is very rarely employed as the second syllable of a tribrach or dactyl. To the best of our knowledge, Æschylus affords no example of this licence, and Sophocles only two:

*Οὐδέποτε γ' οὐδ' ἦν χρῆ με πᾶν παθεῖν κακόν.* Phil. 999.

*Οὐδέποθ' ἐκόντα γ' ὥστε τὴν Τροίαν ἰδεῖν.* Ib. 1392.

Perhaps, however, in these verses *οὐδέποτε* is to be considered as one word, as it is commonly represented. In the remains of Euripides, we have observed the following examples:

- I. Οὐδέ πάθος, οὐδέ συμφορά θέηλατος. Or. 2.  
 II. Ξυνδει. Τὸ γὰρ ἴσον, νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφν. Phæn. 548.  
 III. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τέρμα, καὶ τὸ πλεόν ἐμῶν κακῶν.  
 Suppl. 368.

IV. Οὐδέ σε φέρειν γ' ἅπασιν Ἑλλησιν κακά. Iph. Aul. 308.  
 The common reading is, Οὐδέ σε φέρειν δεῖ πᾶσιν.

V. Εἰ δέ τι κόρης σῆς θεσφάτων μέτεστί σοι. Ib. 498.

VI. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ἂν ὁ θεὸς τιμὴν ἔχοι. Bacch. 192.

The true reading seems to be,

Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίαν ὁ θεὸς ἂν τιμὴν ἔχοι.

VII. Ὡστε διὰ τοῦτον τὰγάθ' ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν. Ib. 285.

Perhaps διὰ τοῦτον ὥστε.

VIII. Οὐδέποτ' ἐδόξασ'. Οὐὲ ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤλπισα. Elect. 580.

It may be observed, that in six of these eight verses, as well as in the verse now under consideration, the foot which we consider as licentious is the first foot of the verse.

Elmsley's Review of Markland's Supplices, &c.  
 (Quart. Rev. Vol. VII. No. 14, p. 448.)

—A distinction ought to be made between the Tragic and the Comic poets. When we have a proper opportunity, we will endeavour to demonstrate that Dawes's canon is not so strictly observed by the Comic poets as is commonly imagined. With regard to the Tragic poets, their practice may be conveniently described in the following canon:

*In Tragic iambs, the second syllable of a tribrach or of a dactyl ought not to be either a monosyllable, which is incapable of beginning a verse, or the last syllable of a word.*

Elmsley's Review of Markland's Supplices, &c.  
 (Ibid. p. 462, note.)

### 8. Dorica dialectus in anapæstis.

In anapæstis neque nunquam neque semper Dorica dialecto utuntur Tragicæ. Ubi igitur in communi forma MSS. consentiunt, communem formam retinui; ubi codex unus aut alter Dorismum habet, Dorismum restitui. Porson. ad Hec. 100.



## 9. De quantitate vocum ἀνία, ἀνήρ.

Nomen ἀνία, vel ἀνίη, plerumque penultimam producit, aliquando corripit, ut in quatuor exemplis a Ruhkenio Epist. Crit. ii. p. 276. adductis.—Verbum ἀνιάω vel ἀνιάζω, apud Epicos poëtas secundam plerumque producit, ut et in Soph. Antig. 319. Verbum ἀνιῶ apud Aristophanem penultimam ter corripit, semel producit Eq. 348. (349. Bekk.)—Semper, nisi fallor, secunda in ἀνιὰρὸς ab Euripide et Aristophane corripitur, producitur a Sophocle Antig. 316. Sed ubique tertia syllaba longa est.

Porson. ad Phœn. v. 1334.

Nusquam ἀνήρ priorem producit, nisi ubi ἀνέρος in genitivo facit. Cum vero ἀνέρος Attici nusquam in senariis, trochaicis, vel anapæsticis usurpent, priorem vocis ἀνήρ semper corripiant necesse est. Ibid. v. 1670.

## 10. ἦμιν, ὅμιν.

Solus e tragicis secundam in ἦμιν et ὅμιν corripit Sophocles, monente Porsono Præfat. p. xxxvii. Id in integris fabulis bis et quadragies extra melica fecit. Septies autem necessario produxit ante vocalem; Œd. Tyr. 631, Œd. Col. 826, Trach. 1273, Aj. 689, El. 255. 454. 1381. Quæ omnia emendationis egere suspicari videtur Porsonus. Ego vero casu potius quam consilio factum puto, ut tam raro ancipitem vocalem necessario produceret Noster. Nam simile quid Euripidi accidisse video. Is, ut monuit Porsonus, posteriorem horum pronominum syllabam nusquam corripuit.—Quod ad accentum correptæ formæ attinet, alii ἦμιν et ὅμιν, alii ἦμιν et ὅμιν scribendum arbitrantur. Hanc scripturam adhibuit Aldus in Ajace et Electræ versibus primis 357, dehinc vero ἦμιν et ὅμιν usque ad finem libri. Ἠμιν et Ὀμιν ubique editiores recentiores, quarum scripturam post Brunckium adoptavi.

Elmsley Præf. ad Œdip. Tyrann. p. x.

## 11. Ἰμέρω χρίσας, ἄφυκτον οἰστόν.

οἰστόν est dissyllabon, ut semper apud Atticos.

Porson. ad Med. v. 634.

## 12. De quantitate vocum ἀεὶ, λίαν, ἄγαν, πέραν.

Recte hujus vocis (ἀεὶ) penultimam communem esse statuit Piersonus ad Mœrin. Porson. ad Hec. v. 1164.

Nescio cur miretur quis, quod vocalem in *ἀει* communem esse statuerim, cum idem fiat *ἰῶμαι*, *ἰατρὸς*, *λίαν*, et aliis.

Ibid. Præf. ad Hec. xv.

Ultima *τοῦ λαν* syllaba ab Atticis poetis semper producitur. Idem fieri in adverbiiis *ἄγαν*, *πέραν*, *εὐάν*, monuit Etymologus. M. v. *ἄγαν*. Monk ad Hippol. v. 264.

13. Θεὸς—μὴ οὐ—ἢ οὐ—Monosyllaba.

Δεινὴ γὰρ ἢ θεὸς, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἰάσιμος.

Θεὸς est monosyllabon, quod in cæteris casibus sæpissime fit; in nominativo et accusativo. singulari non raro. Veteres Attici hanc vocem libenter in sermone contraxisse videntur; nomina enim a θεὸς incipientia pronunciarunt *Θουγενίδης*, *Θουκλῆς*, *Θουκνίδης*, *Θουφάνης*, *Θούφραστος*. Porson. ad Orest. v. 393.

“MH OY in Tragicis semper est monosyllabon,” dixerat Marklandus ad Euripidis Supplices 248. et Iph. Aul. 959, “H OY, monosyllabice, ut sæpe et semper.” “Fere,” ait Brunckius ad Euripid. Orest. 598, “addere debuisset, quia contraria exempla reperiuntur, extra suspicionem et controversiam posita, ut est illud *Æd. Tyr.* 993,

Ἦ ρητὸν, ἢ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἄλλον εἰδέναι;

Hæc ille, cum nihil certius, quam in exemplo isto unico, quod produxit aut producere potuit, legendum esse

Ἦ ρητὸν, ἢ οὐχὶ θεμιτὸν—

Atque hoc tandem ipsi Brunckio suboluit. Postea prodiit ejus editio Tragici; cujus in loco laudato recte ἢ οὐχὶ edidit, et in nota observat, “H OY, MH OY apud Atticos poetas semper sunt monosyllaba.” Pors. Advers. p. 41.



EXAMINATION PAPERS  
ON THE  
GREEK TRAGEDIES.





## ÆSCHYLI SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS.

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TRINITY COLLEGE. 1825.

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1. IN what species of songs did Comedy and Tragedy respectively originate? Does there appear to have been any essential difference between Comedy and Tragedy before the time of Thespis? What was the nature of the ancient Comedy, and to what kind of subjects do the plays of Epicharmus appear to have related? Is it probable that Comedy, considered as expressive of the transactions of common life, was anterior or posterior to Tragedy?

2. What was the distinction between the Old and New Comedy? To which class does that of Aristophanes belong? Translate the following passage: *Κωμῳδεῖν δ' αὖ καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν μὲν δῆμον οὐκ ἐῷσιν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀκούωσι κακῶς· ἰδίᾳ δὲ κελεύουσιν, εἴ τις τινα βούλεται, εὖ εἰδότες, ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐστίν, οὐδὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ κωμῳδούμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺν, ἀλλ' ἢ πλούσιος, ἢ γενναῖος, ἢ δυνάμενος.* Xenoph. de Athen. Repub. ii. 8. Who were the *πλούσιοι* attacked by Aristophanes, who the *γενναῖοι*, who the *δυνάμενοι*?

3. Had the Satyric compositions in honour of Bacchus any connexion with the Dramas which formed a part of the *τετραλογία*? Translate and reconcile the following passages. "Ἐτι δὲ [ἢ τραγωδία] τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, ὃψέ ἀπσεμνύνθη. Aristot. Poet. x.

*Πρατίνας*—ποιητῆς τραγωδίας. ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ τε καὶ Χοιρίδῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ πρωτὸς ἔγραψε *Σατύρους*. Suid.

What was the metre of the satyric songs according to Aristotle? Does the same measure prevail in that satyric Drama which has come down to us?

4. Mention the several changes which Tragedy underwent, and the different persons by whom the successive improvements were introduced. Translate the following passage:

ὁμοιότατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῖδε τοῖσι παρεισαγομένοισι προσώποισιν ἐν τῇσι τραγωδίῃσι· ὥς γὰρ ἐκείνοι σχῆμα μὲν καὶ στολήν, καὶ πρόσωπον ὑποκριτοῦ ἔχουσιν, οὐκ εἰσι δὲ ὑποκριταί, οὐτῶ καὶ οἱ ἡτροὶ, φήμη μὲν πολλοὶ, ἔργῳ δὲ πάγχυ βιαιοί. Hippocrates.

5. Translate the following passage:

- Δι. ἔνδον ἔστ' Εὐριπίδης;  
 Κη. οὐκ ἔνδον, ἔνδον ἐστίν, εἰ γνώμην ἔχεις.  
 Δι. πῶς ἔνδον, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον;  
 Κη. ὀρθῶς ὦ γέρον.  
 ὁ νοῦς μὲν, ἔξω ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια,  
 οὐκ ἔνδον· αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ  
 τρυγῳδίαν.  
 Δι. ἐκκάλεσον αὐτόν.  
 Κη. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ὅμως.  
 Ευ. ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητ'.  
 Ευ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ὅμως.  
 Ευ. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήσομαι· καταβαίνειν δ' οὐ σχολή.  
 Arist. Acharn. 370.

Do you read τρυγῳδίαν with Bentley; or τραγωδίαν with Brunck? Explain the terms ἀναβάδην, ἐκκυκλεῖν.

6. Translate and explain the following expressions.

ὑποκριτῆς—τριταγωνίστης—διδάσκαλος τοῦ chórou—  
 ἔκσκευα—παραχορήγημα—Φιλωνίδης ἐπεγράφη—  
 διὰ τὸ πεσεῖν τὰ ἱκρία ἐπιδεικνυμένου αὐτοῦ.

Point out the difference between ἀναδιδάσκειν and διασκευάζειν.

7. In what estimation does Æschylus appear to have been held by the Athenians? Was any encouragement given to those who after his death chose to reproduce his Drama? Were they ever allowed to be brought forward at the tragic contests for the prize? What is Quinetilian's statement on this subject?

8. Arrange in chronological order the remaining plays of Æschylus. Did any of them belong to the same τετραλογία?

Αισχ. δράμα ποιήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν.

Δι. ποῖον;

Αισχ. τοὺς Ἑπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας.

. . . . .

Αισχ. εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ ταῦτ', ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξεδίδαξα.

Ran. 1019.

Οἱ Πέρσαι πρότερον δεδιδαγμένοι εἰσὶ, εἶτα οἱ Ἑπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας.

Schol. in Ranas.

How do you reconcile these accounts?

9. Mention some of the most remarkable occurrences in the life of Æschylus. Ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος, διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ, πολλαῖς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς, οὐδέν θαυμαστόν. Athenæus ix.

What causes have been assigned for his quitting Athens for Sicily? Is it probable that he visited that country more than once? Can you mention any play or plays in which a greater number of Dorisms is observable than in his others? Can you point out any Doric or Æolic words, or allusions to Sicily in any of the earlier plays? Do you conceive that any argument derived from such considerations as these, can be applied to determine the chronological order of the plays which remain to us?

10. By whom, according to Homer, was Thebes walled and fortified? Is the war which it sustained against the Seven Chiefs authenticated by Homer, or Hesiod? Are there any allusions in either of these Poets to the subsequent expedition of the Epigoni? By whom was it commanded according to Euripides, and what was the result of the contest? Quote the passages referred to.

11. v. 17. ἡ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενὶ πέδῳ  
ἐθρέψατ', οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους  
πιστοὺς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.



ἡ γὰρ . . state the peculiarity here. Is the article ever used nakedly in this sense?

Is ὅπως γένησθε legitimate? State Dawes' Canon respecting the use of ἵνα, ὅφρα, ὥς, &c. to denote a purpose. Is the syntax in the following instances correct?

Ἄλλ' εἰς τόδ' ἦλθον, παιδὸς ἐκδεῖξαι φρένα  
τοῦ σοῦ δικαίαν, ὥς ὑπ' εὐκλείας θάνῃ. Hipp. 1293.

ἔνταυθα πέμπει τούσδ', ὅπως . . .  
κτείνουεν εὐχέρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν. Pers. 456.

12. v. 61. ἰππικῶν ἐκ πνευμόνων.

“πλευμόνων Brunck. utpote magis Atticum.”

Mention any words, of which the Tragic form differs from that of more recent Attic. Point out any Ionic words or forms of words which occur in the Dialogue of Æschylus.

13. v. 75. ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου πόλιν  
ζυγοῖσι δουλείοισι μήποτε σχεθεῖν.

Supply the ellipse.

φίλιον ἄνδρα μὴ θένης. Rhés. 687.  
γύναικες, ὀρμήθητε, μῆδ' ἀθυμία  
σχέθη τις ὑμᾶς. Eur. Alcæon.

What tenses are θένης, σχέθη—Are they so necessarily?

14. ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι. Translate this.

Point out any other verbs which have a similar government in the middle voice, and explain the reason of it.

Translate, ὅποια κισσὸς δρυὸς, ὅπως τῇσδ' ἔξομαι. Hec. 896.

15. v. 98. πέπλων. Quote any instance of such supplications from Homer, or Virgil. Were offerings of a similar kind ever made at the tomb of the dead, in a later period of Greece?

16. v. 193. τί δ' οὐκ ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ εἰς πρόραν φυγῶν  
πρύμνηθεν, εὖρε μηχανὴν σωτηρίας;

Translate this accurately. Were the tutelary gods of the Romans at the prow or the stern?

17. v. 228. μὴ νυν, εἰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους  
πύθησθε. Explain and give similar instances.

18. v. 237. οὐ σίγα μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν.  
v. 239. οὐκ εἰς φθόρον σιγῶς' ἀνασχίσει τάδε.

How do you point these lines? Is οὐκ εἰς φθόρον analogous to the οὐκ ἐς κόρακας of the Comics?

19. Translate and explain the sense of the following :

ξυμβολεῖ φέρων φέροντι,  
καὶ κενὸς κενόν καλεῖ,  
ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν,  
οὔτε μείον, οὔτ' ἴσον λε-  
λιμμένοι. v. 345.

20. v. 352. Translate πεσῶν ἀλγύνει κυρήσας.

Is the expression πεσῶν κυρήσας the same as μαρμαίρουσαν κυρεῖν (v. 397.)?

Is κυρεῖν ever used in this sense without a participle? What is Porson's Canon respecting τυγχάνω? Produce instances which militate against it.

21. v. 410. Σπαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, ὧν Ἄρης ἐφείσατο.

Give from Euripides or any other Poet, the fable of the origin of the Sparti. What is Bryant's hypothesis respecting them? What arguments have been used to shew that the Colony which founded Thebes came originally from Egypt?

22. v. 462. ἀνὴρ δ' ὀπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις  
στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον. Translate this.

“Nemo interpretum vidit στείχει activo sensu usurpari. Vid. Pors. ad Orest. 142.”

Are the instances collected by Porson in the note here referred to, strictly analogous to the case in the text?

23. v. 469. καὶ δὴ πέπεμπτ' ἄποιον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων.

What objection? ... ading? How remedied? Explain the force of the reading γούλ. Opt.

24. v. 476. κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλῃ. Explain the peculiarity of diction here, and quote similar instances.

25. v. 492. ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει  
βακχᾶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν, Θυιᾶς ὥς, φόβον βλέπων.

Produce instances where the particle of comparison is omitted.

26. v. 687. From what sources do the Greeks appear chiefly to have derived their metaphors? Could you from considerations of this nature infer any thing respecting the character, habits, and employments of the Athenians? Support your opinions by instances from the *Thebæ*, or elsewhere.

27. v. 710. λέγῳιτ' ἂν ὦν ἀνῆ τις· οὐ δὲ χρὴ μακράν.  
Give your reading of this line, and interpret it.

28. v. 856. νεκρόστολον θεωρίδα.

Is there any mention in Homer or Hesiod of Charon? From what nation is it probable that the Greeks derived this part of their mythology? Quote any instance where the word *βάρης* is used of the boat of Charon. From what language did the Greeks adopt the word? Point out the propriety of using it in the following lines from the *Supplices* of Æschylus.

v. 833. σοῦσθε, σοῦσθ' ἐπὶ βάρην.

v. 879. βαίνειν κελεύω βάρην εἰς ἀμφίστροφον.

29. v. 974. Mention any discrepancies between the story of *Œdipus* as delivered by Æschylus, and by the other Tragedians.

30. v. 1059. γένος ὠλέσατε πρῦμνοθεν οὕτως.

v. 1063. ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι, κάποτρέπομαι.

Is there any violation of tragic usage in either of these lines? Can you produce similar instances? Is Æschylus more or less sparing in the admission of licences than the later tragedians? Is there any difference in this respect observable between the earlier and later plays of Euripides?

## PHILOCTETES OF SOPHOCLES.

TRINITY COLLEGE. 1818.

1. ARE there any pretensions to the invention of Tragedy prior to Thespis? Define the date of its origin; and show how it bears upon the question of the authenticity of the Letters of Phalaris.

2. What is the root of the word **DRAMA**? And what argument is thence derived relative to the invention of Tragedy and Comedy? Is this argument strengthened by any collateral evidence?

3. (1) What was the prize of the Dithyrambic Chorus?

(2) What, of Comedy?

(3) Translate and explain Aristoph. *Acharn.* 13—14.

ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἤσθην, ἡνίκ' ἐπὶ μόνῳ ποτέ  
Δεξιθεὸς εἰσῆλθ' ἄσόμενος Βοιώτιον.

4. (1) What was the nature of Thespis's pieces?

(2) Is there any thing of the same kind to be found among the works of the three great Tragedians?

(3) With whom did serious Tragedy commence?

5. What was the original metre of Tragedy, and why chosen? Who introduced written Tragedy, female characters, a second and third actor, respectively?

6. (1) Enumerate and explain the chief parts and divisions of the Greek Theatre.

(2) To what festivals were dramatic exhibitions at first confined at Athens? To what were they afterwards added?

(3) What was the nature of the competitions of the Tragedians? With what pieces did they contend? And how was the prize adjudged?

(4) Who was the *Κορυφαῖος*? And whence is the word derived?

(5) What was *χόρον δίδόναι*? What was the expense of a Tragic Chorus?

(6) What was the office of the *Χοροδιδάσκαλος*? Was it usual for the Tragedians to perform that office for themselves?

(7) What was the number of the Chorus in the time of Sophocles? What is the common account given of the reduction of its number? And is there any thing in the character and genius of Æschylus which makes that account probable, or otherwise?



- (8) Define the ἐπεισόδιον, πάροδος, ἔξοδος, στάσιμον, κόμμος.

7. Explain and illustrate by examples the epithet κομποφακελορρήμορα, applied to Æschylus (Βάτρ. 838); and give a brief account of the plot and conclusion of the Βάτραχοι of Aristophanes.

8. (1) At what period did Sophocles live? What public office did he bear? At what age did he die?
- (2) What is known of his general feelings and conduct towards Æschylus?
- (3) Are any traces of a contrary feeling discernible in the writings of Euripides?
9. (1) Arrange the Plays of Sophocles in the chronological order of their subjects, and mention those of Æschylus and Euripides which are written on the same subjects with any of them.
- (2) Was the Philoctetes of Sophocles successful? Did either of the other Tragedians write on the same subject?
10. (1) What catastrophe does Aristotle consider best for Tragedy? Which of the three Tragedians most generally accords with his opinion on this point?
- (2) What species of character does the same Critic consider as best adapted for Tragedy? Compare the character of Philoctetes in this respect with the Timon of Shakspeare.
- (3) Define the Περιπέτεια and Ἀναγνώρισις; and say if there be any example of either or both in the Philoctetes.
11. (1) Explain the Cæsuras of an Iambic Senarius—the rule relating to an Anapest in the case of a proper name—and that respecting a whole metre being included in a single word.
- (2) Define the Pause; and say whether it is violated by any of the following lines. If by any, correct them.

- (a) ἦ<sup>η</sup>, τέκνον, στέλλεσθε;—καιρὸς γὰρ καλεῖ. v. 466.  
 (b) φίλοι δὲ ναυταί, πῶς ἂν ὑμῖν ἐμφανῆς. 531.  
 (c) ἴωμεν, ὦ παῖ, προσκύσαντες τὴν ἔσω. 533.  
 (d) τί ποτε λέγεις, ὦ τέκνον; ὥς οὐ μανθάνω. 914.

12. Define the metrical Ictus; and say, where it falls in the words ἰκεσίον, ἀκράτωρ, and προδέδομαι in the following lines:

- νεῦσον, πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίον, τέκνον. v. 484.  
 ἀκράτωρ ὁ τλήμων, χωλός. ἀλλὰ μή μ' ἀφῆς. 486.  
 ἀπόλωλα τλήμων, προδέδομαι. τί μ', ὦ ξένε. 923.

13. ὅσος οὐδέποτ' ἦλθεν ἀθρόως εἰς τὴν Πνύκα.

- (1) How does this line violate the laws of a Tragic Scenarius?  
 (2) How, of a Comic?  
 (3) Is there any other fault besides that of metre?

14. Where was Lemnos? What is its modern name? How is the corruption accounted for? Explain the proverbial expression, "Lemnia facinora."

15. (1) v. 173. νοσεῖ νόσον. Are there any instances of a different construction of this phrase in the Tragedians?  
 (2) v. 201. εὔστομ' ἔχε. Explain this construction.  
 (3) Do the same with σιγ' ἔχοντες, v. 258, and supply the elision and the accent in σιγ'.

16. ἐκπλαγῆτε, v. 226. πληγέντα, 267.

- (1) Account for the difference in the antepenultima of these two words.  
 (2) Which of the Aorist tenses did the Tragedians generally prefer? And why?

17. οὔνομα, 251. What dialect is this? How do you account for its admission in the Tragedians? In what other words do they preserve the same dialect?

18. (1) διακονεῖσθαι. What is the quantity of the second syllable of this word? How accounted for?  
 (2) What is the quantity of the final syllable of Ἀχιλλέα, and similar accusatives? Are there any viola-

tions of the rule, either real or apparent, in Attic writers?

- (3) Give a general account of the usage of the Tragedians in respect of the quantity of the second syllable of *άνία* and its derivatives.
- (4) Mark the quantity of the former syllable in *λίαν*, *πικρός*, *μικρός*,—of *πας*, and the latter syllable in *μέγας*, *τάλας*, *τάλαν*.
- (5) How do the Tragedians scan *μη ού*? Is their practice invariable?

19. Accentuate *ούτε* and *ούδε*, and account for the difference. Mark the difference of accent, according to the different significations, in *πονηρος*, *θεαν*, *καλως*, *οἶδομεν*; and of accent and breathing in *εις*, *απλοος*, *ην*, *ενι*.

20. (1) Mention by what moods and tenses the particles *ου μη* are necessarily followed.

(2) Show generally the difference of construction between *χρη* and *δει*; and illustrate particularly the Attic usage of the latter word.

(3) *θεοῖσιν εἰ δίκης μέλει*. 1036. Give different constructions of this phrase.

21. *εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω πλωάδες ὄξυτόνου διὰ πνεύματος ἔλωσί μ'*. 1092—4. Translate and explain this. Support your interpretation of *πλωάδες*, or of any other verbs you may adopt in its place as the true reading.

22. *δρασεῖς*. What verb is this called? Show how it is formed; and adduce other words of the same kind. Compare them with similar verbs in the Latin language.

23. *ὥς μ' ἐθιράσω, λαβὼν  
πρόβλημα σαντοῦ παῖδα τόνδ' ἄγνωντ' ἐμοί,  
ὅς οὐδὲν ἤδη πλὴν τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιεῖν*. v. 1007—10.

Is *ἤδη* the right reading here? Investigate the point by the analogy of Attic usage, and explain accurately the difference between the form of the first and third persons.

24. *χωρῶμεν νῦν πάντες ἀολλέες,  
νύμφαις ἀλῖαισιν ἐπευξάμενοι,  
νόστου σωτήρας ἰκέσθαι*. v. 1469—71.

(1) Correct this passage, and state the ground of the correction.

(2) What is the last line called, and why? To what peculiar restrictions is its metre subject?

25. Show on what grounds the following passages are objectionable, and correct them:

(1) ὦ σπέρμ' Ἀχιλλέως, μή με διαβάλλῃς στρατῶ. v. 582.

(2) ἐκόντα, μήτ' ἀέκοντα, μηδέ τφ τέχνη. 771.

(3) ΦΙ. ἐκεῖσε, νῦν μ' ἐκεῖσε. ΝΕ. ποῦ λέγεις; ΦΙ. ἄνω. 814.

(4) καὶ πῶς δίκαιον, ἃ γ' ἔλαβες βουλαῖς ἐμαῖς, πάλιν μεθέσθαι ταῦτα; 1247-8.

26. Give a brief general account of the state of the Athenian Theatre in the time of Sophocles, and the feeling that existed between the Tragedians, Comedians, and Philosophers.

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## A J A X.

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TRINITY COLLEGE. 1822.

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A. (1) DISTINGUISH between History, Epic Poetry, Tragedy and Comedy—in what do they agree? In what do they differ?

(2) In Tragedy what are the instruments, the manner, and the objects of imitation? In what order of importance does Aristotle place these last?

(3) Was the law of the three Unities a law of the Greek school? State your opinion, and with it examples, either confirming that opinion, or exceptions to it.—Did the Roman school admit the law? What modern school has most strictly



conformed to it? State the inconveniences of a rigid adherence to the law. What does Corneille mean by *la liaison des scenes*?

- B. (1) In what manner, and by what funds was the Athenian stage supported? (2) What is the greatest amount on record of their Theatrical expenses in one year? (3) Were these funds ever infringed? What was the difficulty in infringing them? (4) Give the meaning of the terms: λειτουργία· ἐγκύκλιοι· χορηγία· χορηγόν ἐνέγκειν· χορόν δίδοναι, χορηγεῖν τραγωδοῖς· ἀντιχορηγοί—χοροδιδάσκαλοι· ἀρχιθεωρία.

(5) Explain the following inscription :

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΚΟΡΗΓΕΙΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣΗΡΚΕΝ+ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕ-  
ΤΗΣΘΡΑΣΥΚΛΗΣ  
ΘΡΑΣΥΛΛΟΥΔΕΚΕΛΕΥΣ+ΙΠΠΟΘΟΩΝΤΙΣΠΑΙΔΩΝΕ-  
ΝΙΚΑ+  
ΘΕΩΝΘΗΒΑΙΟΣΗΥΛΕΙ+ΠΡΟΝΟΜΟΣΘΗΒΑΙΟΣΕΔΙ-  
ΔΑΣΚΕΝ.

- I. (1) To whom do the Arundel marbles ascribe the invention of Tragedy? Between what two events is the epoch of its invention placed? Approximate by this means to the date of the invention. Does the authority of Plutarch or of Plato coincide with the marbles? When and under what king were the Arundel marbles engraved? On what subjects are they most particular?

(2) To whom has the invention of Comedy been ascribed? What is the opinion of Theocritus? of Aristotle? Who is named by the Arundel marbles as the inventor? Which way does the etymology of certain scenic words lean? What is the reason that so little is known of the progress of Comedy?

(3) Translate and explain,

(1) γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιάστικη καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμωδία.

(2) οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον.

(3) Βάκχος ὅτε τριττόν κατὰ γοι χορόν—ᾧ τράγος ἀθλον  
X' ὦ 'ττικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος ὕθλος ἔτι.

- (4) Dem. de Cor. βῶας ῥητὰ καὶ ἀρρήτα ὀνομάζων  
ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης.  
—γεφυρίζεις—πομπεύεις.

(4) Give an account of the regular Anapæstic verse used by the tragedians. Is the anapæstic verse of Aristophanes subject to the same rules? Does Seneca observe the law of *συνάφεια*?

Δ. (1) Eustathius has the expression ὁ φιλόμηρος Σοφοκλῆς. Make good the epithet. (2) In what rank as a tragedian was Sophocles held by his contemporaries? Quote Aristophanes in particular. (3) What other arts reached their perfection at Athens at the same time with Tragedy? (4) Mention the Historians, Poets, Philosophers, Statesmen, and Artists of note who were contemporary with Sophocles, and citizens of Athens.

Ε. (1) Give a succinct account of the Post-Homeric History of the Trojan War, up to the taking of Troy.

(2) Which were the two cities that furnished the largest proportion of subjects for Greek Tragedy?

(3) Mention the titles, and the places where the scenes lay, of those tragedies, the chief characters in which were concerned in the Trojan War.

(4) Show from a topographical error in the Ajax, that Sophocles was not acquainted with the site of the plain of Troy.

(5) State and confute very briefly the principal arguments by which Bryant contends that the Trojan War was never undertaken; and that the city of Troy never existed in Phrygia. Who was the first person that held this opinion?

(6) Mention the names of such heroes as lie buried in the plain of Troy.

Ζ. (1) Give a short criticism of the Plot of the Ajax.

(2) Is it εὐσύνοπτον? (3) Is the character of Ajax that which Aristotle prefers for tragedy? (4) Are you aware of any circumstance that might have induced Sophocles to deviate in this play from the general rule of removing the death of an actor from the stage? (5) Are there any other plays.

the names of which only have come down to us, on the same subject with the Ajax?

(6) What events are introduced as probable futurities which the Poet knew had actually taken place?

(7) Are there in this, or in other plays of Sophocles, passages of national flattery?

(8) Quote any sentiments that Sophocles puts into the mouth of Ajax that mark his character.

(9) Construe τοῦ δε μήκουσ ὅρος πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οὐ τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν· εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἑκατὸν τραγωδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πρὸς κλεψύδρας ἂν ἡγωνίζοντο. ἔστι δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὃ ἐηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὅποια τις ἐστίν.

H. (1) Construct a system of the Greek tenses referable to three points.

(2) Resolve language into its constituent parts under two general heads.

(1) Show the propriety of the Greek names for article, noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb, conjunction, preposition. (2) Do the Greek grammarians allow interjections as a separate class? (3) Show the importance of the article in the terms τὸ πλοῖον—οἱ ἑνδεκα—ὁ ἀνθρωπος.

Θ. V. 12. ὅτου. Decline this pronoun, in the contracted and expanded form, both in the singular and in the plural.

17. Αἴαντι τῷ σακεσφόρῳ. Quote Homer's description of the shield.

75. Σιγα receives four different accents. Give the meanings and quantities of the word so accented. Distinguish between οἶος and οἴος, εἶμι and εἰμί, νῦν and νυν, ὕμιν and ὑμίν. What rule does Porson lay down for the quantity of ἀνὴρ? Give Clarke's rule for the quantity of the final syllable of accusatives of nouns ending in εὐς.

282. τίς γάρ ποτ' ἀρχὴ τοῦ κακοῦ προσέπτατο; Account for the existence of προσεπτάμην and προσεπτόμην. Which does Porson prefer?

430. Αἰ αἰ· τίς ἂν ποτ' ὥεθ' ὥδ' ἐπώνυμον  
Τουμὸν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;

Explain the construction of ἐπώνυμον. Show, by examples from Æschylus and Euripides, that they were not less ambitious than Sophocles of this driveling species of wit. What example does Quintilian quote from Euripides; and what judgment does he pass on it? Did Cicero or Ovid stoop to the same meanness of conceit? Quote from Ovid the lines ending,

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit—et ai ai  
Flos habet inscriptum.

468. —εἴτα λοίσθιον θανῶ. Correct this reading. Whence did the error of a second future arise? Mention the different Ionic futures, both active and middle, which the Attic dialect contracted. Assign a reason for the difference of the futures of the two dialects. Will this reason apply to the termination ισω? Why are not Ionic and Attic futures always different?

634. κρείσσων γὰρ Ἀΐδα κεύθων, ἢ νοσῶν μάταν. Quote Homer's comparison of the happiness of the dead and the living.

579. Correct and translate. καὶ ἐὼμ' ἀπάκτον, μηδ' ἐπισκηνους γόους Δάκρυε. How did the error arise? Translate, Aristoph. Vesp. 127.

ἡμεῖς δ' ὅς' ἦν τετρημένα  
ἐνεβύσαμεν ῥακίοισι κάπακτώσαμεν.

804. ταχεως. In how many different ways may the same meaning be expressed by the use of ταχος with prepositions?

877. Translate,

HM. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δὴ τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου βολῶν  
κέλευθον ἀνὴρ οὐδαμοῦ δηλοῖ φανείς.

XO. τίς ἄν μοι, τίς ἄν  
φιλοπόνων ἀλιαδᾶν  
ἔχων ἄπνους ἄγρας,  
ἢ τίς Ὀλυμπιάδων  
θεῶν, ἢ ῥυτῶν  
βοσπορίων ποταμῶν  
ἵδρις, τὸν ὠμόθυμον εἶ  
που ποτὲ πλαζόμενον  
προσβλέπει, ἀπύοι;



σχέτλια γὰρ μακρῶν ἀλάταν πόνων  
 οὐρίῳ μὴ πελάσαι δρόμῳ,  
 ἐμέ δ' ἀμνηνὸν ἄνδρα μὴ λεύσσειν ὅπου.

1049. *τοσόνδ' ἀναλώσας λόγον.* Why has not this verb the augment? Give some account of the reason and manner of the formation of irregular verbs.

1111. *οὐ τὸ σὸν δείσας στόμα.* Does this account of the cause which induced the Greeks to follow Agamemnon to Troy agree with Thucydides? Does it agree with Achilles' speech in Homer?

1225. (1) ἦ ποῦ τραφεῖς ἂν μητρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἀπὸ  
 ὕψηλ' ἐκόμπεις, κ' ἀπ' ἄκρων ὠδοιπόρεις.—  
 (2) ἦν—ἐφῆκεν ἐλλοῖς ἰχθύσι διαφθοράν.

Translate these passages, and illustrate the first by an Athenian law, the second by a Turkish custom.

1227. *ἀνοιμωκτι.*—When adverbs are derived from substantives, from which case is it that they are derived? Show the manner of their formation. In the form *ἀνοιμωκτι*, *ἀμαχεῖ*, how do you ascertain whether the termination is *ει* or *ι*? What is the quantity of the final *ι*?

1303. *δώρημ' ἐκείνῳ ὤωκεν.*—Is the augment elided in Tragedy? Is a diphthong ever elided? Is *αι* elided in the case of the third persons, or the infinitives of verbs? State the opinions of Dawes, Tyrwhitt and Lobeck.

## SOPHOCLIS ANTIGONA.

TRIN. COLL. 1824.

1. GIVE a short account of the life of Sophocles. In what Olympiad, and what year before Christ, does the play of Antigone appear to have been first acted? Mention the historical fact by which the date is determined.

2. Translate the following passage:

Δι. ——— δέομαι ποιητοῦ δεξιῶν,  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν· οἱ δ' ὄντες, κακοί.

- Ἡρ. τί δ' ; οὐκ Ἰοφῶν ζῇ;  
 Δι. ——— τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ μόνον  
 ἐτ' ἐστὶ λοιπὸν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα.  
 οὐ γὰρ σάφ' οἶδ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὅπως ἔχει.  
 Ἡρ. εἴτ' οὐχὶ Σοφοκλέα, πρότερον οὐτ' Εὐριπίδου,  
 μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἴπερ ἔκειθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;  
 Δι. οὐ, πρὶν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον,  
 ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅ τι ποιῇ κωδωνίσσω.

Aristoph. Ranæ, 71.

Explain the intimation contained in these lines. Has a similar charge been anywhere advanced against a son of Æschylus?

3. Give briefly an account of the rise and progress of Tragedy. Point out the error committed by Boyle in his interpretation of the proverb ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης.

Translate and explain,

τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνάδην οὕτως γεγενημένης,  
 ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἢ τούτοις ἀκούειν, μνησθήσομαι. Dem.  
 de Cor. §. 5.

When is it probable that the word τραγωδία was first used? What name, according to Bentley, was originally common to both Tragedy and Comedy?

4. In what state does Tragedy appear to have been in the time of Phrynichus? What was the subject of his play which is mentioned by Herodotus? State a remarkable circumstance which attended its performance at Athens. What was the name and subject of the play with which he is said to have contended against Æschylus for the prize, and what was the result of the contest?

5. At what festival did the dramatic contests at Athens take place? Why were the new plays produced at this time rather than at any other? How were the expences of paying and equipping the choruses defrayed? What is meant by χορὸν δίδοναι? State the nature of the duties enumerated in the following passage:

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθάνομαι τὰ μὲν ἤδη σοὶ προστάτουσιν μέγιστα τελεῖν, ἵπποτροφίας τε, καὶ χορηγίας, καὶ γυμνασιάρχας, καὶ προστατείας. Xen. Œcon. §. 2.

6. To what regulations were the competitors for the prizes subject in producing their dramas? Whence arose the necessity of Horace's precept?

*Nec quarta loqui persona laboret.*

Translate and explain,

μετεσκεύασται ὁ Ἐξάγγελος εἰς Πυλάδην ἵνα μὴ δ' λέγωσιν.

Schol. in Choeph.

Can you point out any instances where this regulation has had any influence on the economy of the piece?

7. In what manner were the dramas brought forward in the contests for the prize?

Translate,

πρῶτον ἐέ μοι τὸν ἐξ Ὀρεστείας λέγε. *Ran.* 1122.

What length of time is it probable that the audience were kept at one sitting?

Translate the following;

Ἄλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς Σιμόλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστει, σύκα καὶ βότρυς, καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων, ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκείνος ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα, ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ᾧ πολλὰ τραύματα εἰληφώς, εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων, ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. *Dem. de Cor.* §. 69.

How do you explain the passage *σύκα καὶ βότρυς, καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων*? Illustrate it from Aristophanes.

8. What is meant by the term Pause in Iambic verse?

Is ἡ τοῦς ἔνεστιν οὐτις ὑμῖν ἐγγενής a violation of the rule?

What argument is used by Porson, and what by Elmsley, to prove that *οὐδεῖς* was written *οὐδ' εἰς* by the Attics?

Define the term *συνάφεια*. In what species of verse is it found? Are there any examples of elisions at the end of Iambic lines, and under what circumstances?

9. What is the quantity of a syllable consisting of a short vowel followed by a mute and liquid in Homer? what in tragic? what in Comic verse?

Are

Σούνιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν. Nub. 400.

and ἀτάρ, ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη. Vesp. 652.

instances or exceptions to the general rule?

What is Dawes's Canon respecting a syllable in which a short vowel precedes one of the middle consonants, β, γ, δ, followed by any of the liquids except ρ? Are there any cases in which the rule is violated?

10. 21. οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῶν τὸ κασιγνήτω Κρέων,  
τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει;

Explain the peculiarity here, and quote instances of a similar construction. Has it been imitated by any Latin poet?

Translate,

πολλαὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν, αἱ μὲν εἴς' ἐπίφθονοι,  
αἱ δ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν τῶν κακῶν πεφύκαμεν. Hec. 1167.

11. 25. ————κατὰ χθόνος  
ἔκρυνψε, τοῖς ἔνερθεν ἔντιμον νεκροῖς.

Explain this superstition, and illustrate it from Homer, or elsewhere.

12. 36. ————φόνον προκεῖσθαι δημόλευστον.

Does death, by stoning, appear to have been a judicial punishment in the earlier times?

13. 41. ξυμπονήσεις.

What are the principal usages of συν in composition?

Translate and explain,

Λίσχ. ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε·  
οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γάρ ἐστιν ἀγῶν νῶν.

Διον. ————τί δαί;

Λίσχ. ὅτι ἡ ποίησις οὐχὶ συντέθνηκέ μοι·  
τούτῳ δὲ συντέθνηκεν, ὥσθ' ἔξει λέγειν.

Ran. 865.

14. Explain the term δεξιόσειρος.

Translate and explain the following:

κεῖνος δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐσχάτην στήλην ἔχων  
ἔχριμπτ' αἰεὶ σύριγγα, δεξιὸν δ' ἀνείσ  
σειραῖον ἵππον, εἶργε τὸν προσκείμενον. Electr. 712



—————εἰδόμαν—————

—————πώλους

κέντρῳ θεινομένους· τοὺς  
μὲν μέσους, ζυγίους, λευ-  
κοστήκτῳ τριχὶ βαλιούς·  
τοὺς δ' ἔξω, σειραφόρους,  
ἀντήρεις καμπαῖσι δρόμων. Iph. in Aul. 228.

15. 256. λεπτὴ δ', ἄγος φεύγοντος ὥς, ἐπὴν κόνις.

Explain this passage fully, and illustrate it from other authors.

16. 260. What cases are commonly used absolutely? To what may the nominative absolute usually be referred? What distinction is made by Elmsley between the genitive and the accusative absolute? What difference is there between the genitive absolute without and with ὥς? Is the accusative absolute ever found without this particle?

17. 263. ἡμεν δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἶρειν χεροῖν· &c. Is there any mention in any other classical author of this superstition?

What is the story of the Phocæans alluded to by the Scholiast? Quote Horace's account of it.

18. 315. τί δέ ρυθμίζεις.

State Dawes's Canon respecting the prolongation of a short vowel before ρ. Show where it is erroneous, and give the correct one. Does the same rule obtain in Homeric verse?

19. 351. ὑπάζεται is quoted by Matthiæ as an instance of the future being used of things which naturally, or usually occur. Is there any other instance of the same tense being so used in this play? What tenses are usually thus employed? Show how this notion has been conveyed by any Latin authors.

20. 481. ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἀδελφῆς, εἴθ' ὁμαιμονεστέρα  
τοῦ παντός ἡμιν Ζηνὸς Ἐρκείου κυρεῖ.

Translate and explain this; as also the following passage:

Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν πατρῶος οὐ καλεῖται, Ἐρκείος δὲ καὶ Φράτριος.  
Plat. Euthyd.

Who, according to Demosthenes and Plato, was the Θεὸς πατρῶος of the Athenians, and how does the latter account for the circumstance?

21. 505. ὑπὶλλουσι.

What is the original meaning of ἵλλω? What is its meaning here?

Translate,

μὴ νῦν περὶ σαυτὸν ἵλλε τὴν γνώμην αἰεί,  
ἀλλ' ἀποχάλα τὴν φροντίδ' ἐς τὸν αἴρα. Nub. 751.

22. 606. μαρμαρόεσσαν.

What is the original meaning of μαρμαίρω?

Translate,

μαρμαρύνγας θεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῷ.

23. 703. Give instances from this Play of transitions, from singular antecedent to plural relative, and the contrary.

24. 988. Translate,

ἀγνώτ' ἀκούω φθόγγον ὀρνίθων κακῷ  
κλάζοντας οὔστρω καὶ βεβαρβαρωμένῳ.

Mark any peculiarity in the construction, and explain βεβαρβαρωμένῳ. In what sense did the Greeks use the term βάρβαρος, and in opposition to what word?

Translate and explain the point of the following:

Istros, Hispanos, Massilienses, Illurios,  
Mare superum omne, Græciamque exoticam,  
Orasque Italicas omnes, qua adgreditur mare,  
Sumus circumvecti.—Plaut. Menæch.

25. 1025. κερδαίνειτ', ἐμπολᾶτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων  
ἤλεκτρον.

Between what metals does Homer place ἤλεκτρον? In what proportion, according to Pliny, were they mixed in order to produce it?

26. Translate and explain,

1051. ἀλλ' εὖ γέ τοι κάτισθι μὴ πολλοὺς ἔτι  
τροχοὺς ἀμιλλητῆρας Ἥλιου τελῶν.

27. 1107. What deities were celebrated in the Eleusinian mysteries; and under what characters? Quote the passage of Virgil on the subject.

## EURIPIDIS ORESTES.

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 TRIN. COLL. 1823.
 

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1. (1) WHERE was Euripides born, in what Olympiad, and year before Christ? Give an accurate rule, illustrated by examples, for converting dates before Christ into the corresponding period of Olympiads; and the contrary.

(2) Who was his philosophical preceptor? What other illustrious persons studied under the same master? Refer to some of the peculiar tenets in his writings, which he is supposed to have derived from this source. (Valcken. Diatrib. cap. 4, &c.)

2. How often, and at what times, did the tragic contests take place at Athens? With what pieces did they contend? Translate the following lines, and explain the last.

Οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων, ὅτι  
ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω·  
αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών.

Aristoph. Acharn. 476—78.

3. Explain the parabasis of Comedy; and say in what manner Euripides is supposed to have supplied its place; referring to examples.

4. Translate the following passage, and explain the allusions to the writings of Euripides:

Εὐρ. μεμνημένος νυν τῶν θεῶν, οὓς ἄμοσας,  
ἥ μὴν ἀπάξειν μ' οἶκαδ', αἰροῦ τοὺς φίλους.  
Διό. ἡ γλῶττ' ὁμώμοκ', Αἰσχύλον δ' αἰρήσομαι.  
Εὐρ. τί δέδρακας, ὦ μιαιώτατ' ἀνθρώπων; Διό. ἐγώ;  
ἔκρινα νικᾶν Αἰσχύλον· τιῇ γάρ οὐ;  
Εὐρ. αἰσχιστον ἔργον προσβλέπεις μ' εἰργασμένος;  
Διό. τί δ' αἰσχρόν, ἦν μὴ τοῖς θεωμένοις δοκῇ;  
Εὐρ. ὦ σχέτλιε, περιόψει με δὴ τεθυηκότα;  
Διό. τίς οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστί καθαρῆιν.  
τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, καὶ τὸ καθεύδειν κώδιον;

Aristoph. Ran. 1465—74.

5. What stage of the Attic dialect was in use at Athens in the time of Euripides? How does his language vary from it, and

why? Explain what is meant by the *middle Attic*, and how far it is a distinct branch from both Old and New.

6. Explain the principle of attraction between the relative and its antecedent. State the utmost extent to which it is carried; and produce instances of the more unusual cases.

7. An interchange of sense sometimes takes place between the different voices of verbs. State what tenses, in each respectively, most frequently change their sense, and how?

8. Translate, “τὸ δράμα τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς εὐδοκιμούντων, χεῖριστον δὲ τοῖς ἡθεσι. Argum. in Orest. What are Aristotle’s rules respecting the ἡθη? Which of the characters of this play does he censure as faulty in this point, and on what ground?”

9. (1) ἦς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ’ ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις. v. 3. Is this the proper quantity of ἄραιτο? Compare it with the use of the same or other tenses of the same verb in Attic or other writers.

(2) Give the metrical names of the following lines, explaining any anomalies:

(a) τίθετε, μὴ ψοφεῖτε, μὴ ὅ ἔστω κτύπος. v. 141.

(b) ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν. v. 175.

(c)δρομάδες ὦ πτερόφοροι. v. 311.

(d) φοινία ψῆφος ἐν πόλει. v. 964.

(3) Mark the quantity of πότνια, νέκυν, ἅπαν, λίαν, λύω.

10. ᾧ στέμματα ξήνασ’ ἐπέκλωσεν θεὰ  
ἔριν, Θυέστη πόλεμον ὄντι συγγόνῳ  
θέσθαι. v. 12—14.

Translate this. Who is the θεά? Is there a propriety in the use of the middle verb, θέσθαι? Explain the χρυσείας ἔρις ἀγνός, v. 802.

11. Translate and explain the construction of,

πῶς, ᾧ τάλαινα, σύ τε κασίγνητός τε σός  
τλήμων Ὀρέστης μητρὸς ὅδε φονεὺς ἔφν; v. 73—74.  
Ἐλένη, τί σοι λέγοιμ’ ἂν, ἄγε παροῦς ὀρᾷς,  
ἐν ξυμφοραῖσι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνον; v. 81—82.

12. ἅπανθ’ ὑπισχνοῦ νερτέρων δωρήματα. v. 123.

Translate. What were these δωρήματα, and what their object? Compare the expression in this passage with other instances of the



genitive expressing the object of an action or feeling. Give the correct English of Soph. El. 343. *ἅπαντά σοι τὰ μὰ νουθετήματα*, and Tacitus's expression, "odio humani generis." Does *τὸ Τροίας μῖσος*, v. 426. come under the same rule?

13. Translate the following—mark the precise sense of *ἀπέθρισεν*—and refer to a similar exclamation in an English poet:

ὦ φύσις, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἶ κακὸν,  
σωτήριόν τε τοῖς καλῶς κεκτημένοις.  
ἴδετε γὰρ ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθρισεν τρίχας,  
σώζουσα κάλλος· ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι γυνή. v. 126—29.

14. v. 238. *χάριτας ἔχων πατρός*. Translate this; and give the senses of *χάριν ἔχειν*, *εἰδέναι*, *διδόναι*, *ὀφείλειν*, *ἀποδιδόναι*.

15. ὦ χιλιόναυ στρατὸν ὀρμήσας. v. 346. (1) Give the accurate sense of *ὀρμάω*, *ὀρμέω*, *ὀρμίζω*, and of *ὀρμήσας* in this passage. (2) What was the exact number of ships in this expedition, and what the computed number of men, and how calculated?

16. Ἀγαμέμνωνος μὲν γὰρ τύχας ἠπιστάμην,  
καὶ θάνατον, οἷφ' πρὸς δάμαρτος ὤλετο,  
Μαλέα προσίσχων πρῶραν· ἐκ δὲ κυμάτων  
ὁ ναυτίλοισι μάντις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι  
Νηρέως προφήτης Γλαῦκος. v. 354—58.

(1) Translate the above. (2) Give the geographical explanation of *Μαλέα*, and of the course which brought him thither? (3) *ὁ...μάντις*. State the rule applying to the case of the article disjoined from its substantive; and say whether it is invariable, or by whom neglected.

17. (a) *εὐ γ' εἶπας· οὐ γὰρ ζῶ κακοῖς· φάος δ' ὀρῶ*. v. 380.  
(b) *πῶς φῆς; σοφόν τοι τὸ σαφές, οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές*. v. 391.  
(c) *σεμναὶ γὰρ· εὐπαίδευτα δ' ἀποτρέπει λέγειν*. v. 404.  
(d) *ὡς ταχὺ μετῆλθόν σ' αἷμα μητέρος θεαί*. v. 417.

Translate these lines; and illustrate the first and last by examples of similar syntax.

18. ....τὸ σῶφρόν τ' ἔλαβεν ἂν τῆς *ξυμφορᾶς*,  
καὶ τοῦ νόμον τ' ἂν εἶχετ', *εὐσεβὴς* τ' ἂν ἦν. v. 495—96.

Translate; explain and justify the government of *ξυμφορᾶς*. How does *εἶχετο* get the sense it bears here? and how is *ἐχό-*

μενος used, with the same government, by Thucydides and others?

19. ἀνταποῶκτενεί. v. 502. What is Dawes's metrical canon respecting the *soft mutes*? Does it apply to this word? And could the ο here be shortened? Is the same law applicable to μητέρα κτανών? v. 539.

20. Translate, θυγάτηρ δ' ἐμὴ θανοῦσ' ἔπραξεν ἔνδικα. v. 531. With what restriction is πράσσω used in this sense? Is that restriction either really or apparently violated here?

21. ἔκκλητον Ἀργείων ὄχλον. v. 604. What appears to have been the nature of the Argive government at this time? How soon after did it undergo any change? What particulars are known of it, as it existed in the time of Thucydides?

22. ἐκοῦσαν, οὐκ ἄκουσαν, ἐπισείσω πόλιν,  
σοὶ σὴ τ' ἀδελφῇ λεύσιμον δοῦναι δίκην. v. 605—6.  
“δοῦναι δίκην.....hic rarissimo usu ponitur pro eodem prope, quod Latine dicitur *jus dare vel reddere*.” Porson. Are there any instances found of this *rarissimus usus*? How may the passage be construed without admitting it? Produce examples of similar construction.

23. Μενέλαε, σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω. v. 614. In Porson's note on this passage, what is the canon laid down respecting the concurrence of καὶ.....δὲ in the same sentence? Is there any reason to question its accuracy, or to *restrict* its application? Does Porson restrict it to any particular age, or kind, of writing? Refer to instances in which it has been applied with apparent harshness.

24. ....εἰ γὰρ ἀρσένων φόνος  
ἔσται γυναιξὶν ὅσιος, οὐ φθάνοιτ' ἔτ' ἂν  
θνήσκοντες, ἢ γυναιξὶ δουλεύειν χρεών. v. 924—6.  
Translate this accurately; and produce examples from this play and others of a similar use of φθάνω.

25. Translate, πῶς ἂν ξίφος νῦν ταυτόν, εἰ θέμις, κτάνοι; v. 1050. Quote instances of the same use of πῶς ἂν, and mention in what writers it is found.

26. Μενέλεων δὲ τίσομαι, v. 1169. Give the sense of τίσομαι, and show how it derives it from the active verb. Justify this sense by comparing it with the same idea expressed in differ-

ent language; and justify the use of the accusative after it by pointing out a similar ellipsis in other verbs.

27. { ἄραρ' } ἀνάγκης δ' εἰς ζύγον καθέσταμεν. v. 1323.  
{ ἄραρεν }

Which is the right reading, and why? What tense is it? What voice? What dialect? What other instances of the same dialect in the Tragedians does Porson enumerate in his notes on this play?

28. οὐκοῦν, v. 1623. What is the received opinion of grammarians on the different senses of this word? How is it controverted by Mr. Elmsley? How can you translate the following passage consistently with Mr. E.'s hypothesis? οὐκοῦν περὶ τούτων γε αὐτὸν ἀφίετε. Demosth. περὶ Παραπ.

29. Translate the following:

ὃ βούλομαι γὰρ ἡδὺ καὶ διὰ στόμα  
πτηνοῖσι μύθοις ἀαπάνως τέρψαι φρένα. v. 1173—74.

.....'Ορ. πειθ' ἐς Ἀργείους μολών,

Με. πειθὼ τίς; 'Ορ. ἡμᾶς μὴ θανεῖν αἰτοῦ πόλιν.

v. 1626—27.

30. Give the meaning and derivation of the following words: ὀχμάσεις, ἐξαμιλλῶνται (in τόνδ' ἐξαιμ. φόβῳ), πρωτόλεια (γοιᾶτων πρωτ.) ἀνεχόρευε, (οὐκ ἂν με μισῶν ἀνεχ. Ἐρινύσῃ) ὑποστέλλει (οὐκ ὑποσ. λόγῳ), πάρεργον, ἀπέδοτο (different senses), πρόσαντες, νωχελή, παράσειρος.

31. What was the object probably aimed at by Euripides in the character of the *Phrygian*? What similar instances are found in the Tragedians? Is there any thing like it in Homer?

## IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS.

TRIN. COLL. 1826.

- I. (1) Give the dates of the birth and death of Euripides.
- (2) Mention the leading events in the History of Greece which took place during his life-time.
- (3) Translate: Ἦρξατο δὲ (ὁ Εὐριπίδης) ἀιδάσκειν ἐπὶ Καλίου ἄρχοντος, κατὰ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀγέλοισι τὴν πρώτην.

πρῶτον δὲ ἐδίδαξε τὰς Πλειάδας, ὅτε καὶ τρίτος ἐγένετο.  
τὰ πάντα ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ δράματα ἤβ. σώζεται δὲ ὁ. τού-  
των νοθεύεται τρία.

- (4) In one of Aristophanes's plays, a woman says of Euripides,

ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ γυναῖκες, δρᾷ κακὰ,  
ἅτ' ἐν ἀγρίοις τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς.

Translate these lines, and explain the allusions contained in them.

- II. (1) Translate the following lines (*Aristoph. Ran.* 943.):

Εὐριπίδης. εἴτ' οὐκ ἐλήρουν ὃ τι τύχοιμ' οὐδ' ἐμπεσὼν  
ἔφυρον,  
ἀλλ' οὐζιὼν πρῶτιστα μέν μοι τὸ γένος  
εἶπεν εὐθύς  
τοῦ δράματος.

- (2) Is the practice here referred to exemplified in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*?  
(3) Mention any reasons that have been given in explanation or defence of it.  
(4) What other remarks are made upon Euripides's prologues, in the same play of Aristophanes?  
(5) Translate the following lines (*Ran.* 1225.):

Διώνυσος. ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν, ἀποπρίω τὴν λήκυθον,  
ἵνα μὴ διακναίσῃ τοὺς προλόγους ἡμῶν.

Εὐριπίδης. τὸ τί;

ἐγὼ πρίωμαι τῷδ' ;

Δι. εἰς πείθη γ' ἐμοί.

Εὐ. οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς προλόγους ἔξω λέγειν.  
ἵν' οὗτος οὐχ ἔξει πρόσαι λήκυθον.

\* Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πῖσαν μολῶν  
θοαῖσιν ἵπποις—

Αἰσχύλος. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.

Δι. ὁρᾷς, προσῆψεν αὐθις αὐτὴν τὴν λήκυθον—

\* (6) From what play of Euripides is this line quoted?

- III. (1) On what public occasions did the Dramatic contests take place at Athens?

- (2) Explain the expressions χορηγεῖν, χόρον διδόναι, χόρον διδάσκειν, κορυφαῖος, τετραλογία, περιπέτεια, ἀναγνώρισις.



- (3) Give some account of the improvements introduced by Æschylus into Tragic representations. Did Phrynichus write before or after him?
- (4) Mention one or two of the most striking particulars in which the costume of Greek Tragic actors differed from that used in modern times.
- (5) To what sort of chorus, and to what period of time does Horace refer, when he says

“——chorusque  
Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.”

- (6) What difference has been observed between the general character of the Choric Odes of Euripides, and those of the preceding Tragedians?

IV. (1) ν. 30. Ταύρον χθόνα. 410. Φινείδας ἀκτάς. 422. λευκὰν ἀκτάν—Ἀχιλλῆος δρόμους.

Explain the position of each of the above places, by drawing a map.

- (2) Translate the following passage from Strabo (VII. p. 307.)

Εἰτ' ὁ Ἀχιλλεῖος δρόμος, ἀλιτενῆς χερρόνησος· ἔστι γὰρ ταυρία τις, ὅσον χιλίων σταδίων μῆκος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω· πλάτος δὲ τὸ μέγιστον, δυοῖν σταδίων· ἐλάχιστον, τεσσάρων πλέθρων.

- (3) Translate the following from Herodotus (IV. 99.)

Καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου ἤμου· λέγω δὲ, ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοις συμβαλέειν.

V. 194. OP. τὸ κλεινὸν Ἄργος πατρίδ' ἐμὴν ἐπεύχουαι.  
 IF. πρὸς θεῶν, ἀληθῶς, ὧ ξέν', εἰ κείθεν γεγώς;  
 OP. ἐκ τῶν Μυκηνῶν, αἱ ποτ' ἦσαν ὄλβιαι.

- (1) How are the statements made in the first and last of these lines to be reconciled?
- (2) What is the meaning of the expression *Κυκλωπίδες ἐστίαι*, applied to Mycenæ, v. 825? Give some account

of the persons alluded to in this expression, their works, and style of architecture.

- (3) When, and by whom, was Mycenæ destroyed?

VI. 795. OP. Ἀτρέως Θυέστου τ' οἶσθα γενομένην ἔριν;  
 IΦ. Ἦκουσα, χρυσῆς ἀρνὸς ἡνίκ' ἦν περι.

- (1) What is the story here alluded to?  
 (2) Give the full meaning of the expression ἦκουσα ἡνίκα—  
 (3) How is the word περι, to be accented in this place, and why?

VII. 913. ἀωνύμοις Θεαῖς.

- (1) Explain this appellation, and give some account of the names, attributes, and offices assigned to these deities in the writings of the Tragedians, and of the reverence described to have been paid to them, referring to any particular plays or passages that you may recollect on the subject.  
 (2) How many of them were there according to the commonly received account? Can you infer from any passage in this play whether Euripides agreed with that account of their number or not?

VIII. (1) Translate (v. 914.)

ἐστὶν γὰρ ὅσα ψῆφος, ἣν Ἄρει ποτὲ  
 Ζεὺς εἶσατ' ἐκ τοῦ δὴ χερῶν μιάσματος.

- (2) What Institution is here referred to?  
 (3) What is the circumstance alluded to respecting Mars?  
 (4) What account does Æschylus give of the origin of this Institution and of its name?  
 (5) Whom does he represent to have sat as judges in the case of Orestes? What tradition on this point is mentioned by Demosthenes?  
 (6) What were the results of the proceedings to Orestes and to his adversaries, according to Æschylus? What according to Euripides?  
 (7) State briefly the power intrusted to this Court by Solon. Of whom was it composed?  
 (8) When and by whom were its powers first diminished?

- (9) What particular crimes does Demosthenes say had always remained under its sole cognizance? State very briefly the forms and ceremonies which he describes to have been observed in it.
- (10) Translate ἐνταυθοῖ μόνον οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε φεύγων ἀλούς, οὔτε διώκων ἡττηθεὶς, ἐξήλεγξεν ὡς ἀδίκως ἐδικάσθη τὰ κριθέντα.

IX. 927. κλύω δ' Ἀθηναίοισι τὰμὰ δυστυχῇ  
τελετὴν γενέσθαι, κᾶτι τὸν νόμον μένειν,  
χοῆρες ἄγγος Παλλάδος τιμᾶν λεών.

- (1) Translate these lines.
- (2) What was the name and what the distinguishing ceremony of the festival here alluded to? At what time of the year was it celebrated?
- (3) v. 39. κατάρχομαι μὲν, σφάγια δ' ἄλλοισιν μέλει.  
Explain the rites denoted by the word κατάρχομαι. Illustrate them by reference to passages in this play and elsewhere.

X. 1099. λιπαρὰν—Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ γᾶν.

- (1) Translate the following lines from Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 608.)

φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιος ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής,  
παύσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι,  
μήθ' ἡδέσθαι θωπευομένους, μήτ' εἶναι χαννοπολίτας.  
πρότερον δ' ὑμᾶς οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐξαπα-  
τῶντες  
πρῶτον μὲν ἰοστεφάνους ἐκάλουν· κάπειδ' ἡ τοῦτό τις  
εἴποι,  
εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκά-  
θησθε·  
εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας,  
εὔρετο πᾶν ἂν διὰ τὰς λιπαράς, ἀφύων τιμὴν περιάψας.

- (2) What poet and what circumstances respecting him are more particularly referred to in these lines?

XI. Sophocle. *Ajac.* 172. Ἡ ρά σε Ταυροπόλα Διὸς Ἄρτεμις  
—ἠρμιασε.

- (1) What derivation does Euripides assign in this play for the title given to Diana in the above line?
- (2) Mention any places where she was worshipped under that title or any similar appellation.
- (3) What remarkable custom at Sparta is said to have been derived from the rites of the Tauric Deity? How did it thence originate?

XII. v. 1428. σὲ δ' ἀμφὶ σεμνὰς, Ἰφιγένεια, κλίμακας  
 Βραυρωνίας, δεῖ τῇσδε κληδουχεῖν Θεᾶς·  
 οὐ καὶ τεθάψει κατθανοῦσα, καὶ πέπλων  
 ἄγαλμά σοι θήσουσιν εὐπήνους ὑφὰς,  
 ἃς ἂν γυναῖκες ἐν τόκοις ψυχορραγεῖς  
 λείπωσ' ἐν οἴκοις.

- (1) Translate these lines.
- (2) Is Iphigenia mentioned by Homer?
- (3) What circumstances does he relate to have taken place at Aulis?
- (4) Mention any other account of proceedings at Aulis given by a poet earlier than Euripides.
- (5) What became of Iphigenia at last, according to Hesiod?
- (6) What account does Herodotus give of honours paid to her?
- (7) Mention any instances from other writers of similar honours offered to her.
- (8) When and by whom was the image of the Goddess removed from Brauron?

XIII. 1177. IΦ. καὶ πόλει πέμψον τιν' ὅστις σημανεῖ—  
 ΘΟ. ποίας τύχας;  
 IΦ. ἐν δόμοις μίμνειν ἅπαντας. ΘΟ. μὴ συναν-  
 τῶεν φόνῳ;  
 IΦ. μυσαρὰ γὰρ τὰ τοιάδ' ἐστί. ΘΟ. στεῖχε,  
 καὶ σήμαινε σὺ—  
 IΦ. μηδέν' εἰς ὅψιν πελάζειν. ΘΟ. εὖ γε κηδεύ-  
 εις πόλιν.



1181. ΙΦ. καὶ φίλων γ' οὐδεὶς μάλιστα. ΘΟ. τοῦτ' ἔλεξας εἰς ἐμέ.

ΙΦ. σὺ δὲ μένων αὐτοῦ πρὸ ναῶν, τῇ θεῷ—  
ΘΟ. τί χρῆμα δρῶ;

ΙΦ. ἄγνισον πυρσῷ μέλαθρον. ΘΟ. καθαρὸν ὡς μόλῃς πάλιν;

(1) Translate these lines.

(2) In what metre are they? What are its laws?

(3) In the last line, do you prefer *μόλῃς* or *μόλοις*? Give the reason of your preference.

(4) In v. 1178 what appears to be the precise force of *συναν-τῶεν*, as distinguished from *συναντῶσιν*, which it has been proposed to introduce?

(5) In v. 1181 some supply the first sentence thus: *οὐδεὶς (πελαζέτω)*: Why is this wrong? What other explanations have been proposed?

(6) *ἄγνισον πυρσῷ μέλαθρον*. Mention any other instances of a similar rite of purification. How does Ulysses purify his house in the *Odyssey*?

XIV. (1) Distinguish between *ποῦ* and *ποῖ*, *ὅπου* and *ὅποι*, *οὐ* and *οἶ*, and explain the force of these particles in each of the following passages—

v. 113. ὥρα δέ γ' εἴσω τριγλύφῳ, ὅποι κενὸν, δέμας καθεῖναι.

118. χωρεῖν χρεῶν  
ὅποι χθονὸς κρύψαντε λήσομεν δέμας.

348. τὴν ἐνθάδ' Αὐλὶν ἀντιθεῖσα τῆς ἐκεί,  
οἶ μ' ὥστε μόσχον Δαναΐδαι χειρούμενοι  
ἔσφαζον—

(2) From what verbs and in what tenses are *καθεῖσαι*, *ἦει* (what is there peculiar in the use of this latter form, and *ἦμα*?) *ἔτωσαν*.

(3) Explain the meaning and derivation of the words *τηλύ-γετος*, *πελώριος*, *γυάλορ*, *ζάθεος*, *μέροπες*, *ἀπεράστατο*. Quote instances of the use of any of them in Homer.

Translate closely the following passages, and explain any peculiarities in the construction.

- (4) v. 406. γνώμα δ' οἷς μὲν ἄκαιρος ὄλ-  
βου, τοῖς δ' εἰς μέσον ἤκει.
- (5) v. 437. καὶ γὰρ ὀνείρασι συμβαίην  
οἴκοις πόλει τε πατρώ-  
α τερπνῶν ὕμνων ἀπολαύ-  
ειν, κοινὰν χάριν ὄλβω.
- (6) v. 864. τίς ἂν οὖν τάδ' ἂν ἢ θεὸς ἢ βροτὸς, ἢ  
τι τῶν ἀδοκῆτων  
πόρον ἄπορον ἐξανύσας,  
δυοῖν τοῖν μόνοις Ἀτρεΐδαϊν φανεῖ  
κακῶν ἔκλυσιν;
- (7) v. 901. ταυτ' ἂρ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς κἀνθάδ' ἡγγέλης μανείς.
- (8) v. 235. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἂν εὐτρεπῇ ποιουμένη;
- Heraclid. 721. φθάνοις δ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν τοῖσδε συγκρύπτων ξέμας.
- (9) v. 1171. οἶσθα νῦν ἅ μοι γενέσθω;
742. ἀλλ' οἶσθ' ὃ δράσω;
- Hecub. 225. οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον;
- XV. (1) v. 54. τιμῶσ' ὕδραϊνον αὐτὸν, ὡς θανούμενον. al.  
ὕδραϊνειν—

Why is this latter reading preferable?

- (2) v. 325. ἐς χέρνιβας τε καὶ σφαγεῖ ἔπεμπε σοι.  
al. ὡς χέρνιβας τε καὶ σφάγι' ἐξέπεμπε σοι.

What reasons are assigned in favour of the former reading?

- (3) v. 808. ἐκτίσας Ἰπποδάμειαν, Οἰνόμαον κτανῶν—

What peculiarities are there in the metre of this line, and on what grounds are they admitted?

- XVI. v. 1063. φοῖνικά θ' ἀβροκόμαν  
δάφναν τ' εὐέρνέα καὶ  
γλανκᾶς θαλλὸν ἱερὸν ἐλαί-  
ας, Λατοῦς ὠδὶνὰ φίλαν,  
λίμναν θ' εἰλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ  
κύκνειον—

- (1) Translate these lines.
  - (2) What places, event, and circumstances are here alluded to?
  - (3) Can you refer to any description similar to this, from Euripides or any other Greek poet?
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# INDEX.

## A.

ACCUSATIVUS de quo, 442, 443.

Acestor, the tragedian, 66.

Achæus Eretriensis, the tragedian, 62.

Action, Unity of, 401—407.

Actors, one introduced by Thespis, 12; another by Æschylus, 36; a third by Sophocles, 48; only three allowed to each dramatist, 122; their gains and character, 123; their dresses, 127.

Actresses unknown to the Grecian stage, 268.

Adjectiva composita in os, 426.

Admission money to the theatre, 117—119.

Adverbia in ei et i, 425.

Æci, quantity of, 528.

Æschylus, his life, 32—36; his Σικελισμός, 35; accused of plagiarism from Phrynichus, 22; number of his dramas, 36; improvements in tragedy, 36—39. 137; nature of his choruses, 36, note; a Pythagorean, 39; his style and character, 39—43. 299; his Agamemnon, 287; Eumenides, 289; his political aims therein, 293; Suppliant Women, 294; Seven against Thebes, 295; Persians, 296; Prometheus Bound, 296; Chœphoroi, 323.

Ἄγαν, quantity of, 529.

Afranius, 392.

Agatharcus, the inventor of stage scenery, 248.

Agathon, the tragedian, 64, 65. 343; first inserted choruses foreign to the play, 64.

Ἀιώραι, 115.

Ajax, examination paper on, 543.

Ἀκούετε λεώς, 171.

Alexis, the comedian, 87.

Ἀλκιστις, no play of Thespis so named, 201.

Alphabet, Greek, not completed till after the death of Thespis, 195.

Ameipsias, the comedian, 84.

Ἄν, contingent, goes with the past tenses only of the indicative, 429. 453.

— with ὅσῳ et similia, 430.

— with indicative, subjunctive, and optative, 431.

Ἀναγνώρισις or Discovery, 147; different kinds of, 155, 156, 157.

Anapestic verses, 468.

Anapests in the fourth place of the comic catalectic tetrameter, 509; when they may form the first foot in the senarius, 459, note.

Ἀνία, Ἀνήρ, quantity of, 528.

Anaxandrides, the comedian, 87.

Ancient Mythology symbolical, not allegorical, 292.

Antigone, examination paper on, 548.

Antiphanes, the comedian, 86.

Aphareus, the tragedian, 68.

Apollodorus, the comedian, 91.

Araros, the son of Aristophanes, 86.

Archilochus, fragments of, 167.

Archilochian verse, 183—185.

Aristophanes, 81—84. 350—355. time and place of his birth, 81; his fame, 82; dramas, 81—84. 355—363; patriotism, 351; buffoonery and licentiousness, 352; excellencies, 353; passages of, corrected by Bentley, 212—215; his Knights, 356; Peace, 357; Acharnians, 358; Lysistrata, 358, 359; Ecclesiazusæ, 359; Thesmophorizusæ, 359, 360; Clouds, 360, 361; Frogs, 361, 362; Wasps, 362; Birds, 362, 363; Plutus, 364.

Aristotle compiled Didascalîæ, 107, note; his Poetics, 401; Rhetoric, 401, 402.

Arundel Marble, engraver of, falsely charged with an omission, 200—205.

Aristeas, son of Pratinas, 62.

Aristarchus, the tragedian, 61.

Aristomenes, the comedian, 84.

Articulus cum propriis nominibus, 446.

Ἀρχιτέκτων, 119.

Asinius Pollio, 394.

Astydamas, 68.

Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ὢν, whence taken, 165. 177—179.

Ἀθάνατος primam producit, 165, note.

Atellane Fables, 389.

Attic Crases, 419, 420.

Attius, 393, 394.

Audience, theatric, 117—121; its number, 119; talents, 354; behaviour, 119, 120

Augment, 422—425.

Ἀξίος, its government, 443—445.



## B.

Βατραχέϊον, 127.

Bacchic choruses three in number, 240.

Bacchus, his dramatic dress, 123.

Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, account of, 166, note.

Βροντεῖον, 116. 264.

Bull, the prize of the Dithyramb, 7. 240.

Buskin introduced by Æschylus, 37.

## C.

Calf, prize of the harpers, 241.

Callias, the comic poet, 84.

Catastrophe, 150.

Canones Dawesiani, 429—445.

Carcinus, the tragedian, 65.

Characters, which best for tragedy, 149, 150.

Charondas, age of, 254, 255; laws falsely ascribed to him, 251—255.

Charonic ladder, 117. 263.

Chionides, the comic poet, 75.

Chorus, its origin, 2, 3; nature and use of, 275; Dithyrambic or Cyclian, 3. 240; Satyric, 4, 5; Tragic, Comic, number of, 124; one of the actors, 124. 158; dances of, 125.

Choragi, their office and how chosen, 104; their rivalry, 107; successful honours of, 107.

Choragic expenses, 104. 251—254.

Chronology of the Grecian Drama, 93—97.

Chærilus, the tragedian, 23.

Χιτών ποδηγής, 128.

Χριστός πάσχω, 69.

Cleophon, the tragedian, 67.

Clepsydra, its use in scenic exhibitions, 108. 143.

Cæsura in the Senarius, 460. 505.

Comædia Togata, 392.

——— Palliata, 392.

Comedy, etymology of, 134.

Comedy, the Old, its origin, 70. 136; prize, 106. 176; progress, 137, 138. 71; prohibited for a time, 77; extinction, 85. 351; number of its plays, 167; antithesis and parody of tragedy, 344, 345; comic ideal, the converse of the tragic, 346, 347; the apparent want of aim of the old comedy, 346; its political meaning, 351.

Comedy, the Middle, its history and nature, 85. 365, 366; number of its pieces, 167.

Comedy, the New, its origin, 367; its nature, 88. 368; a mixture of jest and earnest, 367; its morality a system of prudence, 368. 377; a copy of reality,

369; variety of its species, 371; combines the Play of Character and the Play of Intrigue, 372; its tone, 374, 375; structure of Theatre unfit for it, 381; circle of its characters, 382—384; its physiognomy expressed in the portrait-statues of Menander and Posidippus, 387; number of its plays, 377.

Comic trimeter, 462.

Coryphæus, 125.

Crane, theatric machine so called, 115. 264.

Crases Atticæ, 419, 420.

Cratinus, the comic poet, 76; his style, 363, 364.

Crates, the comic poet, 79. 138.

Cretic termination, 481. 506. 508.

Χύστις, 128.

Cyclian chorus the same as the Dithyrambic, 240.

## D.

Dactyls in Anapæstic verse, 522.

Δέσις καὶ Λύσις, 157.

Δευτέραία λαβεῖν, 105, note.

Didascalîæ, 107, note. 166.

Dinolochus, the comic poet, 75.

Diocles, the comic poet, 84.

Dioscorides, epigrams of, on Thespis and Æschylus, quoted and corrected, 187, 188.

Dionysia, 100—102.

Diphilus, the comic poet, 91.

Διφθέρα, 128.

Dithyramb, nature of, 3. 235; chorus of, 240; prize of, 7. 240, 241. gave birth to Tragedy, 5.

Doric mood, 126.

Dorica dialectus in anapæstis, 527.

Dorians claim the invention of the drama, 8. 134.

Dolon, no comic poet so named, 176.

Drama, origin of, 1; at the beginning extemporal, 168, 169; its first metre trochaic, 13. 168.

Dramatic Art, Schools of, 311, 312.

——— Contests, 99—109.

——— Unities, 144, note. 400—415.

Dramatists their own actors, 12.

## E.

Ephantides, the comic poet, 84.

Εἰ μὴ—ἐάν μὴ, 451.

Ἔκκενα, 122, note.

Elisions, 420, 421.

Ἐμβαταί, 127.

Ἢμιν ἐν ἡμῖν, 528.

- Ἑμμέλεια, 126.  
 Ἑμικύκλιον, 116.  
 Ennius, 393.  
 Ἑγκύκλημα, 116, 117. 264.  
 Ἑπεισόδιον, 12, note.  
 Ἡ οὐ, prosody of, 529.  
 Epicharmus inventor of comedy, 134. 138.  
 169; life of, 72—75.  
 Epicrates, the comic poet, 87.  
 Epigenes, the Sicynian, 190.  
 Epic poetry compared with tragedy, 138.  
 159.  
 ——— compared to bas-relief, 280,  
 281.  
 Episodic fables the worst, 146.  
 Eubulus, the comic poet, 86.  
 Eumenides of Æschylus, number of its  
 chorus, 124, note.  
 Euphron, the tragedian, 62.  
 Eupolis, the comic poet, 80; his style, 363,  
 364.  
 Euripides, time and place of his birth, 50;  
 rank of his parents, 50, 51; his educa-  
 tion, 51, 52; his forensic turn, 52. 321;  
 his Anaxagorea, 52, note; his dramas,  
 53. 334—342; his Philoctetes, 166. 178  
 —180; Electra, 327; Alcestis, 334;  
 Iphigenia in Aulis, 334; Ion, 334;  
 Hippolytus, 334, 335; Medea, 335;  
 Troades, 336; Hecuba, 336, 337; Her-  
 cules Furens, 337; Phœnissæ, 337;  
 Orestes, 338; Iphigenia in Tauris, 338;  
 Andromache, 338; Bacchæ, 338, 339;  
 Suppliants, 339, 340; Heraclidæ, 339,  
 340; Helena, 341; Rhesus, 341; Cyclop,  
 342; said to have been assisted by So-  
 crates, 53; his exile and death, 54, 55;  
 his character as a dramatist, 315—323;  
 his relation to Æschylus and Sophocles  
 illustrated by a comparison between his  
 Electra, Æschylus' Chœphoroi, and  
 Sophocles' Electra, 331—333; did not  
 preserve the essence of ancient Tragedy  
 unmingled, 315; labours for effect, 317;  
 his religious opinions, 318; his moral  
 apophthegms, 318, 319; his rhetorical  
 vanity, 321; his choruses, 158. 317;  
 adopted the music of Timotheus, 317;  
 his morality, 318, 319; his misogynism,  
 320; his capricious use of the old my-  
 thology, 320; his prologues, 320, 321;  
 his style, 322; a forerunner of the New  
 Comedy, 322. 367; how esteemed by  
 Aristophanes, 56—59. 322; and by  
 Longinus, 60; by Menander and Phi-  
 lemon, 322; his excellencies, 322, 323.  
 Euripides, junior, 68.  
 Εὐριπίδειον τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάσύλλα-  
 βον, 517.  
 Ἐξ ἀμάξης λέγειν explained, 230.  
 Exode, 149.  
 Ἐξωμυς, 128.  
 F.  
 Fable, 142.  
 ——— unity of, 143.  
 ——— episodic, the worst, 146.  
 ——— simple and complicated, 146.  
 ——— Atellane, 389.  
 Future optative, 434.  
 ——— infinitive never joined with ἄν,  
 434.  
 Futura formæ mediæ, 446.  
 Futurorum passivè significantium formæ,  
 447.  
 G.  
 Γε post μά Δία, &c. 453.  
 — post δε, 454.  
 Γέ τε nunquam conjungunt Attici, 454.  
 Γε cum ἀλλὰ μὴν, &c. 454.  
 Goat, the prize of tragedy, 6. 176.  
 H.  
 Harpers, prize of, 241.  
 Heraclides Ponticus, the Pseudo-Thespis,  
 15, note. 69. 193—198.  
 Herculeid, 144, note.  
 Herodotus, a passage of, respecting tragic  
 choruses at Sicyn explained, 228. 233.  
 Hermippus, the comic poet, 84.  
 Hegemon, the parodist, 133, 134.  
 Historian and Poet compared, 145.  
 Homer gave the first idea of tragedy, 17,  
 note. 136; and of comedy, 136; cha-  
 racter of, 136. 160.  
 I.  
 Iambic metre, invention of, 167. nature  
 of, 137.  
 Iambic tragic senarius, 453. 499.  
 ——— comic senarius, 460.  
 Iambic tetrameter catalectic, 463.  
 Iambic dimeter of the comics, 518.  
 Ictus metricus, 475.  
 Ἰμάτιον, 128.  
 Imitation, poetic and musical, 131; dif-  
 ferent means of, 132.  
 Imperativus Aoristi post μὴ non solet ad-  
 hiberi, 452.  
 Ἰνα, with indicative, 438. 448; subjunct.  
 et optat.; 435. 449.  
 Inscriptions, Orchomenian, 26—31.  
 Ion Chius, the tragedian, 61.  
 Ionic Mood, 126.  
 Ionismi apud Tragicos, 421.  
 Iophon, the son of Sophocles, 67.  
 Iphigenia in Tauris, examination paper  
 on, 558.

## K.

- Καταβλήματα, 115.  
 Κόμμος, 148, note. 149.  
 Κόρδαξ, 126.  
 Κόθορνος, 37. 127. 268.  
 Κόλπωμα, 127.  
 Κωμωδεῖν—τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστί, 86.  
 Κωμωδία, etymology of, 134. 245;  
 might originally include both tragedy  
 and comedy, 245.

## L.

- Laberius, 391.  
 Laocoon, group of, 282.  
 Leucon, the comic poet, 84.  
 Λίαν, quantity of, 529.  
 Livius Andronicus, 389.  
 Locrian Dialect, the Doric, 250.  
 Λογεῖον, 112. 262.  
 Λύσις καὶ Δέσις, 157.  
 Lycis, the comic poet, 84.  
 Lycophron's Alexandra, 343.  
 Lydian Mood, 126.  
 Lysimachus, the comic poet, 84.

## M.

- Magnes, the comic poet, 75.  
 Manners, requisites of, in tragedy, 153—  
 155.  
 Margites, influence of, upon comedy, 71.  
 78. 136.  
 Masks introduced by Æschylus, 37, 38:  
 various forms and use of, 265—269;  
 comic, 385, 386.  
 Masculine gender used by a female when  
 speaking of herself in the plural num-  
 ber, 441.  
 Megarians claim the invention of Comedy,  
 70. 134.  
 Melanthius, the tragedian, 66.  
 Μέλητος, quantity of its penult, 238,  
 239.  
 Meletus, the tragedian, 68.  
 Melinna, the daughter of Nossis, 250.  
 Μέλλω generally is followed by the future  
 infinitive, 434, 435.  
 Menander, 90. 380.  
 Metres, tragic, 271.  
 Μεθίημι and μεθίεμαι, 440.  
 Μὴ οὐ, prosody of, 529.  
 Μηχανή, 115. 264.  
 Middle Comedy. See Comedy.  
 Middle voice of the Greek verb; its re-  
 flexive usages, 427, 428; reciprocal  
 use, 429.

- Mimes, 390, 391; the early germ of the  
*Commedia dell' Arte* to be sought for in  
 them, 391.  
 Μνησθήσομαι and μεμνήσσομαι, 426.  
 Morsimus, } the tragedians, 66.  
 Morychus, }  
 Music of the Drama, 126.  
 Myrtilus, the comic poet, 84.  
 Mythology the materials of Tragedy, 277—  
 280.  
 Mythology, symbolical, not allegorical,  
 292.  
 Mythologic Comedy, 72. 348.

## N.

- Nævius, 393.  
 Neutra pluralia cum verbo plurali, 446.  
 New Comedy. See Comedy.  
 Nicostratus, the son of Aristophanes, 86.  
 Niobe, group of, 282.  
 Nossis, the poetess, a Locrian, 249.  
 Nouns, masculine or feminine in the singu-  
 lar, and neuter in the plural, 426.  
 Number of dramas usually represented in  
 one day, 109, note.  
 Number of separate representations in one  
 day, 118.

## O.

- Old Comedy. See Comedy.  
 Opera, modern, erroneously compared to  
 Greek tragedy, 270, 271.  
 Ὅποτε, with the optative, 433.  
 Ὅπως vel ὅπως μὴ, 451.  
 Orchestra, 112. 261.  
 Orchomenian Inscriptions, 26—31.  
 Orestes, examination paper on, 554.  
 Oscans, language of, 389.  
 Ὅσφ, et similia with ἄν, 430.  
 Οὐ μὴ, government of, 438—440. 450,  
 451; cum futuro prohibendi signifi-  
 catione, 450.  
 Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον explained, 14,  
 note. 196.  
 Ovid, considered as a tragic writer, 395.

## P.

- Pacuvius, 391.  
 Pantacles, the comic poet, 84.  
 Παρασκηνία, 113.  
 Parabasis, 349.  
 Parode, 149.  
 Πάθη, 148, 152.  
 Pause in the Senarius, 504.  
 Πέπλον, 128.  
 Πέραν, quantity of, 529.  
 Περὶ ante vocalem, 526.

- Περιπετεία**, 147.  
 Pisander, the comic poet, 84.  
 Phalaris, age of, 204.  
 Phallic song, 3.  
 Pherecrates, the comic poet, 84.  
 Philemon, the comic poet, 89, 90, 380.  
 Philippus, the comic poet, 86.  
 Philippiades, 88, 89.  
 Philocles, the tragedian, 63.  
 Philoctetes of Euripides, 166, 178—180.  
 ——— of Sophocles, examination paper on, 538.  
 Philonides, the comic poet, 84.  
 Philyllius, the comic poet, 84.  
 Phormis, the comic poet, 75, 170.  
 Phrygian mood, 126.  
 Phrynichus, number of the persons so named, 210.  
 ——— the tragedian, 16—23, 199, 205, 206, 211, 212.  
 ——— the comic poet, 79.  
**Φρυκτώριον**, 116.  
 Place, Unity of, 412—415.  
 Plato, his paradoxical opinion respecting the origin of Tragedy, 190, 222.  
 ——— the comic poet, 84.  
 Plautus, 378—380.  
 Pleiades, the seven poets so named, 69.  
 Plutarch, a passage of, respecting Thespis, refuted, 217—220.  
 Poetry, origin of, 135; a species of imitation, 131.  
 Poet and historian compared, 145.  
**Ποῦ, ποῦ, πᾶ**, 454.  
**Πομπεύειν** and **πομπεία**, explained, 231.  
 Posidippus, the comic poet, 91.  
 Pratinas, 23.  
**Πρὶν** cum subj. omisso ἂν, 452.  
 Prologue, 138, note, 149.  
 Proper names in the Tragic Senarius, 499.  
 Proper names in the Trochaic Tetrameter, 502.  
**Προσκήνιον**, 113, 262.  
**Πρόσωπον, προσωπεῖον**, 127.  
**Πύργος** theatric, 116.  
 Pythangelus, the tragedian, 66.
- R.
- Rhythm differs from metre, 135.
- S.
- Sannyrion, the comic poet, 84, 177.  
 Satyric chorus, 4, 5.  
 Satyric drama and satire differ, 229.  
 ——— nature of, 23—25.  
 ——— poets of, 24, 25, note.  
 Scene, 112, 262.  
 Scenic dresses, 127.
- Scenery, 263.  
 ——— invented by Agatharcus, 248.  
 Seneca, 397—399; his influence on the French Dramatic writers, 399.  
 Septem contra Thebas, examination paper on, 533.  
 Shuttle, the ancient, 156, note.  
**Σίκιννις**, 126.  
 Simonides, 240.  
**Σκοπή**, 116.  
 Sophocles, his life, 43—45, 299—301; colleague of Pericles, 45, 300; his *Œdipus at Colonus*, 46, 300; his death, 46, 47, 301; his character as a man, 48, 301; and dramatist, 48—50, 301, 302; his choruses, 49, note; his improvements in tragedy, 49, 301, 302; number of his plays, 302; comparative merits of the remaining seven, 302, 303; his *King Œdipus*, 303; Difference of Character between him and *Æschylus*, 305, 306; his *Antigone*, 306; *Ajax*, 308; *Philoctetes*, 309, 310; *Trachinian Women*, 311; *Electra*, 325.  
 ———, junior, 68.  
 Sophron, Mimes of, 132; imitated in *Hexameter* by Theocritus, 370.  
 Sosicles, the tragedian, 68.  
 Spectators, number of, &c. 119.  
 Stage curtain, 264.  
 Stasimon, 149, note.  
 Sthenelus, the tragedian, 67.  
 Strattis, the comic poet, 84.  
 Styles, difference of in the Tragedians, 284.  
**Συνάφεια**, 525, 526.  
**Σύρμα**, 128.  
 Súsarion, his claims to the invention of comedy, 70, note, 168—170; five iambs of his quoted, corrected, and explained, 171—173; how mentioned in the Arundel Marble, 173—176; distinct from Sannyrion, 177.  
 Syrus, 391.
- T.
- Τέχνος**, scenic, 116.  
 Teleclides, the comic poet, 84.  
 Terence, 378—380.  
**Τετραλογία**, 106.  
 Theatre, Grecian, description of, 110, 259—265.  
 Theatre, Roman, 388; its natural varieties, 389; transplanted from Greece, 393; Tragedians of the more ancient epoch, 394, and of the Augustan age, 394.  
 Theognis, the tragedian, 62.  
 Theopompus, the comedian, 84.  
**Θεολογεῖον**, 115.  
 Theoric fund, 118.



- Θεός, prosody of, 529.  
 Theseus, tomb of, when erected in Athens, 224—227.  
 Thespis, the inventor of tragedy, 186—192; wrote nothing, 193; his age, 198. 215; account of, 12—15.  
 Thymele, 112. 265.  
 Time, Unity of, 408—411.  
 Timocles, the comic poet, 39.  
 Timotheus, the musician, 126. 317.  
 Τραγωδία, origin of the word, 6. 233. never included comedy, 235. 241—245. not used to signify *pomp* till after the time of Zaleucus, 248.  
 Τραγωδίαν διδάσκειν, 267.  
 Tragedy, origin of, 1; its successive stages, 137; its original prize, 176; defined, 140; its constituent parts, 140. 148, 149; different kinds of, 157; superior to the epic, 161; aimed at ideal perfection, 272; its essence, 272; source of pleasure in, 273; compared to sculpture, 280—282.  
 Tragedy, causes of the Romans failing in, 396, 397; ideal of a Roman form of, 395.  
 Tragic recitation, 269, 270.  
 Trilogy, nature of, 285.  
 Trochaic metre, 465.  
 ——— tetrameter catalectic becomes a senarius by taking away the initial Cretic or Pæon; this remark of Porson's misunderstood, 519.
- Τρῳακήναι never signified Tragedy, 236. 242—245.
- U.
- Unities, the three dramatic, 144, note. 400—415.  
 Ὑποσκηνία, 113.
- V.
- Verba in ὕω and ὑμι, 426; duo diversos casus regentia, 446; quorum futura sunt formæ mediæ, 446.  
 Verse not essential to comedy, 370.  
 Vocalis brevis ante consonantes, 524.  
 Voltaire's ignorance of classic antiquity, 266, note.
- W.
- Women, Grecian, degraded state of, 382; were present at dramatic exhibitions, 120, 121, note; never appeared as actresses, 268.
- X.
- Xenocles, the tragedian, 65. 185, 186.
- Z.
- Zaleucus, age of, 247; laws falsely ascribed to him, 247, 248.















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